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OF  
MANITOBA

SCHOFIELD

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NEW PARLIAMENT BUILDING, WINNIPEG

THE STORY  
OF  
MANITOBA

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By F. H. SCHOFIELD, B. A.

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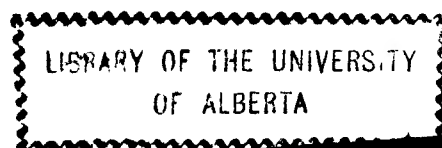
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VOLUME I

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WINNIPEG VANCOUVER MONTREAL  
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## PREFACE

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There is no lack of material for a history of Manitoba. The books written by early navigators and explorers, the annals of the Jesuit priests and other missionaries, the journals kept by the fur traders, the records of the Hudson's Bay Company and its factors, the minutes of the Council of Assiniboia, and government reports furnish an inexhaustible store of facts for the historian. These sources of information are supplemented by accounts of military expeditions, given by officers or chaplains who accompanied them, by the reports of scientists, and by many books of travel.

Students of the history of the Canadian west will always be under obligation to the early historians of the Red River Settlement, Sheriff Alexander Ross, Mr. Donald Gunn, and Mr. Joseph Hargrave, and the author frankly acknowledges his indebtedness to them. He is also greatly indebted to writers who have recently investigated and sifted so much of the historical material to be found in the London office of the Hudson's Bay Company, especially to Mr. Beckles Willson, Rev. George Bryce, D. D., and Miss Agnes C. Laut. He owes much to many other writers, but it is impossible to mention all of them here. A partial list of the authorities which have been consulted in the preparation of this volume is given in another part of the book. It may prove of some service to readers who wish to make a more detailed study of the history of the province.

The writer wishes to acknowledge his obligation to the members of his advisory committee and to many friends who have helped him to secure facts for the book and material for its illustrations. His thanks are due to the librarians of the Provincial Library and the Carnegie Library of Winnipeg for their uniform kindness and interest. Above all, he is grateful to his wife for the unfailing help, sympathy, and encouragement which made it possible for him to complete the work.

While there is abundant material for a history of Manitoba, it is marked by many discrepancies. Different writers have given different accounts of the same event, and sometimes a writer has given different versions of the same incident in different books. Men who took part in the same expedition have not agreed as to the names of the ships in which it sailed, leaders in the same skirmish have written widely different accounts of it, and witnesses under oath have given such inconsistent versions of the same affair that judges have been unable to elicit the facts. Under such conditions it is difficult to eliminate all inaccuracies in preparing a history. The author of this volume has aimed to present absolutely accurate statements in it; and if some errors have crept into its pages, he hopes that its readers will give him credit for conscientious effort to avoid them.

If the work does something to promote interest in the past history of the province, pride in its progress, and a feeling of responsibility for its future welfare, some of the author's aims will be attained.

F. H. S.

WINNIPEG, March, 1913.

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## INTRODUCTION

It is well for a community to know its beginnings and to study the way in which it has grown. The history of Manitoba is a story of marvelous commercial, social, and political development; it is a story tinged with heroism, romance, tragedy, and comedy in the past; it is a story replete with lessons for the future. Because the area of the province has just been increased so greatly, the story has never before covered so much territory and such a wide range of events, nor has it been so full of meaning.

The course of a country's history is determined in a great measure by its physical features, soil, and climate, by the character of its people, and by the great events which occur in other lands. It is also true that the character of a race is modified by the physical conditions of the country which it inhabits and by its own experiences there. The history of Manitoba illustrates these truths, and the student will understand its significance better if he gives some thought to the fundamental factors in the development of our province.

For this reason the story of Manitoba may properly begin with a brief account of those geological changes, which, occurring many thousands of years ago and extending over long periods of time, gave Manitoba her surface and soil and greatly modified her climate. Surface, soil, and climate determined the character of her vegetation, and, to some extent, the character of her animal life; and these, in turn, determined the habits and occupations of the first inhabitants of the country. Indeed, the physical conditions of the country and its vegetable and animal life determine the occupations and the trade of the people who inhabit Manitoba to-day, while the country and their life in it have left an impress upon their character that is reflected in the institutions which they have established.

We do not know what race was the first to roam over the plains of Manitoba and follow the streams of its wooded regions, and we know very little of the people who were the first to leave traces of their occupation of the country; but we may be sure that the life and habits of the Mound-Builders and their predecessors were very like those of the Indian tribes living in the country when the white man first came to it. The Mound-Builders vanished long ago, and the Indians are disappearing; but some phases of their life were adopted by the first white men who lived in the west and influenced its history for more than two hundred years. Therefore a short account of the aboriginal inhabitants of the province may help the student to understand its later history.

The student should also have some knowledge of the characters of the two white races which first settled in Manitoba. The Gallic and the Anglo-Celtic races differ in temperament, language, religion, and traditions; each sought to impress its own ideals upon the life and institutions of the new land to which it came;

and this rivalry affected all the subsequent history of the country. They came by different routes and with different aims; and so the canoes of the French, paddled laboriously up the Ottawa River, across the Great Lakes, and over the tangle of waterways between Lake Superior and the prairies, and the clumsy sailing vessels of the British, battling with the storms of the North Atlantic and the ice-floes of Hudson Strait, were freighted with more than provisions for the voyagers and goods for the Indian tribes. They carried the germs of many of Manitoba's institutions and the seeds of some of her troubles.

Familiarity with the leading events in the histories of other countries will illuminate the history of our province, for these events have often given a new direction to the story of Manitoba. Many of the incidents in the early part of that story are near or remote echoes of the long enmity between England and France, whose manifestations were not confined to wars on the continent of Europe and attacks by each nation on the colonies of the other. Its dying embers, occasionally fanned into flame by circumstances, gave a spur to rival explorers in Manitoba, added bitterness to the long contest between the great fur companies, and stood in the way of a union of races which would have made the Red River rebellion impossible. In recent years territorial, political, and social changes in the countries of Europe have been dominant causes in sending emigrants from them to Manitoba. But events influencing Manitoba's development have not been confined to European history. Its development has been affected by the growth of the United States, and for two generations its history has been closely connected with that of eastern Canada.

About three hundred years have elapsed since Europeans began to explore the northern part of Manitoba; and as there have been three stages in the progress of the country during that time, its history may be divided into three periods—the period of exploration, the period of the fur trade, and the period of agricultural development. These periods overlap one another and cannot be defined by exact dates, but each may be considered as covering about a century.

Three hundred years ago the dream of finding a western sea route to China and the East Indies often came to navigators eager for fame, merchants seeking new sources of wealth, and kings anxious for wider domains. It was this dream which brought the first explorers to Hudson Bay and the northern shores of Manitoba. For many decades the work of these men seemed somewhat futile; but the dream of finding a northwest passage by sea was gradually merged into the vision of an overland route to the Pacific, and it led explorers west and north with more practical results. The records of these maritime and inland explorations are an essential part of Manitoba's history.

The story of early exploration in the Canadian west and the story of the fur trade cannot be separated; for nearly all the inland explorers were fur traders, and many of the fur traders were daring and resourceful explorers. The combined stories must be told at some length, since they form the history of Manitoba for a hundred and fifty years.

The work of navigators in the northern seas, the inland explorations, and the marvelous growth of the fur trade did little to develop the rich resources of Manitoba. Two hundred years ago the War of the Spanish Succession came to an end, and the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) gave a temporary rest to the war-wearied nations of Europe. By this pact France ceded to Great Britain all the

country which lies around Hudson Bay. This vast territory, out of which half a dozen European states might be carved, was considered of so little value that it was a mere pawn in the game of international politics. The present province of Manitoba was included in the ceded territory. It was then a region almost unknown to the civilized world. Its prairies were as vast then as they are now, its soil as fertile, its summer days as long and bright; but it was only a pasture for herds of buffaloes, a habitat for the bear and the beaver, a hunting ground for Indians, who had made little progress towards civilization. The oldest of the fur companies had established one or two posts on the northern coast of the province, and the French traders were approaching it from the east; but its pristine wildness had hardly been disturbed.

The fur trade was prosecuted with marvelous energy and enriched many of those engaged in it, but it brought few permanent settlers to the country. A hundred years ago Manitoba was still a land of unpeopled prairies and undeveloped resources. A few white men had come to it, but they were little better than nomads, and scarcely suspected the richness of the country over which they roamed. They traveled back and forward between a score of scattered trading posts—mere dots on the map to show that civilization had marked the vast region as her own. There were no farms, no towns, no roads, no schools. The only means of travel were the canoe, the pony, and the cart. There were no telegraphs, no post-office, and only a primitive form of organized government.

A century is a short period of time, as history often measures it; yet in a single century the miracle has been wrought. The solitary land has become the permanent home of hundreds of thousands of people. They represent a dozen races, but the passing years are fusing them into one nationality. The unbroken prairie has been converted into thousands of farms, which produce wheat enough to feed the whole population of Canada and some of the bread-hungry people elsewhere; the forests, the rocky wastes, the lakes and streams have proved sources of wealth. Prosperous towns, busy with trade and manufacturing, have sprung up where the buffaloes used to graze. Railways cross the country in all directions, and steamers ply on the lakes and rivers. There are telegraphs and telephones, newspapers and magazines, schools, churches, and hospitals, and all the social and political organizations to be found in the most advanced communities.

The marvelous change began when the first permanent settlers came to the province, just a hundred years ago. The nations of Europe were then seeking peace after the Napoleonic wars, and once more the policies of European statesmen changed the course of Manitoba's history. Disbanded soldiers, joining with other unemployed and landless men, sought homes in America, and some of them settled in that distant and isolated region which has since become the province of Manitoba. These men aimed to live by agriculture rather than hunting, and their arrival marks the opening of the third period of the history of the province—the beginning of its real progress. For this reason the account of their migration and settlement must be given at some length.

The story of Manitoba's progress during the century which has elapsed since the first white settlers came is the story of a series of struggles. First of all, there was the long struggle against the hardships which could not be eliminated from pioneer life in a remote and isolated colony, the misfortunes growing out

of the hostility of the two great fur companies, and losses caused by drought, floods, and swarms of grasshoppers. A generation was to pass before the settlers were assured that they could overcome the disadvantages of their remote situation and the apparent hostility of some of nature's forces and win the homes and the competence which they sought. When comfortable homes and a good livelihood had been secured, the struggle did not cease. It took a new form and became a struggle for freedom of trade and self-government. This struggle, too, went on for nearly a generation and ended in the confederation of the country with Canada and the organization of the province of Manitoba. The people found that the disabilities due to the government of the Hudson's Bay Company had been removed only to be followed by others growing out of the Manitoba Act, and that the company's restrictions were succeeded by those imposed by the Dominion government; and so the struggle had to be renewed in a new field, where it was carried on for another generation. Although a large measure of success has attended these efforts of the people to secure their rights, some of their expectations have not been realized yet.

In this century of struggle the people of Manitoba have developed some marked characteristics—self-reliance, determination to solve their problems and mould their institutions in their own way, impatience under restrictions imposed by outside authority. They have shown great persistence in their efforts to realize their ideals. The dictum of one of Canada's greatest statesmen, "You cannot check Manitoba," has been illustrated on many occasions, for self-reliance, independence, and determination were inherent to the temperament of the people who first found their way to the west, and they have been fostered and developed by a century of life in the freedom and broadness of the prairies. In these characteristics of the people we may find hints of the course which the future development of the life and institutions of the province will follow.

The small beginnings of Manitoba's history grow in importance as they recede further into the past and we see them in clearer perspective. The actors in the early parts of this history become greater, too. Whether they were French, accepting with a laugh and a song the adventures which fate flung into their lives, or Scotch, clinging with the tenacity of their race to the land which they had adopted, whether they were explorers or traders, farmers or missionaries, there is something heroic in the men who made the first chapters of Manitoba's history. An atmosphere of romance will always surround some of them—Radisson, the adventurer, Sieur de la Vérandrye, the intrepid explorer, Madame Lajimoniere, first of French women to reach the province, and many others. There are heroic figures, too, among the men who came to the province later to give shape to the work of her pioneers, to organize her trade, her government, her judicial system, and her educational institutions.

The story of Manitoba, possessing many heroic and some tragic features, is not devoid of humorous aspects. Its events are seen in truer proportions now, and many, which once appeared important, seem trivial at the present time, while the contests over them and the feelings which they roused suggest the action of a comic opera. That tragedy lay very close to the comedy of some of the situations need not prevent us from smiling at the comedy now.

## THE PIONEERS

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Honor be theirs, and evening peace,  
With harvest of desire,  
Ere to the halls of silence pass  
These souls of faith and fire!  
Blithely they served the land they loved,  
As we, who serve in their stead,  
This brave young land that breeds us men,  
And cradles our sacred dead.

They came and dwelt by the evening star,  
Unheralded and unsped;  
The fields they claimed with their stubborn pain,  
That their children might be fed.  
And a vision glowed in their faithful hearts  
Of the generous years in store,  
Of a million hearth-fires gleaming bright  
To beckon a million more.

Their sturdy feet took the aching trail  
That we might ride at our ease;  
Where beat ten thousand at our gates,  
They came in their two's and three's.  
They came where a man found elbow-room  
And a healing of ancient scars,  
Where he learned the voice of the western wind,  
The friendship of the stars.

The royal land they gave to us  
Be ours the happy part  
From idle pride and from base content  
To guard with loving heart,—  
True heart, and undivided will  
To purpose and endure,  
That with foundation deep and still  
The building may be sure.

O ancient Mother, dwelling alone,  
Silent, austere, and free,  
Flesh of thy flesh, and bone of thy bone,  
We are, and are proud to be!  
And still, and forever, as of old,  
In spite of the sundering sea,  
What God has given to gain and hold  
We gain and hold for thee.

Norman C. Cragg.





# THE STORY OF MANITOBA

## CHAPTER I

### NATURE'S PREPARATION FOR MAN

In its earliest stages the history of a country depends more upon nature's work than upon that done by man. Her preparation for his advent—the position of the country, its climate, soil, and resources—determine the time of his coming to it, his mode of life in it, and the character he develops there. In Manitoba her preparation for man's coming was long and thorough, and her powerful agents—the summer's heat, the winter's snow, the winds, the rivers, the lakes, and above all, the glaciers—worked tirelessly for thousands of years to complete her task. So a brief account of the physical features of Manitoba may help the reader to understand more clearly the story of man's achievements in the country.

When the province of Manitoba was formed in 1869, it included only the small quadrilateral which lies between the 49th parallel and the parallel of  $50^{\circ} 30'$  of north latitude and between the 96th and 99th meridians of west longitude. Its area was 14,340 sq. miles. It was enlarged in 1881, its northern boundary being fixed at the parallel of  $52^{\circ} 51'$ , its eastern boundary at the meridian of  $95^{\circ} 9'$ , and its western limit near the meridian of  $101^{\circ} 25'$ . This extension gave the province a total area of 73,956 sq. miles. As a result of legislation passed by the Dominion parliament and the Manitoba legislature in 1912, the province was extended to Hudson Bay, and its present area is 251,832 sq. miles. The territory recently added to the province is bounded on the north by the 60th parallel of north latitude, on the northeast by the shore of Hudson Bay, on the southeast by a line drawn from the point where the shore line of the bay is intersected by the 89th meridian of west longitude to the northeast corner of the province as fixed in 1881, on the south by the northern boundary of the province as it was laid down then, and on the west by a line which approximates the meridian of  $102^{\circ}$  west longitude. The area of the added territory is more than double that of the province before the addition was made.

In studying the topography of Manitoba it will be convenient to divide the country into three sections. These three sections have some features in common, yet each has characteristics which distinguish it from the others. There is a very low and level prairie region in the south central part, a more elevated and less level prairie region in the southwest and the west, and there is a slightly

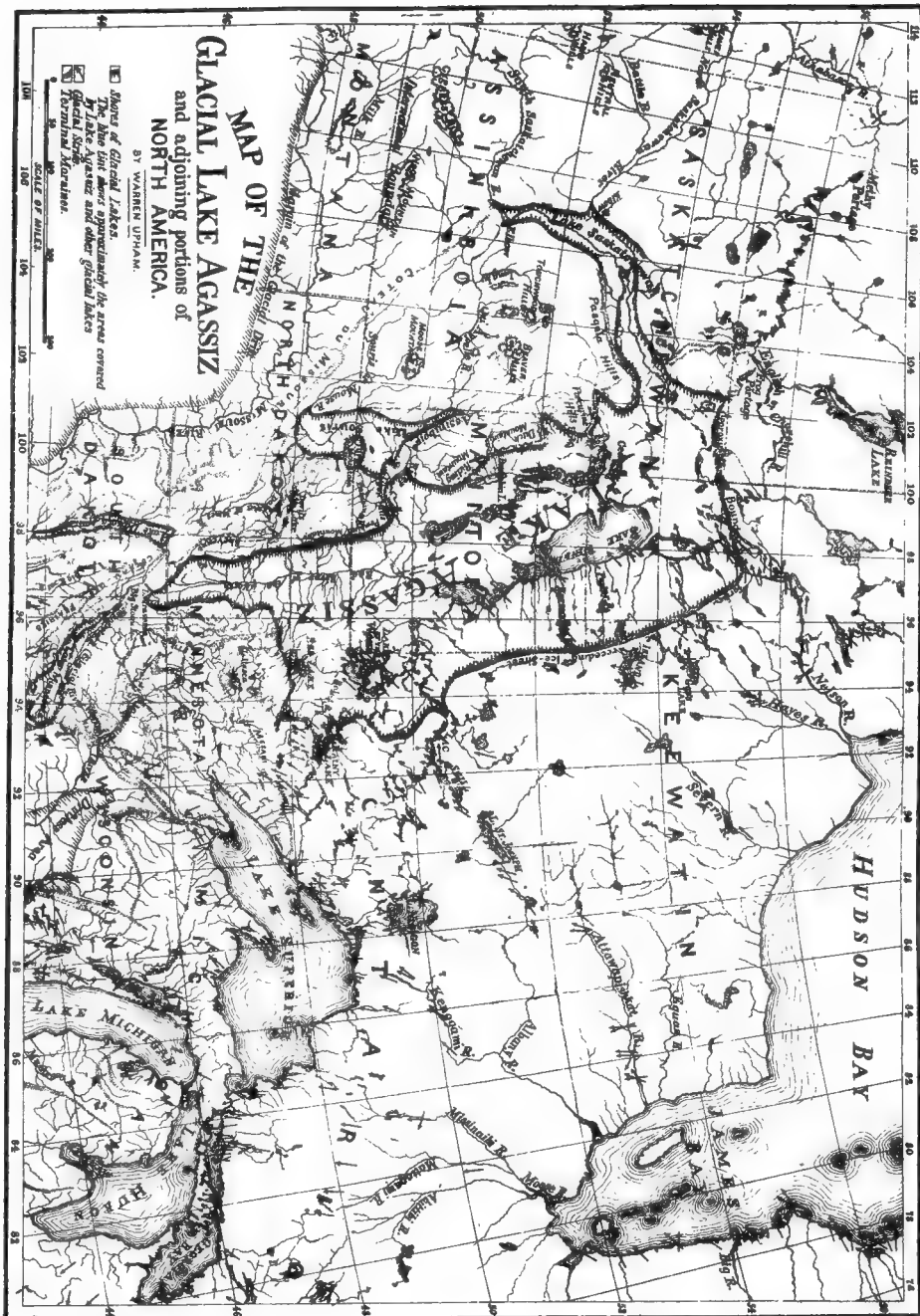
higher and much more uneven district on the east and north. The last includes much more than half of the province as now constituted. The slightly elevated regions on the east and west slope gently towards the central depression, and the three districts all have a general slope to the north, reaching a fairly uniform level in the region which borders Hudson Bay.

The great prairie region of Canada comprises three successive steppes. The first, or eastern steppe, has a general level of 700 or 800 feet above the sea. Its width on the 49th parallel is about 60 miles, but it increases rapidly as the plain extends northward. The second steppe rises somewhat abruptly from the first and has an average elevation of 1,600 feet. Its width on the 49th parallel is about 250 miles, but it contracts as it extends northward. The third steppe rises more gradually from the second and extends to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. Its width on the international boundary is about 450 miles, and it also grows narrower as it extends towards the north. The elevation of the second and third steppes diminishes with their width, and both are gradually merged into the great low-lying plain along the Arctic coast.

The lowest of these prairie steppes lies wholly in Manitoba and forms the valley in the south central part of the province. Geologists tell us that in ages long past immense glaciers, moving slowly from the north or northwest and from the northeast, plowed out a broad trench whose axis is now marked by the valley of the Red River, and that in the last glacial epoch this valley was covered by a great ice-sheet many thousands of feet in thickness. This immense body of ice extended far south of the 49th parallel at one time; but as the climate of the northern hemisphere became warmer, the southern rim of the ice-sheet broke into fragments, melted, and retreated northwards, while the water so produced formed great glacial rivers or lakes according as its outward flow was free or impeded.

Such a lake was formed in the great depression which the glaciers had excavated through a part of the country that we now call Manitoba, and geologists have named it Lake Agassiz. Its southern boundary was probably the height of land which divides the streams flowing into the Red River from those flowing into the Mississippi, while its northern boundary was the retreating edge of the glacier itself until the latter had reached the ridge of land a short distance north of Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba. On the east its shore was probably the rocky and elevated region forming the eastern part of Manitoba, which is divided from the prairie by a fairly regular line running from the Lake of the Woods to Lake Manitoba and along the eastern shore of the latter. The western shore of the glacial lake is marked by those irregular chains of hills which we now call Pembina Mountains, Tiger Hills, Brandon Hills, Riding Mountains, Duck Mountains, Porcupine Hills, and Pasquia Hills. The bed of this lake extends north and south nearly 700 miles, and its greatest extent east and west is also about 700 miles; but its shape was very irregular, and its area is estimated at 110,000 sq. miles. Scientists do not think that the lake filled all parts of this great bed at the same time. That would have given it an area greater than the aggregate area of the five Great Lakes at the present time. It is more than probable that the southern part of the lake-bed had become dry before the ice had melted from the northern part.

Some geologists have estimated the maximum depth of this great glacial





lake at 600 feet; but the area of its bed increased as the edge of the ice retreated, the source of its supply diminished as the surface and thickness of the ice-sheet decreased under the increasing heat, its outlets wore deeper channels for themselves as the centuries passed, and so the depth of the lake steadily grew less. Geological upheavals may have hastened the process, and ultimately most of the lake bed was left bare, and the lake itself shrunk to its present representatives—Lakes Winnipeg, Manitoba, Winnipegosis, Dauphin, and others in their neighborhood. These lakes have an aggregate area of about 13,000 sq. miles—a large body of water, as we consider it at the present time, but a small area as compared with the great inland sea which filled the central part of Canada at the close of the glacial period.

For ages the river which drained Lake Agassiz flowed southward to the Mississippi, and the channel which it cut through the ridge forming the southern shore of the lake is well defined still. It is marked by the Minnesota River and Big Stone and Traverse Lakes in the state of Minnesota. But in time the retreating glacier uncovered the valleys of the Hayes and Nelson Rivers, and then the subsiding waters of the lake found an outlet through these channels to Hudson Bay, as its representatives do to-day. Of course it is not possible to tell how many thousands of years were required to work all these changes.

The contracting margins of Lake Agassiz are fairly well marked on the southern and western sides of its basin. Mr. Upham believes that he has found sixteen beaches, formed at lower and lower levels while the outflow of the lake was southward, and eleven others, formed after its waters found an outlet to the northeast. Many of these beaches are easily traced in Manitoba, for they are similar to beaches found around the present day representatives of Lake Agassiz. They consist of continuous, rounded ridges of sand and gravel, from ten to thirty rods in width, rising from three to ten feet above the level prairie on the outward or land side and from ten to twenty feet above it on the inner or lake side. These old beaches have determined the location of highways in some parts of the province. They must not be confused with shorter and less regular ridges, composed largely of boulders, which are observed in many parts of the country. These are terminal moraines deposited by the great glacier in its retreat northward, just as a defeated and retreating army throws away its weapons and baggage.

Nature's forces probably spent thousands of years in preparing the bed of the great glacial lake for occupation by man. On the rocky bottom the glacier itself deposited a fairly uniform layer of stiff clay, formed of material that it had gathered from the country to the north and east over which it had passed. This material it had ground fine, as only glaciers can. The lower layers of this clay are of a bluish color, the upper layers have a pink tint. The remarkable hardness of the lower layers is probably due to the tremendous weight of the overlying glacier which deposited them; the upper layers, having been laid down when the glacier was much thinner, were not pressed down so solidly. Over the clay beds which the glacier had deposited, layer after layer of fine surface soil was laid down, some being material which the waters of the great lake could no longer hold in suspension, some being material carried directly to the bed of the lake by the rivers flowing into it. To obtain this finishing material for the deep, rich soil of the central plain of Manitoba nature's agents

levied on the country to the west as far as the mountains as well as the country to the north and east.

The area of that part of the continent which was once drained into Lake Agassiz is estimated at more than 350,000 sq. miles. The waters collected in many subsidiary lakes were drained from them into Lake Agassiz. Such a lake lay along the valley of the Souris River in the second prairie steppe. Geologists suppose that it had an outlet to the Missouri at one time, and that later in its history its waters found their way into Lake Agassiz by the valleys of the James and Cheyenne Rivers in Dakota, while still later they flowed through the depression marked by Lang's Valley, Pelican Lake, and the valley of the Pembina River. When this lake had been drained away, some obstruction at the Elbow of the Souris diverted that stream from its original channel, and it became an affluent of the Assiniboine.

Of all the rivers of Manitoba the Assiniboine was the most important in those far-away glacial ages. As long as the unmelted ice-sheet formed a dam across the depression through which the lower part of the Saskatchewan River flows now, it held back a great glacial lake whose southern shore is probably marked by the Pasquia Hills. The North Saskatchewan and the South Saskatchewan were then distinct streams, and both poured into this glacial lake all the waters which they had collected in their long courses from the mountains. Its outlet was probably near the Elbow of the South Saskatchewan, and its waters found their way by the valley of Qu'Appelle River to the Assiniboine and thus to Lake Agassiz. The Assiniboine, which must have been a wide and deep stream at that time, fell into the lake near the present site of Brandon. The magnitude of the glacial Assiniboine is shown by the great estuary which it excavated in the western shore of the lake—an estuary marked by a gap of more than sixty miles between the Brandon Hills and the Riding Mountains. The great volume of the glacial Assiniboine is also shown by the extent of the delta formed at its mouth, as the river had to flow further and further east to reach the receding lake. This delta extends from Brandon almost to Portage la Prairie, from Glenboro and Treherne almost to Gladstone, and has an area of nearly 2,000 sq. miles. Its maximum depth is two hundred feet and its average depth fifty feet. These figures help us to comprehend what a vast amount of material was brought down by the rivers and deposited on the lake-bed now drained by the Red River. The fine sand on the surface of the Assiniboine delta has been heaped up by the wind into those rounded dunes, which we call "The Sandhills" and which form a unique feature of the ancient lake bottom.

The Red River itself is the youngest of the rivers of Manitoba, since it occupies the lowest depression of the lake bottom and carries to the present reduced representative of Lake Agassiz the waters of the diminished rivers which once emptied directly into that magnificent inland sea. The origin of the Red River will account for its direct course, the fact that it has not changed its course as the Souris and the Saskatchewan have done, the fact that it has not cut its way through impeding ridges as the Souris and the Pembina were obliged to do, and the fact that it has not worn for itself a wide, deep valley as nearly all the other considerable streams of the western prairies have done. The others are rivers which have had a grand past, but are in sadly reduced circumstances now; the Red is as important now as it ever was in its history.

The eastern part of Canada's second prairie steppe lies in Manitoba, forming the elevated region found in the southwestern part of the province. It rises rather steeply from the lower plain on the east, and its edge is marked by the lines of hills already named as the western shore line of Lake Agassiz. It may be considered an older section of the country than the lower plain beside it, for it was probably released from the grip of the great northern ice-sheet much sooner; and, having been subject to erosions of various kinds for a longer period, its surface is more uneven than that of the ancient lake bottom. Its greater elevation has given its rivers a more rapid current than those of the lower steppe, and they have had a longer time in which to work; so they have wrought greater changes in the character of the country than has been possible for the streams which flow over the bottom of Lake Agassiz. They have in this way dug out those wide, deep valleys which seem out of all proportion to the streams which meander through them at the present time. The plateau of southwestern Manitoba has less timber than the lower plain beside it. Its soil is somewhat similar to that of the old lake-bed, but the underlying rocks belong to different orders.

The slightly elevated district which occupies a narrow strip along the eastern side of Manitoba and all the territory recently added to the province on the north are a portion of the Archaean formation which prevails over so much of eastern Canada. A part of the district is drained into Lake Winnipeg, and a part directly into Hudson Bay. It is a region of rocky hills and ridges, denuded of much of their soil, worn down, and rounded by centuries of glacial grinding. The thin soil which covers the underlying rocks and clay beds is very porous, and the rainfall readily finds its way to the hollows between the hills, where it forms a multitude of small lakes connected by numberless streams. There they lie like a vast number of irregular gems strung on an intricate network of silver threads. The surface and soil of the Archaean region on the east and north of Manitoba are in complete contrast to those of its two prairie sections. There is another contrast, for the Archaean district is a wooded area, except where the forest is interrupted by the numerous lakes mentioned or by meadows and muskegs.

It has been said that the Canadian prairies are separated from the Great Lakes on the east and from the sea on the north by the hundreds of miles of rock, forest, and muskeg comprised in the rough Archaean area which bounds the first prairie steppe on the east and north. But that was not the thought of the first people who reached the prairies. For them the intricate network of waterways which covers the rugged and wooded region connected the northern sea and the Great Lakes with the prairies. The conveyance which the first people to reach the plains used was the canoe, and the interlacing watercourses of the Archaean region are specially adapted to canoe travel. If the traveller points to any spot in this vast area, an Indian familiar with it can take him within a few miles of that spot by canoe. Some portages may be necessary, but they will be surprisingly short and few.

The canoe was the only conveyance which could be used in crossing the prairies by either red or white men when they first occupied the country, and nature seems to have laid out the river systems for that method of travel. The Red River, running from south to north along the eastern edge of the level



plain, is a great canoe highway. Its sources are so close to those of the Mississippi that boats can be transported from one river to the other; it empties into Lake Winnipeg, which adds three hundred miles to the highway; and then the Nelson and its companion stream, the Hayes River, continue the route to the sea. Travellers, furs, and provisions have been transported along this highway for centuries.

A glance at the map will show several great highways, which come across the plains for hundreds of leagues to intersect the great trunk road running north. There is the Assiniboine, one of whose branches curves so far to the southwest that it is close to the Missouri, while another reaches so far to the northwest that its source is almost on the bank of the Saskatchewan. In the far-distant ages when the glaciers and the glacial waters were leveling the prairies, covering them with rich soil, and draining them in preparation for the coming of man, they did not fail to lay out very convenient routes of communication between different parts of the country. North of the Assiniboine is the Saskatchewan which furnishes a great waterway to the mountains and whose two branches with their affluents give access to many hundred miles of the eastern range. At several points it is comparatively easy to cross from the valley of the Saskatchewan to that of the Churchill River, another of the great cross-roads which nature constructed across the prairies of Manitoba to connect it with the far west.

Nor did nature's preparation for the advent of man cease when she had leveled the country, covered it with deep, rich soil, drained it, and laid out routes of intercommunication across it. She was careful to prepare a plentiful supply of food in advance. She planted the prairie soil with rich grasses on which numberless herds of buffaloes could graze. She covered the great rocky region on the east and north with forest, making it a veritable paradise for moose, elk, and other members of the deer family. She showed the beavers that they could find no better habitat than the solitary ravines in this vast forest; and so these wise little animals built their dams across the silver streams, turned the pretty lakes into beaver ponds, constructed their curious houses, and there reared their young in countless thousands. Thus nature provided a source from which man could supplement the clothing obtained from the deer and the moose. There were other supplies of food besides the buffaloes of the plains and the deer of the forests. All the lakes and streams of prairie and woodland were stocked with many kinds of fish, and wild fruits and edible roots of various kinds grew and ripened in the long summer sunshine.

All these careful and long-continued preparations—the level, open plains, the tree-clad hills, the fertile soil, the lakes and streams, the abundant vegetation, the varied and prolific animal life, the clear skies, the summer heat, and even the winter's cold—were nature's invitations to man to come and occupy the country. Like an eager hostess she kept on reiterating her invitation through the long centuries and waited for the expected guest.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ABORIGINES

Nature's invitation to occupy the land which she had spent ages in preparing was extended to the white man as well as the red man, to the agriculturist as well as the hunter. What race heard it and responded first? We do not know. Some scientists believe that man lived on the shores of Lake Agassiz in the early post-glacial times, but we have no positive evidence of the fact. Many generations of men, and perhaps many races, may have lived on the fertile plains of Manitoba and in her wide forests and have vanished, leaving no trace of their tenancy. The earth retains few marks of its occupation by roving races, for they build no permanent structures of stone or brick and seldom have a written language.

The first people to leave evidence of their occupation of Manitoba were the Mound-Builders. Archæologists believe that the Mound-Builders were related to the Toltecs, who once inhabited the southern part of the North American continent, and that they were driven northward by some more powerful and warlike nation. In their migrations they seem to have followed the river valleys, for these valleys offered the easiest routes for travel when it was necessary to move forward and the most fertile soil when peace allowed a period of settled occupation. The routes which the Mound-Builders followed in their migrations are well marked by the peculiar structures from which their name is derived. The race came up the valley of the Mississippi; one division went up the Missouri; another followed the Ohio; and a third, following the original line of march to the head waters of the Mississippi, easily found its way to the Rainy River and the Red River of the North. The Mound-Builders are supposed to have reached the country now called Manitoba about the close of the twelfth century and to have dwelt in it nearly four hundred years.

The mounds of earth thrown up by these immigrants from the south and the relics which they contain are practically the only sources of information about their builders. The Mound-Builders must have been a settled people, for no roving race could have constructed works requiring so great an expenditure of time and labor; and if they were a settled people, they must have lived mainly by agriculture. So it is more than probable that their food consisted of the wild fruits and roots indigenous to the country together with Indian corn, pumpkins, and such of the fruits cultivated by more southern races as would grow in a northern climate. We have no positive information about the materials and style of their dwellings, although some students think they must have known how to make brick. Nor do we know anything about their dress.

If they lived wholly by agriculture, their clothing was probably made from vegetable fibre of some kind, like that of the races far to the south. If they lived partly on the proceeds of the hunt, as they would be likely to do in a country where wild animals were so abundant, they would be quite sure to supplement their fibre clothing with garments made of dressed skins.

No race would be likely to live a settled agricultural life for several generations without making a little progress in scientific knowledge and in the simpler arts, and the inference that the Mound-Builders did so is strengthened by the character of the relics found in their mounds. These earth structures show that the builders knew the principles underlying certain geometrical forms, that they knew the advantages of spiral roads for reaching the summit of an elevation, that they were skilful in planning fortifications, that they were clever in making stone and bone implements, and that they knew how to mine and manufacture copper.

No race could have constructed such extensive works as the Mound-Builders did in some parts of the territory occupied by them unless they had a fairly complete system of government. If their mounds were constructed by free labor, they must have had a form of government which was essentially democratic; but if they were built by forced or slave labor, the government must have been oligarchic. In the latter case we may be quite sure that the priests were the real rulers of the people, as they were in so many of the southern Indian nations. It is probable that their religion was similar to that of the related tribes living far to the south, and that they were nature-worshippers, regarding the sun as their chief deity. It is probable, too, that many curious superstitions about the snake and other living creatures were interwoven with their more rational religious tenets.

The mounds thrown up by these interesting people in the course of their leisurely migration northward differ greatly in form, magnitude, and purpose. The largest and most elaborate are found in Ohio. Some were evidently fortifications; others were probably inclosures of sacred places; while some may have served both purposes, as is often the case in the great works of other countries east and west. Some of the mounds seem to have been places of worship, others were used as observation stations. Many were certainly places of sepulchre, and some served as memorials of great events. Those built in the form of great serpents, birds, and quadrupeds probably belong to the last class.

The mounds found in and near Manitoba are much simpler in design and smaller in size than those which occur in Ohio and other parts of the United States. This difference justifies the inference that the Mound-Builders occupied Manitoba for a shorter period and developed a less advanced social organization in it than they did in the more southern regions traversed by them. Most of the mounds found north of the international boundary are conical in shape, more or less flattened at the summit; and nearly all of them are placed at commanding positions along the rivers. There is one at the outlet of Rainy River; there is a large one at the junction of the Big American with that stream; and two others are found on its banks further down. There is at least one of these mounds on an island in the Winnipeg River, and there are two or three along the lower course of the Red River. Several are found in the Souris district, some of which may have been fortifications.

The mounds which have been excavated contain human skeletons, and anthropologists find in the form of the skulls evidence of the relationship of the Mound-Builders to the old Mexican races. The mounds also contain calcined bones of wild animals, charred wood, pieces of birch bark, which probably served as wrappings for corpses, small quantities of various ochres, which were used in making decorative pigments, and small pieces of ore. Various kinds of manufactured articles are also found, such as stone scrapers or chisels, mallets for crushing grain, axes, and hammers. There are bone and horn implements, copper needles and knives, and stone tubes bearing the marks of teeth, which are supposed to have been used by conjurers in sucking from sick persons the evil spirits which caused the disease. The mounds also contain ornaments of bone, horn, stone, shell, and copper, and considerable broken pottery, some of which is ornamented with rather pretty designs.

We do not know yet just when or why the Mound-Builders disappeared from the country. War may have destroyed them, as it did the Hurons in eastern Canada; smallpox or some other pestilence may have carried them off, as it did so many of the Indian races which followed them; famine may have overtaken them; or some combination of these evils may have obliterated the whole race suddenly and completely. It is a strange fact that the tribes of Indians, who lived in the country when the whites reached it, had no traditions in regard to the mound-building race which had preceded them and simply spoke of it as "the very ancient people."

When the whites came to the country which is now called Manitoba, they found most of it occupied by three races of Indians. The most important of these was a branch of the great Algonquin family represented by so many tribes in the eastern part of Canada. The French called these Manitoba Algonquins Kallistineaux, Knistineaux, or Cristineaux, and from the last we get the abbreviated word Crees, which is now applied to them. They were divided into three tribes, occupying distinct but adjoining districts; and while they spoke similar dialects and had many customs and ideas in common, they differed in character and modes of life. Perhaps the characteristics in which they differed were due to differences in the character of the country in which they dwelt.

The Plain Crees occupied the prairies between the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Rivers. They were the most restless and warlike of the Cree tribes, and the early traders found them a shrewd people, somewhat given to cheating and pilfering. They were buffalo hunters, roaming over the plains in pursuit of the herds from which they obtained their livelihood, and naturally congregated in bands. Their dwellings were skin tepees, which were often decorated with pictures possessing some artistic features. They were clad in the dressed skins of buffalo and elk, and their garments were sometimes ornamented prettily. In warm weather the men wore little clothing, and the dress of the women, which was suspended from the shoulders and reached below the knees, left the arms bare. Young girls wore a much shorter skirt. The men shaved their heads, except a small spot on the crown where the long scalp-lock was allowed to grow; but the women allowed their hair to grow, gathering it into long plaits or forming it into a roll on each side of the head. The Crees were keen-witted enough to realize the great advantage of horses in hunting

the buffalo and secured ponies from more southern tribes as soon as possible after the latter had obtained them from the Spaniards. For a like reason they were always eager to possess firearms.

The Wood Crees occupied the district north of the Saskatchewan. It is a land of lakes and streams, and much of it is timbered; and so the Wood Crees became trappers and fishers as well as hunters. As they were obliged to move often in search of food, their dwellings were rudely fashioned, and they seldom gathered in villages. The garments of men and women were much alike, and the men allowed their hair to grow, dressing it very much as the women did. The Wood Crees were a quiet, inoffensive race, in marked contrast to their relatives living south of the Saskatchewan, and yet they have shown a great aversion to a settled, agricultural life.

The Swampy Crees, called Muskegons by the French, lived in the region of woods, lakes, rivers, and swamps, which extends from the low eastern prairie plain to Hudson Bay. The character of the country made them fishers as well as hunters. Their dwellings were wigwams of birch-bark, and they traveled in the birch-bark canoe. Their clothing was made from the skins of the beaver and the marten. For the Swampy Indians life must have been a more serious thing than it was for their cousins of the plains, and that may account for their peaceable disposition. One writer has said, "The Swampies have a very distinct character. They are gentle, averse to bloodshed, easy to influence, and less superstitious than their neighbors and brother Algonquins." Many of the early explorers speak of their faithfulness in the service of their employers, and they have responded to the teachings of missionaries more readily than most Indian tribes have done.

Each Cree band seems to have been governed by its own chiefs and to have been independent of other bands in most matters, and the ties binding the various clans together in matters which concerned the whole tribe were loose and weak. They never seem to have united in such lasting unions as were formed among some of the other Indian nations. Their chiefs were elected, either because they had proved themselves men of ability or because they were related to older chiefs who had shown themselves good leaders. It was common to select two chiefs for the tribe or clan, one to lead the people in times of peace and the other to lead them in war. Assistant chiefs were often chosen to aid the leaders, and the advice of the leading men of the tribe, and especially the old, was frequently sought in tribal councils when some important business was to be decided.

The religious beliefs of the Crees and their observances were very similar to those of other Indian tribes living in the west. They believed in the existence of a Great Spirit, supreme in all the universe, in a secondary deity who created man and the things needed for his subsistence, and in many good and evil spirits of limited powers. They believed in a future state and the immortality of the soul. They also seem to have had vague traditions of a great flood which overwhelmed much of the earth in some long-past age.

In the district surrounding Lake Superior and extending west to the prairies another Algonquin race lived, called the Chippewas or Ojibways (sometimes spelled Ojibiways). The name Ojibway means a pucker, such as appears at the toe of some Indian moccasins, and so the Ojibways were described as the Indians

of the puckered moccasin. The French called them *Saulteaux*. There is a tradition among the Ojibways that their race was made by a special creation and placed in the neighborhood of the Great Lakes from which Indian Eden it spread east, west, and south. It seems probable that the Ojibways, who were living in the region adjacent to the prairies when the whites reached it, had not arrived much in advance of them. The other Indian tribes called them by a name which meant new-comers.

The country of the Ojibways was very similar to that of the Swampy Crees, and in their modes of life and dress the two races were much alike. The Ojibways were preeminently the Indians of the birch-bark canoe. They were a well-made people and were probably more intelligent than their near neighbors on the west. They seem to have retained more of the legendary lore of the Indian race than other tribes living so far north. They lived in small scattered bands, each being independent in the management of its affairs so far as they concerned its immediate district; but they had the right to send their chiefs as delegates to a general council when some matter arose which concerned the whole nation. Each band or sept had its own name, which belonged to the clan and not to the individuals in it, and each clan had its own totem or symbol. Generally this totem was some quadruped, reptile, or bird, such as the bear, turtle, or eagle; and one of their rules forbade intermarriage between a man and a woman having the same totem.

The Ojibways divided the year into four seasons—*seegwun*, the sap season; *neebin*, the season of abundance; *tuhgwuhgin*, the fading season, and *peboon*, the freezing season. They also divided the year into months or “moons,” each being named from some marked feature of the time of the year. The day was divided into three parts—morning, midday, and afternoon; and the night was divided into three parts—evening, midnight, and dawn.

There was no close sacerdotal class among the Ojibways. Whoever was well versed in tribal lore and could speak fluently might become a conjurer and conduct the religious services of the tribe. There were three classes of conjurers or medicine-men—the *medas*, *wabenos*, and *jessak-kids*. There were no set times for religious services, but they were held when most convenient, although some were held in connection with certain important events in the history of families. Thus feasts, in which there was more or less of the element of a religious rite, were held when a child was named, when the boy killed his first wild animal or bird, and when offerings were made to the dead. Even in the dog feasts a portion of the dog's meat was offered to the spirits and was supposed to be specially acceptable to them inasmuch as the dog possessed many remarkable virtues. Tobacco smoke was also supposed to be acceptable to the spirits, as it floated upward to them during the smoking feasts or feasts of the calumet. Other religious observances of the Ojibways were dances, vocal and instrumental music. In their dances the men and women never mingled, nor did they join in the singing of their religious hymns. The Ojibways paid more reverence to the rattlesnake than did other tribes living near them. This was evidently a survival of serpent-worship which forms so large an element in the religion of nearly all savage races and is especially prominent in the religions of more southern Indian tribes.

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The Assiniboinés lived in the district south of the Assiniboine river. They were a branch of the Sioux race and had been members of the Dakota confederacy which occupied the country adjacent to the Missouri. The members of this confederacy called the allied tribes Dakotas, that is "our brothers," but they called the Assiniboinés Hohe, which means rebels, for the Assiniboinés had withdrawn from the federation and moved north about the end of the sixteenth century. At one time they occupied the country adjoining Lake Superior; but they were driven out of it by the Ojibways, and this may account for the long-standing enmity of the two races. The Ojibways called the Dakota tribes Nadowessi, a name expressive of contempt, for it means rattlesnake. The early voyageurs added the plural ending to the word and then abbreviated it to Sioux, a name greatly disliked by the people to whom it was given. The Assiniboinés seem to have used heated stones in cooking, and this led the Ojibways to give them a name which became Assiniboinés in the mouths of the French explorers. It is derived from *assin*, stone, and *Bwan*, Sioux. The English explorers, coming down from the north, heard of the Assiniboinés through the Crees, whose name for their southern neighbors was derived from their words *assiniy*, stone, and *Pwat*, Sioux; and so the English obtained the name Assinipoets.

The Assiniboinés were tall, well-made people, darker than the other Indian races of the country, and many of the women were considered handsome. The Assiniboinés were buffalo-hunters and lived in villages comprising from one hundred to two hundred lodges. Their tepees and their dress were similar to those of the Plain Crees, and intermarriages between the two races were common. This fact did not prevent wars between them, for the Assiniboinés were the most warlike of all the Indians of Manitoba, preferring death to capture, and treating their own captives with the greatest cruelty. Like the Crees, they became possessors of ponies as soon as possible, but unlike their neighbors, they continued to use bows in hunting the buffalo long after they might have obtained guns. They preferred the bow because it is a silent weapon.

The religious concepts of the Assiniboinés were similar to those of the Indian tribes about them. They believed in a creator and governor of the world and in minor deities or spirits whom they called *wakons*. They seem to have regarded washing as a kind of religious rite, but in other respects their religious ceremonies resembled those of their neighbors. Their tribal government and the position of their chiefs in the community were like those of other Indian races. As the Assiniboinés belonged to an entirely different family of Indian nations, their language bore little resemblance to that of the Crees and Chippewas.

In all the Indian tribes of Manitoba, women were regarded as lower in the social scale than men, and they seem to have thought themselves honored in serving their husbands. The men were hunters and warriors, the women menials on whom all the hard work fell. They dressed, preserved, and cooked the meat, prepared the skins and made the clothing, set up and took down the teepee, carried the burdens, and cared for the children. Their more laborious life caused the women to lose their upright carriage and good looks much earlier than the men, but through all their lives they retained their love of trinkets and bright colors. All the Indian races inhabiting Manitoba were polygamous, and a man might have as many wives as he could support; but

this fact generally limited the number to one or two, although Hearne tells us that Matonabee had eight. The husband usually obtained his wife from her parents by purchase, and she had little choice in the matter; yet the wife generally rendered her husband faithful, if not loving, service. Husbands could divorce their wives by simply sending them away.

All the Indian people were fond of their children, and while the casual observer might suppose that the little ones were allowed to grow up without any training, such was not the case. Boys were carefully instructed in all the arts of woodcraft and war, they were taught the tribal traditions, and drilled in their communal duties and religious observances when they reached man's estate. The girls were taught to do woman's work and to perform such social and religious ceremonies as they were permitted to share. Both boys and girls were taught the rules of good behavior, for the Indians had, and still have, an elaborate and rigid code of laws governing social intercourse. An Indian child received but one name, usually selected by the father. A boy's name was suggested by some animal, a feature of the earth or sky, or some event which happened about the time of his birth or the time of naming him; a girl was named after some bird, animal, or flower, and many of the names obtained in this way were very poetical.

The funeral customs of the different tribes varied a good deal. Some practised cremation; others wrapped the bodies of their dead in coverings of different kinds and placed them on platforms out of the reach of wild animals. Sometimes corpses were placed on the limbs of trees or in hollow trunks. Interment was practised by some tribes after the coming of the whites, and the grave was often protected by a coping of wood. Most of the Indians left offerings of food, tobacco, firewood, or weapons beside the burial places of their dead for the use of the departed spirits on their way to the happy hunting-grounds; and bits of colored cloth and metal, bells, and other articles were often suspended on trees or poles around the grave to scare away malevolent spirits.

The early explorers and traders found a few bands of Esquimaux living in the district around the Churchill River and adjacent to Hudson Bay. Archbishop Taché tells that the name is derived from that given to this northern tribe by the Crees, Ayaskimew, which is made up of two roots—aski, raw flesh, and nowew, he eats. Thus an Esquimo is he who eats raw flesh. These people live in small bands and seem to have no tribal government beyond that which the father exercises in his family. The family is the unit and is free to unite with other families in any matter or hold itself aloof, as the father may decide. The bands move frequently in search of food and usually fix their camps near some body of water. They often leave caches of food at the camping grounds visited most frequently, so as to have a small supply there in case of an emergency. These provisions usually consist of the meat of deer or seals and the flesh of salmon or other fish, packed in skin bags. It is not always preserved in good condition, but that does not trouble the Esquimaux. Their summer lodges are made of skins of the deer, and their clothing is made from the fur of seals and the skins of deer and other animals. They used stone kettles and lamps, wooden trays or bowls, and scoops, spoons, and other implements made of horn or bone, when Europeans first came to the country, and



they had some copper knives and hatchets. They soon obtained iron and steel implements from the whites.

These Esquimaux were a very gentle, quiet race, and as they lived in small bands which had no cohesion in themselves and no union with each other, they often suffered from the raids of the fiercer Indian tribes living around them. Hearne and other travelers have told us of occasions on which the Esquimaux were wantonly robbed and murdered by Indians when no provocation had been offered.

It is difficult to ascertain the number of Indians living in Manitoba when the white race first reached it, but the large estimates given by the early traders are probably greatly in excess of the real numbers. Only scattered remnants of the original tribes remain, and these have intermingled more or less so that it is not easy to distinguish tribe from tribe. Most of these Indians are now on government reserves, and efforts are made to teach them some of the arts of civilized life. Recent estimates place the numbers as follows: Crees, about 3,000; Assiniboines, about 1,250; and Ojibways, about 4,100.

## CHAPTER III

### EARLY EXPLORATION

The vision which drew Columbus across the western ocean was not to fade with his death. He and the explorers who succeeded him for two centuries dreamed the same dream—that of a western sea-route to China and the Indies. When they found their way west barred by a continent, they sought a route by the southwest or the northwest; and it is to these persistent attempts that the world owed its early knowledge of the American coast, it is on these explorations that Spain, France, and Britain based their claims to territory in the New World. It is true that the early explorers confined their work to the sea-coast, but that did not prevent the nations whom they served from claiming the country for an indefinite distance inland. And even when inland explorers began to find their way across the continent, they were haunted by the dream of finding a route to the western sea by the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, the Mississippi, or some other of America's great rivers. Later and more accurate geographical knowledge only modified the dream, and in its modified form it was in the minds of men like Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Lewis, Clarke, and others who sought a river route to the Pacific.

The British expeditions under John and Sebastian Cabot, exploring the northern part of the eastern coast of America, failed to find the route to the Indies, but they gave Britain ground for her claim to the northern half of the continent. It is true that these adventurous seamen did not find their way beyond Labrador, and their successors did not follow the northern coast much further. Sir Martin Frobisher (1576-1578), Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1583), Captain John Davis (1585-1586), Captain James Lancaster (1600), and Captain George Weymouth (1602) added much detailed information about the Atlantic coast and the far Arctic islands, but none of them found his way along the northern coast of the mainland. The honor of this achievement was reserved for another brave but unfortunate British seaman, for there is no good evidence to substantiate the claim once made by France to the territory adjacent to Hudson Bay because Breton fishermen had explored its waters in the early part of the sixteenth century.

In the year 1607 "certain Worshipful Merchants of London," whose names have not been recorded, fitted out a ship and sent it in command of Captain Henry Hudson to find, if possible, a passage to the Indies by the northeast or northwest. Hudson's first voyage took him along the eastern shore of Greenland and probably across to Spitzbergen; the second, made in the summer of 1608, took him over that part of the Arctic sea lying between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla; while the third, made in 1609, took him first to Nova Zembla, then

south to Newfoundland, and later still to the coast of Virginia. These voyages could not have brought much profit to the merchants who had put their capital in the enterprise, but they retained faith in their captain and in the existence of a short sea route over which the rare merchandise of the east could be brought to the marts of London.

On April 17, 1610, Captain Hudson sailed from Blackwell on what proved to be his most important voyage and his last. His ship was provisioned for six months only, and he had a mutinous crew who gave him trouble from the first. He sailed in the latter part of May, touched at some port on the coast of Iceland, and thence on June 1 sailed away to the west. On the 9th of the month he was off Frobisher Straits, sighted Cape Desolation on the 15th, and on the 24th entered the strait which now bears his name. On the 3rd of August he rounded a headland which he called Cape Wolstenholme and found himself fairly in the great bay whose name is an appropriate tribute to his work as an explorer. He sailed to the southern shore of the bay and then examined the west coast carefully, looking for a harbor in which to winter. He found such a haven on the southwest coast and beached his vessel there. The mutinous crew gave more trouble to their captain, and the mate, Robert Ivetts, was deposed from his position early in September because of insubordination. Provisioned for six months only, the outlook for a food supply for the winter was not cheering. Some fish and game helped out their scanty rations, but for much of the winter the men were on short allowance. In the spring Hudson made a nine days' trip in the shallop, hoping to find bands of Indians from whom he could purchase a supply of food, but he was not successful, and the ship sailed on her return voyage. A few days after sailing her crew mutinied under the leadership of the deposed mate, Ivetts, and a profligate youth named Henry Green, whom Hudson had befriended. The captain, his young son, Mr. Woodhouse, a mathematician who had volunteered for the cruise, the ship's carpenter, and five seamen were placed in an open boat; a very little food and water and some firearms were given them, and they were set adrift on the open sea. No word or sign of their unavailing efforts, their suffering, and their despair has ever come to the rest of the world, and doubtless the intrepid captain and his companions found a grave in the great inland sea which they were the first to explore.

Several of the mutineers were killed by savages before they reached England, and others were carried off by disease; but Prickett, one of the survivors reported certain facts which had been observed before the ship had left the bay, and these facts induced the "worshipful merchants" to send two ships, the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*, to make further explorations in the bay and to rescue, if possible, Captain Hudson. The expedition was commanded by Captain Thomas Button, afterwards Sir Thomas Button, and he was assisted by Captain Ingram, who had charge of the *Discovery* and Captain Nelson, who acted as sailing master on the *Resolution*. The two vessels sailed away in May, 1612, and reached Hudson Strait before it was clear of ice. They finally passed through, and after exploring various parts of the bay, made for the harbor at the mouth of the Nelson River, which Button named after his sailing master, who died there. August had come before they reached this point, and so Button decided to winter there. He took formal possession of the surrounding



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territory for England, erected a cross to indicate the fact, and gave the country the name of New Wales. The pilot, Josias Hubart, urged that the great river which flowed into the harbor should be explored as far as possible, but this does not seem to have been done. There was much sickness during the severe winter, and that may account for the inaction of the party. The ice broke up in April, and about two months later the ships left their winter haven. After having explored the west coast carefully as far as the parallel of 65° north latitude, Captain Button returned to England.

The same company of merchants sent out the *Discovery* again in 1614 under Captain Gibbons; but he missed the entrance to Hudson Strait, storms drove his ship into a harbor on the Labrador coast, and when he got to sea again it was too late to enter the bay that season. In 1615 the *Discovery* was sent out once more under Captain Robert Bylot, who had visited the bay with Captains Hudson and Button and had sailed with Captain Gibbons the previous year. The famous pilot, William Baffin, was with him. The ship sailed on April 18, reached Resolution Island on May 27, crossed the northern part of Hudson Bay in July, and failing to find a western or northwestern passage to the western main, returned to England in the autumn. The next year's voyage took the *Discovery*, so fitly named, into waters far north of Hudson Bay. Captain Bylot seems to have given up hope of finding a northwest passage to the Indies, and although Baffin still believed in its possibility, the "worshipful merchants of London" gave up their persistent search for it, and the exploration of Hudson Bay was dropped for several years.

The lack of success which had attended the efforts of the London merchants did not deter others from making similar attempts. Some merchants of Copenhagen combined to send an expedition to Hudson Bay; and the Danish king, Christian IV, gave the scheme every encouragement, sending one of his ablest naval captains, Jens Munck, in charge of two vessels to prosecute the search for new lands where colonies might be founded and trade secured. The *Lamprey* and the *Unicorn* sailed westward on May 16, 1719, and a month later were fighting their way through the ice-floes of Hudson Strait. For six weeks the brave commander kept up the struggle against ice and storms; and at last he won his way through to open water, although the bottom of the *Lamprey* was badly injured by the ice. The relentless storm drove the ships across the bay until, by a lucky chance, they found refuge in Churchill Harbor. It was mid-September, and Munck saw that he could not get out of Hudson Bay that season; so he constructed a small timber breakwater to protect his ships from running ice, and settled down to the monotonous life of a winter in the northern seas.

In those days ship's crews were poorly equipped to withstand the cold of such winters, and they lacked the suitable food and medical stores whose value was learned only after many generations of seamen had suffered and died for lack of them. Scurvy broke out, and one by one the men succumbed, until by February 17 the dead numbered twenty-three. By mid-April only four men beside the commander were able to sit up; and a month later the mate, an Englishman named John Watson, died, and the few survivors were too weak to bury the bodies of their dead messmates. When the long June days came, only three men were left alive. Then Munck himself was stricken with the disease which

had carried off his crew. The two sailors had barely strength to drop over the ship's side at ebb tide and crawl to the shore. The ice was drifting out to the bay by this time, and Munck felt himself drifting fast toward the other world. He had been four days without help or food, when the brave commander penned what he thought would be his last entry in his log: "As I have now no more hope of life in this world, I request for the sake of God if any Christians should happen to come this way, they will bury my poor body together with the others found, and this my journal forward to the King. Herewith, goodnight to all the world, and my soul to God.—Jens Munck."

When the stench of the charnel-ship became unbearable, this captain of a dead crew managed to drag himself to the rail and was surprised to see two living men on the shore. With the utmost difficulty they got him to the land, and then all three began to chew the roots and other green things within reach. Strength came back to them slowly, and by the middle of July they could do a little work. They sunk the *Unicorn*, hoping to come back for her at some time, and then began to repair the *Lamprey*. By the end of the summer they had made her half seaworthy and set sail for home. With infinite labor the three men worked their battered ship back through the straits and across the Atlantic, reaching their native land towards the end of September. The Danes made no further efforts to colonize the shores of Hudson Bay, nor did they send a crew for the sunken *Unicorn*. Eighty years after Munck sunk her, some workmen of the Hudson's Bay Company, digging in the muddy flats of the Churchill River, found some of her brass cannon, relics of the Danish sailors' grim fight with disease and Arctic cold.

About 1630 several Bristol merchants formed a company for the purpose of exploring Hudson Bay and gave the command of their ship to Captain James. About the same time some London merchants formed a company for the same purpose, and the king, Charles I, allowed the company to use the twenty-ton sloop *Charles*, commanded by Captain Luke Fox. With a crew of twenty men and two boys she sailed from Yarmouth on May 8, 1631. The Bristol ship sailed about the same time, and it was agreed by the two companies that both were to share equally in any honor or profit derived from the discoveries of either ship. Captain Fox explored various parts of Hudson Bay, including the harbor at Port Nelson. Captain James sailed south as far as Charlton Island in the bay which has been named after him and spent the winter there. The next spring he explored the southwestern and western shores of Hudson Bay as far north as Marble Island.

The reports of Captains Fox and James did not encourage further efforts for the discovery of a passage from Hudson Bay to the western sea, and no more expeditions were sent to it for several years. There is a story of a ship sent from Boston under Captain Shapley to trade in Hudson Bay, of a party sent ashore to look for a suitable winter haven for the ship, and of an ice jam which drove the ship to sea before these men could be got on board again; and there is a story, reported by Jérémie, who was governor at Port Nelson while it was in the hands of the French, of a few wretched men found in a hut by Groseilliers when he made his first voyage to the bay in 1669; but the facts cannot be verified. With the possible exception of the Boston vessel, the waters of Hudson Bay do not seem to have been disturbed by exploring ships or trading craft for a genera-

tion. Then the Englishman's commercial enterprise and the Frenchman's love of adventure combined to make its wide waters and its lonely shores the stage on which a great trading company began to play its part in the development of half a continent.

The potent force which drew the trading company to the shores of Hudson Bay had been at work among the people of New France for more than half a century, drawing the more adventurous men among them further and further into the vast wilderness which lay north and west of the colony. This alluring force was the profit to be made from the fur trade. From the time of their arrival in Canada emigrants from France thought more of making fortunes out of the trade in furs than of developing the agricultural resources of the colony. Merchants, government officers, and aristocratic adventurers were all infected with the mania for making quick fortunes from the traffic in beaver skins. Companies were formed to prosecute the trade, and far-reaching monopolies were granted to them by the government; for the rulers, from the king down to the lowest official in Quebec or Three Rivers, had something to gain, directly or indirectly, by enforcing the monopoly or by conniving at its violation. This prevailing desire to trade in peltries was not the best influence possible in the development of a new country, and it warped the whole life of the colony for several generations; and yet the wide and rapid extension of the Canadian frontier under the French regime was due almost entirely to the fur trade.

At first the Indians brought their furs down to the few French towns and villages and exchanged them there for such articles of merchandise as met their real needs or pleased their wayward fancies; but soon the merchants began to send agents to trade with the Indians in their own districts. This gave employment to a number of roving traders and canoe-men, *coureurs des bois* and voyageurs, and this number increased as the trade grew in volume and greater distances had to be traveled to obtain the coveted furs. The life had a great fascination for the volatile and adventurous young men of the French people, and many a scion of noble French families abandoned the life and the society in which he had been reared to live the wild, free life of a woodsman in company with kindred spirits from lower grades of society and with wild Indians whose life was scarcely less free from the restraints of civilization. Indeed many of these *coureurs des bois* married the daughters of the red men and adopted some of the Indian modes of life; and so in time a mixed race grew up, much nearer in life, habits, and thought to their Indian mothers than to the white race from which their fathers had separated themselves. In a few decades these Metis or French half-breeds formed a considerable element in the population, and in the far west they exercised a considerable influence in the history of the country.

The *coureur des bois* and the voyageur sought new and richer fur-bearing districts as eagerly as the prospector seeks gold; and no better habitat for the beaver and other fur-bearing animals could be found than the vast Laurentian region which stretches from eastern Quebec to the prairies and from the Great Lakes to the Northern Sea. No country could be more easily traversed in all directions by the voyageur or the Indian in his birch-bark canoe, nor was there any in which nature had provided the traveller with a more plentiful supply of food in the form of fish, game, wild-fowl, and berries. So the *coureur des bois*

Fur  
Trade



and the voyageur followed the lure of the beaver along the interlaced waterways further and further into the wilderness. The fascination of the unknown and the wild beauty of the lonely land helped to hold their faces to the west and north. Gay boat-songs relieved the monotony of paddling, jokes lightened the labor of portaging, and stories of adventure and weird folk-tales, told by the camp fire, made them forget the fatigue of the day. And always there was the free life and the hope of gain. And so it happened that within sixty years from the time Champlain founded Quebec French traders had not only become familiar with the shores of the Great Lakes as far as Superior but had also found their way through the hundreds of leagues of forest which separate that great inland sea from the prairies on the west and from the Hudson Bay on the north. It was a wonderful achievement, scarcely paralleled in any other country or at any other period in the history of America.

Of all the French traders who blazed the first trails through the wilderness of the *pays d'en haut* none was more resourceful and adventurous than Medard Chouart Sieur des Groseilliers, and none lived through stranger experiences than his partner, Pierre Esprit Radisson. Medard Chouart, son of Medard Chouart and Marie Poirier, was born at Charly St. Cyr near Meaux in the district between the Seine and the Marne in 1625. The father was a pilot of the Seine River, but his imaginative, adventurous son had no liking for his father's prosaic calling. Yet the lad's dreams of adventure could scarcely have been more improbable than his real life was to prove, nor could he have guessed how profoundly that life would affect the history of a country many times as large as his native France. His chance acquaintance with a returned Jesuit missionary proved a turning point in the boy's life, for the priest's descriptions of the vast areas, the great lakes, rivers, and forests of New France and his accounts of the wild, free life of the *coureurs des bois* filled the lad with a great desire to try his fortune in the colony. So when he was barely sixteen years of age he joined a party of emigrants led by Maisonneuve which sailed from Rochelle for Quebec in 1641.

For some time after his arrival in Canada young Chouart was cared for by the priests of Quebec, and it seems probable that he acted as assistant for some of the missionaries among the Indians. He had remarkable ability for acquiring the Indian languages and soon abandoned missionary work to make long journeys among the native tribes, bartering goods for furs and acquiring an extensive knowledge of the geography of the country. In 1646 he was on the shore of Lake Huron, trading with the Indians; but in the next year he was back in Quebec, and on September 3 he was married to Helen Etienne, the daughter of Abraham Martin, the Scotch pilot whose farm above Quebec bears the name of Abraham's Plains. Soon after this his father died, leaving him a small estate from which he took the title, des Groseilliers, by which he was known during the rest of his life.

Pierre Esprit Radisson and his half-sister Marguerite, members of a Huguenot family, had migrated from France to Canada a few years after Groseilliers' arrival. The sister became the wife of a gentleman, who seems to have lived at Three Rivers; but the brother does not appear to have had any settled home for several years. He roamed about among the Indian tribes, sometimes adopted and honored as a son, sometimes tortured as a captive, and always having unusual

experiences and seeing unusual sights, if his own stories of them can be accepted. He and Groseilliers became acquainted and found themselves kindred spirits. Groseilliers' first wife died in 1652, and on August 23, 1653, he was married to Radisson's sister who had been left a widow shortly after her first marriage. The brothers-in-law soon became partners in the fur trade with headquarters at Three Rivers. In 1656 Radisson was married to Elizabeth Herault, and when she died a few years later, he took for his second wife a daughter of Sir John Kirke and niece of Sir David Kirke, who compelled Champlain to surrender Quebec.

In 1659 Groseilliers and Radisson found themselves in the country south of Lake Superior now called Wisconsin, and there the Indians told them of a great river with two branches not far away to the southwest. The two traders were anxious to go to this great river—evidently the Mississippi—but wishing to complete their cargo of furs, they pushed on into the neighborhood of the Minnesota lakes. While in that region a band of Indians, whom Radisson calls Crees, told them of a great sea to the north and of a water route by which it could be reached. In 1660 the two partners went back to Montreal with such an immense cargo of furs that many people became anxious to learn more of the far western country and to secure some interest in the trade with the tribes living there. But Groseilliers gave them little information, seeing great commercial possibilities in the unexplored country lying between Lake Superior and the sea on the north. The governor of Three Rivers desired Groseilliers and Radisson to admit two of his friends into their partnership, but they declined to give up half the profit of their trading when they might have all of it. This angered the governor, and he made an order that they should cease from infringing on the rights of the chartered companies by trade with the natives of the *pays d'en haut*. Radisson seems to have spent the next year in Three Rivers; but Groseilliers, in spite of the governor's prohibition, went back to the country about Lake Superior and returned with another rich cargo of furs.

In May, 1662, the two partners slipped away very quietly with a little party of ten men, taking a supply of goods to the upper country, and in two months found themselves in the rich beaver district lying west and north of Lake Superior. On this trip they seem to have carried out the plan which had been in their minds for two years and to have made their way to the northern sea of which the Indians had told them. Radisson says that they reached its shores in 1663; but his account is so meagre and vague that we cannot be sure whether the two intrepid explorers went by some water route from Lake Superior to James Bay or made the longer journey to Hudson Bay by Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, Lake Winnipeg and the rivers which connect them with each other and with the ocean. In view of the locality where they first heard of the northern sea and of the tribe which gave them information about it, it seems likely that they took the latter route. If so, they were probably the first white men to follow that great canoe highway which leads from the prairies to the sea; and if they did not actually set foot on the prairies themselves, they could hardly have failed to hear of the immense plains from their Indian guides.

When the two enterprising partners went back with another rich load of furs, the governor of Three Rivers imposed a ruinous fine upon them for disregarding his orders, and appeals to the representatives of the French government at Que-

bec did not result in its remission. Debarred from further trade on their own account in the upper county, Groseilliers and Radisson tried to induce some of the merchants to join them in a company for trade on the shores of Hudson Bay; but the chartered companies were so strongly entrenched in their privileges that a new company would not have much chance of success, and the Quebec merchants did not care to risk their money in such an uncertain venture.

The uncertainty about the ownership of the territory bordering on Hudson Bay may have helped to deter the merchants of New France from the organization of a company to carry on trade there. When Canada was restored to France by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye in 1632, its western and northern limits were not defined; and on several occasions the government officials had attempted to establish the claim of France to the vast region between the St. Lawrence and the Northern Sea. Sieur Bourbon, at one time the attorney-general of New France, was authorized in 1655 to make an exploration of this sea, and there is a report that he left Quebec for that purpose on May 2, 1657; but as he returned on August 11, he could not have made the voyage. We are told, too, that Father Dablon and the Sieur de Valerie were sent to Hudson Bay in 1661, but we have evidence that they did not reach it. We are also told that the new governor of Canada, M. d'Avagour, issued a commission to M. Couture on May 10, 1663, authorizing him to proceed to the shore of Hudson Bay and take possession of the country in the name of the king of France; but he does not seem to have accomplished his mission.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF ADVENTURERS OF ENGLAND

Radisson and Groseilliers found all avenues to trade closed against them in Quebec, but the irrepressible energy of the men would not permit them to remain inactive very long, and the stern and varied experiences of their lives had taught them unlimited resourcefulness and perseverance. They seem to have gone to Acadie and induced some merchants there to fit out a small vessel and freight her with goods for barter with the natives living on the shores of Hudson Bay; but storms wrecked the little craft, and the reduced fortunes of the promoters of the scheme were further diminished by the loss. Soon after this misfortune Groseilliers, undiscouraged by his reverses, went to New England, hoping to secure capital there through the influence of relatives of Radisson's wife. He was not successful, for the New England people had little wealth; but he met a certain Captain Zachary Gillam, owner and master of a little vessel called the *Nonsuch*, who was much interested in the scheme of trading to the bay and who was destined to be closely connected with Groseillier's history for several years. Groseilliers also met Messrs. Nichols, Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick, members of a commission sent out by the home government to inquire into colonial affairs, and some of these gentlemen advised him to seek capital in England. After consultation with Radisson it was decided that their chances would be better in their native country, and so in 1665 the brothers-in-law sailed to England and crossed thence to France.

They received scant encouragement in Paris. Their appeal against the fine levied on them by the colonial authorities was unavailing; and too many people in high places were interested in the monopolies which existed in New France to give two colonial traders, unknown and semi-barbaric in appearance, any chance to secure capital for a rival company. Months passed, their money dwindled, and the prospects of the men, who had been partners in so many successes and misfortunes, seemed poor indeed. Just at the lowest ebb of their fortunes Colonel Carr, whom Groseilliers had met in Boston, came over to Paris, and through his influence the Frenchman was introduced to some members of the British legation there. Writing to Lord Arlington, Colonel Carr said that while in New England he had heard from the two Frenchmen of the great quantity of beaver fur to be obtained on the coast of Hudson Bay, that he had verified their accounts, and that he thought the finest present which could be made to the English king was to send the two men to him. Finally the ambassador wrote a letter to Prince Rupert, introducing Groseilliers, and the two adventurers crossed to London.

The ambassador's letter was written in May, 1667, but the first interview with Prince Rupert did not take place until June 4, owing to some injury which confined the prince to his room. A second meeting, at which Lord Craven, Sir John Robinson, and Mr. John Portman, the goldsmith, were present, took place on June 7; and a week later Groseilliers and Radisson had an interview with the king.

The leading characters in these interviews presented strange contrasts. There was the indolent and pleasure-loving king, handsome, brown-faced, and exquisitely dressed, who checked his own propensity for telling stories in order to listen to tales new and strange. There was Prince Rupert, son of the king of Bohemia and the daughter of James I, the handsome cavalier, who had been such a conspicuous figure in the Civil War as commander of the royal cavalry. When that struggle ended in the establishment of the Commonwealth, Prince Rupert took a portion of the fleet and still kept up the fight for the royal cause at sea. But Cromwell's strong hand soon made further resistance hopeless, and then the prince, with a few vessels, took to privateering on the Spanish Main. We would probably call it piracy now, for his crews showed little partiality and plundered any ship worth overhauling, regardless of the flag she flew. When the Restoration brought the Stuarts back to England, Prince Rupert returned too and lived the life of a retired gentleman for several years, occupying his time in scientific pursuits. The prince had wandered far and had had many adventures by land and sea, but we can imagine his silent interest as he listened to accounts of experiences more unusual than his own.

On the other hand were the two *coureurs des bois* whose lives had been passed in the wilds as remote as possible from courts and royal princes. There was Groseilliers, with complexion darkened by exposure and outdoor life and face made old by the experiences crowded into the preceding twenty-five years, the man who made the plans for the partners, earnest and confident because he was sure of the facts on which his latest and greatest plan was based. And there was Radisson, full of restless energy and versatile in expedients for carrying out the plans of the senior partner. He was more talkative than the elder man, and although he had received a good education in his youth, he preferred the costume and manners of the wilderness to the dress and conventions of more civilized life. His face, too, was browned by sun and wind, and his hands bore marks of the torture inflicted by the Iroquois in his youth. Captain Godey, an attaché of the British embassy in Paris, wrote of Radisson a few years later: "Radisson himself was apparelled more like a savage than a Christian. His black hair, just touched with grey, hung in wild profusion about his bare neck and shoulders. He showed a swart complexion, seamed and pitted by frost and exposure in a rigorous climate. A huge scar, wrought by the tomahawk of a drunken Indian, disfigured his left cheek. His whole costume was surmounted by a wide collar of marten's skin; his feet were adorned by buckskin mocassins. In his leather belt was sheathed a long knife."

After much discussion it seemed that success would crown the persistent efforts of the two Frenchmen, for several of the gentlemen who had heard their proposals decided to fit out a tentative expedition to Hudson Bay. It was too late to dispatch ships in 1667, but on June 3, 1668, the *Nonsuch*, under Captain Gillam, and the *Eaglet* sailed away from Gravesend bound for the bay. Radis-

son went on the *Eaglet*, but she met with bad weather and was forced to return to England without completing her voyage. Groseilliers went on the *Nonsuch*, which reached the bottom of the bay on September 29 and cast anchor in the mouth of a stream which was named Rupert's River. Under Groseilliers' direction a small fort was built which he named Fort Charles. The French trader set to work at once to gain all possible information about the country and to win the friendship of the natives. When spring arrived, the Indians came down to trade, and in June Captain Gillam turned the prow of his little vessel towards England, carrying a fair cargo of furs. Groseilliers remained at the fort to make sure of a larger supply of furs for the next season.

One day in August, 1669, Groseilliers and his few companions in Fort Charles were surprised by the report of a cannon. They hoped that it announced the return of the *Nonsuch*. It was not that vessel, but it brought Radisson and good news. The gentlemen who were backing the venture were so well satisfied with the results of the voyage made by the *Nonsuch* that they had decided to form a company and apply for a royal charter, Prince Rupert having promised his influence to secure it. Although drawn up in 1669, it was not until May 2, 1670, that the charter granting corporate rights to "The governor and adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay" received the signature of King Charles II.

This great trading corporation, since known as the Hudson's Bay Company, received such gifts and privileges and was endowed with such powers that it became a veritable *imperium in imperio*. The company was given the sole right to trade in all waters lying within Hudson Strait and in all lands drained by streams flowing into those waters, not already possessed by other British subjects or the subjects of any other Christian prince, all the minerals in these lands, and all the fish in the streams and coastal waters. The members of the company were made "lords and proprietors of the same territory, limits, and places \* \* \* the same to have, hold, possess, and enjoy \* \* \* in free and common soccage, and not in capite or Knight's service, yielding and paying yearly to us (the king), our heirs and successors, for the same, two elks and two black beavers, whensoever and as often as we, our heirs and successors, shall happen to enter into the said countries, regions and territories hereby granted." The company was given power to build forts and ships and man and arm them, to make laws for the management of its affairs and the government of the empire granted to it, to establish courts, to levy fines, and to send prisoners to England for trial or punishment. The charter also promised that the government would prevent other persons than members of the company from trading in the company's territory, and it gave the company power to seize these people and their ships and to send them to England. Thus, at the stroke of a pen, the company was given a territory more than half as large as Europe and made almost absolute ruler over it. Royal munificence could hardly go further.

The charter appointed Prince Rupert as the first governor of the company and named Sir John Robinson, Sir Robert Vynner, Sir Peter Colleton, Mr. James Hays, Mr. John Kirke, Mr. Francis Wellington, and Mr. John Portman as the first executive committee. The other members of the company mentioned in the charter are the Duke of Albemarle, Earl Craven, Lord Arlington, Lord Ashley, Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir Paul Neele, Sir John Griffith, Sir Edward Cateret,

Mr. William Prettyman and Mr. John Fenn. Prince Rupert was chosen as governor year after year for twelve years. Then the Duke of York was elected annually until he became king, when he was succeeded by John Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough.

A few days after the company's charter was signed, its ship, the *Prince Rupert*, sailed with a cargo for the fort at the mouth of Rupert's River. Radisson and Groseilliers, who had returned in the fall of 1669, were on board, and they were accompanied by Mr. Charles Bailey, the company's governor of its dominion, henceforth known as Rupert's Land. In the fall of 1673 Governor Bailey learned that French traders from Quebec were alienating the sympathies of the Indians preparatory to diverting the trade in furs from his fort and that the natives planned to attack it. Its defences were strengthened, but no attack was made. However, in the spring the Indians reported that a French post had been established at the mouth of the Moose River, and Groseilliers advised the governor to build a fort there too. This was done. Later in the season the arrival of Father Albanel and his party from Quebec warned the governor that the French were likely to prove keen competitors for the fur trade on Hudson Bay, and so he built a fort at the mouth of the Albany River in 1675.

In the summer of 1673 Groseilliers and Radisson had some disagreement with Mr. Bailey, and as a result Groseilliers resigned his position and made his way from Fort Charles through the woods to Three Rivers, while Radisson returned to London. The latter seems to have been relieved from active employment by the company, although it made him a small allowance for some time. The brothers-in-law felt that they had been unfairly treated by the company which they had helped to form, and after a time they offered their services to France. Their advances were not encouraged, and during the next six or seven years we find them making alternate offers to the company and the French government. In one of his visits to Paris, probably in 1681, Radisson happened to meet La Chesnaye, head of a new trading company operating in New France, the Company of the North, and to him Radisson offered his services. This meeting led to one of the most singular incidents in the early history of the country we now call Manitoba.

Aided by friends, Radisson made his way to Quebec, and soon he, Groseilliers, and La Chesnaye were making plans for a trading expedition to Hudson Bay. Preparations had to be carried on quietly, for it would not do for the representatives of the French government in Canada to have official knowledge of an expedition to a region over which Great Britain and the Hudson's Bay Company claimed absolute control and over which France had at best but a shadowy claim. Late in the autumn Radisson, his nephew, Jean Baptiste Chouart, Pierre Allemand, a pilot, a *coureur des bois* named Godefroy, and some others went quietly down to Isle Percée in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. There they were joined in the following spring by Groseilliers with two very small, old and unseaworthy vessels. Radisson went on the *St. Pierre*, Groseilliers on the *Ste. Anne*. Radisson reached the mouth of the Nelson River on August 26, and Groseilliers joined him there the next day.

Groseilliers at once began the construction of a fort on the bank of the Hayes river, which he called Fort Bourbon, and Radisson went up the river to find Indians with whom trade might be carried on. On his return trip the booming

of cannon announced the arrival of another ship, and she proved to be the *Susan* under Ben Gillam, a son of Captain Zachary Gillam, who had been sent from New England on a poaching expedition to Hudson Bay. Doubtless his father had knowledge of the enterprise, although he probably had no information about the time the *Susan* would arrive at the mouth of the Nelson. Radisson gravely informed young Gillam that he was trespassing, as the region belonged to France and the trade to the Company of the North; but he graciously gave the New Englander permission to construct a house in which to shelter his men for the winter. The wily Frenchman explained in detail the strength of his force and the extensive powers conferred on him as the representative of France.

Setting out once more for his own fort, Radisson found another ship coming up the Nelson River. This proved to be the Hudson's Bay Company's ship, the *Prince Rupert*, commanded by Captain Gillam. The new governor, John Bridgar, was on board, and Radisson soon learned that the party had been sent to construct a fort on the Nelson and spend the winter there. Here was a situation suitable for a stage comedy; and Radisson, as the leading actor, proceeded to play his part with consummate cunning. He repeated to the governor the story he had previously told young Gillam, with such additional details as his fertile imagination suggested, but professed a desire to do nothing which would disturb the friendship between the two great nations, France and Great Britain. The situation was full of latent possibilities; and in case of a clash it would go hard with the French party, since the two British parties would probably combine against it. As yet neither of them knew of the proximity of the other, and it was not until mid-winter that Radisson, in his own dramatic way, brought young Gillam, disguised as an Indian, to his father's ship. Even then the presence of the New England party in the fort, which they had constructed a few miles up the river, was not revealed to Governor Bridgar.

The winter passed with some exchange of pretended civilities, but when spring approached, Radisson believed the time for action had come. He foresaw that the *Prince Rupert*, frozen fast on the mud-flats at the mouth of the Nelson, would be crushed by ice as soon as it began to run in the spring, and that the loss of their ship would leave the governor's party at his mercy, if he could prevent Ben Gillam from sending assistance. The Nelson broke up early, and the huge fragments of ice, swept down by the turbulent stream, crushed the *Prince Rupert* like an egg-shell, several of the crew being drowned in the mad rush of water. Radisson's next move was to invite Ben Gillam to make a visit to Fort Bourbon, and when the young man wished to return to his own fort, Radisson readily found an excuse for detaining him as a prisoner. Nine of the Frenchmen, led by Radisson, then attacked the New Englanders' fort, which was surrendered almost without resistance. It was then an easy matter for Radisson to seize the *Susan*. One of the men in Ben Gillam's fort had escaped, and he carried news of its capture to Governor Bridgar in his fort at the mouth of the river. The governor made an effort to recover the *Susan*, but was not successful, and then Radisson, having received a few additional men from Groseilliers, retaliated by an attack on the governor's fort. By the most daring strategy the little force of twelve men captured it and carried Governor Bridgar a prisoner to Fort Bourbon. Radisson also carried away a part of the gov-



ernor's supply of provisions, and subsequently decided to burn the fort to save the trouble of maintaining a guard in it.

About this time the spring rush of ice in the Hayes river crushed the two old vessels in which the French party had come, and it was only by most strenuous efforts on their part that the captured *Susan* was saved from a like disaster. The two French leaders, who played the game so recklessly, now desired to be rid of their prisoners, and coolly informed them that they might have the *Ste. Anne* in which to make the voyage home, if they would repair her shattered hull. Fate had left the unfortunate men little choice in the matter, and they set to work at once on their unpromising task.

As soon as the rivers were free of ice the Indians came down to trade, much surprised to find the French in possession. However Radisson's specious stories seemed to satisfy them, and a good store of furs was obtained. Some of the furs were placed on board the *Susan*, which sailed away for Quebec, taking Governor Bridgar and Ben Gillam as prisoners. Captain Zachary Gillam with the survivors of the English and New England parties, made his way as best he could in the patched-up *Ste. Anne* to a New England port. The remainder of the furs which Groseilliers and Radisson had secured were stored in Fort Bourbon, and young Jean Baptiste Chouart was left in charge until his uncle or his father returned. But all the furs shipped in the *Susan* were not destined to reach the men who had fitted out the expedition; for when the vessel arrived at Tadoussac, the brothers-in-law sold a part of her cargo and coolly appropriated the proceeds.

So far as we know, these forts at the mouths of the Hayes and Nelson Rivers were the first trading posts built in the region now included in the province of Manitoba. The winter of 1682-3 marks the commencement of its occupation by white men, and the melodramatic incidents of that winter should not blind us to the fact that from the very beginning of its history two races, differing in blood, language, religion, and ideals, have sought to control the destinies of the country.

The melodramatic element in the earliest history of Manitoba did not disappear when Radisson and Groseilliers landed at Quebec. Their actions savored too much of piracy and wanton injury to a nation with which France was professedly at peace to permit them to pass unnoticed by the government of the colony. So de la Barre, the governor, sent the *Susan* to her owners, with apologies for her seizure, and allowed Governor Bridgar and Ben Gillam to take passage on her. For various reasons it was not desirable to have Radisson and Groseilliers in the colony, and three weeks after their arrival in Quebec they were smuggled off to France in a returning frigate.

About the time the frigate reached France Captain Gillam arrived in England, and much indignation was expressed by the English people when they heard of the wanton attack made by the two French adventurers on the fort of the Hudson's Bay Company. The government, however, does not seem to have demanded reparation from France. Perhaps the Hudson's Bay Company did not wish to have the matter pressed, for it seems to have opened negotiations with Radisson for his return to its service; and we find that facile negotiator making terms with the company at the very time he is seeking certain grants from the king of France in return for the service he had rendered that country.

Strange as it may seem, Radisson was once more taken into the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, and when its ship, the *Happy Return*, with her two consorts, sailed from Gravesend on May 17, 1684, Radisson was on board. When Port Nelson was reached, the harbor was filled with ice, and the *Happy Return* could not get within twenty miles of the shore; but Radisson, in eager haste, took a boat manned by a small crew and, after many hours of dangerous work, made a landing. He was surprised to find an English frigate in the mouth of the Nelson and with her the *Alert*, which had brought out the company's new governor, William Phipps, the season before. The crews had not landed, fearing the hostility of Indians friendly to the French. Full of anxiety in regard to the position of his nephew and the attitude of the latter to the scheme which he had in mind, Radisson set off with as little delay as possible for Fort Bourbon.

He found that his nephew had left Fort Bourbon and removed to a point further up the river. When the two men met, Radisson proposed that his nephew should surrender the fort and all the furs which he had collected to the English. At first the young man indignantly refused, but finally his uncle's arguments convinced him that no other course was open, and he submitted. The *fleur de lis*, which had floated over the fort for more than a year, was lowered, and the ensign of the Hudson's Bay Company was raised in its place. The fort and its contents were transferred to the new governor; and when the company's ship sailed for England at the close of the season, she carried such a rich cargo of furs that the directors in London rewarded Radisson generously for his treachery to France.

Groseilliers does not seem to have been in the service of the company after this time; but Radisson was employed at intervals for a few years longer, some of which he spent at Fort Nelson as supervisor of trade there. After that neither of these two adventurous men plays any direct part in the history of Manitoba. Yet their indirect influence was to continue. Their energy and daring had found a way from the Great Lakes to Manitoba's prairies; their persistence had led to the organization of the world's greatest commercial company and its operations on Manitoba's northern coast; and their unscrupulous and piratical acts there helped to provoke war between France and England. Open war was not declared at once; for it is one of the anomalies of history that actual war was sometimes waged between French and English colonies in America, while France and England themselves were nominally at peace.



## CHAPTER V

### THIRTY YEARS OF CONFLICT

Beaver fur was far more abundant in the region about Hudson Bay than it was in the neighborhood of the Great Lakes, and it was of much better quality; and naturally the Quebec companies became more and more anxious to secure the trade of that remote district. So commercial interests as well as patriotic motives impelled the government of France to look with favor on steps which tended to extend French sovereignty over the vast region which borders on the bay. De la Barre, the governor of Canada, had been instructed to take such measures as would divert some of the fur trade of that region towards the Great Lakes; and with that object in view he sent Greysolon Duluth into the country north of Lake Superior. Duluth proceeded to the mouth of the Pepigon River, and in 1684 he built a fort there near the site of the old trading post occupied by Groseilliers and Radisson a quarter of a century earlier. He had orders to co-operate with young Chouart, who had been left in charge of Fort Bourbon in 1683, and dispatched a man named Péré to him with letters from the governor; but, as we have seen, Chouart had been induced by his uncle to surrender the fort and its store of furs to the English before the messenger arrived. Not being able to secure the expected cooperation from Fort Bourbon and being poorly supplied with goods for trade in his own district, Duluth was not very successful in his mission.

The perfidy of Radisson and the loss which it caused the company of the North roused great resentment in Canada; and when two ships of that company, returning from an unsuccessful voyage to the bay in 1685, met a vessel of the Hudson's Bay Company, called the *Merchant of Perpetuana*, their crews did not hesitate to seize her and take ship and crew to Quebec. The mate managed to escape and carry news of the seizure to England, but the other members of the crew were thrown into a Quebec prison, where the master, Captain Humes, died. After eleven months the survivors were taken to Martinique and sold as slaves. The story of this affair, which the mate carried to England, roused so much indignation that a memorial upon the matter was presented to the king; but the relation of James II to the king of France was much the same as that of Charles II had been, and he took no notice of the outrage.

The apparent indifference of the English government may have emboldened the French at home and in Canada to go a step further. On Christmas eve, 1685, the Chevalier de Troyes, a retired army officer living in Canada, sent a message to the new governor, Denonville, in which he offered to raise and lead a force, which would take possession of all the region about Hudson Bay for France; and the governor, probably acting on instructions from Louis XIV, gave the scheme his sanction. The old chevalier had no difficulty in raising a party

of eighty men, all skilled in woodcraft and eager for adventure in the north, and the governor added thirty soldiers, who had seen service on many a battlefield of Europe. For his lieutenants de Troyes chose three sons of Charles le Moyne, another French nobleman living in Canada. They were known by their titles of *Sieur d'Iberville*, *Sieur de Sainte Hélène*, and *Sieur de Maricourt*. Father Silvy went as the chaplain of the force.

Le Moyne once remarked that the best thing he had done for France was to give her his eleven sons. The third, Pierre, afterwards known as *d'Iberville*, was born on July 20, 1661. He was energetic and daring, and at an early age showed unusual ability as a leader of men. Before he was twenty-two years old he had made several voyages to France in command of ships and had been recommended to Colbert for an appointment in the royal navy. He was to become the leading figure in the struggle between the French and English for the possession of Hudson Bay; and his achievements in that struggle, which read more like a romance than sober history, made him the greatest of heroes in the eyes of the people of Canada. He also played an important part in the struggle for the possession of Acadie and Newfoundland; and later in life he had so much to do with the acquisition of the great Mississippi valley for France that he has been called the father of Louisiana.

Early in the spring of 1686 de Troyes' little force left Montreal for its long march through the forest to James Bay. It ascended the Ottawa, crossed the height of land to Lake Abittibi, and followed the Abittibi River to the sea. On a small island near by was Moose Fort, armed with twelve cannon and garrisoned by sixteen men unaware of the danger which threatened them. Waiting until darkness fell, de Troyes sent a small party under *d'Iberville* and his brother to scale the palisade on the rear of the fort, while the rest of his men battered down the gate of the inclosure and rushed inside, shouting Indian war-cries. The defendants were completely surprised and were made prisoners before they had time to dress. And so on the next day, June 20th, the chevalier proclaimed, with much ceremony, that he took possession of the fort and island for the king of France.

Learning that a supply of provisions had been sent to Fort Charles a few days before, the French leaders determined to attack it next, and a small craft was built to carry two of the captured cannon thither, a distance of 120 miles. It was the 25th of June when the party left the mouth of the Moose River for Fort Charles, but no word of its coming had reached that post. The fort was being repaired, the gates were open, the cannon dismounted, and the place utterly unprepared for an attack. De Troyes repeated the tactics which had proved so successful at Moose Fort and made a night assault. Fifteen men, sleeping peacefully in the blockhouse, knew nothing of the presence of enemies until a hand grenade, which one of the Frenchmen had dropped down the chimney, exploded among them and a brisk fusillade followed. Five of the inmates were killed or wounded, and the others surrendered at once. In the meantime a few men, led by *d'Iberville*, had paddled out to one of the Hudson's Bay Company's vessels which lay near the fort. They found the watch asleep and killed him before he could give any alarm. Two more of the crew were sabred as soon as they put their heads through the hatchway, and the rest were easily captured. The unfortunate Governor Bridgar, who was on board the vessel, found himself a prisoner of the French for the second time.



FORT PRINCE OF WALES, CHURCHILL  
HARBOR, HUDSON BAY



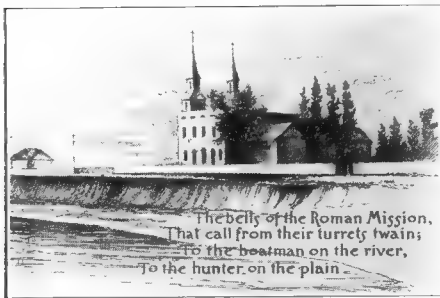
REV. WEST'S MISSION BUILDINGS, RED  
RIVER COLONY, 1823



FORT GARRY IN 1850

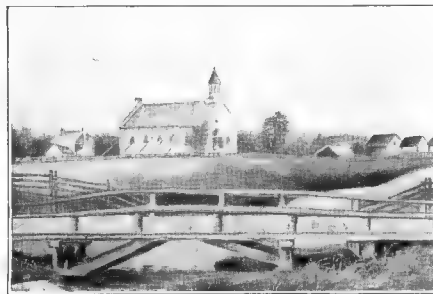


FORT GARRY ABOUT 1860



The quotation is from Whittier

OLD ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL,  
ST. BONIFACE



ST. CROSS GIRLS' SCHOOL, ST. JOHN'S  
OLD CHURCH, OUTBUILDINGS,  
BOYS' SCHOOL, AT RED  
RIVER IN 1856



The intrepid old chevalier determined to strike a swift blow at Fort Albany next. He now had two vessels at his command, and placing his men and ten of the captured cannon upon them, he set sail for the western shore of the bay early in July. None of his men knew exactly where Fort Albany was situated, but by keeping close to the coast they finally reached it. They could not take it by surprise, for friendly Indians had notified Governor Sargeant of the fate of Fort Charles and Moose Fort, and he had prepared for a siege. His men were a cowardly lot and wished him to surrender as soon as the cannonade began; but by promises and threats he kept them at their places for a time. After three days' bombardment the governor found that bad breaches had been made in his defences, that two or three of his men had been killed, and that the rest had no stomach for further fighting; and so he thought it best to capitulate. Some of the prisoners were sent to Charlton Island to await the arrival of one of the company's ships; others were obliged to help de Troyes' men carry their booty to Quebec. It is said that the French secured 50,000 beaver skins in this raid. The victors were anxious to capture Fort Nelson, the only post left in the hands of the British; but it was 750 miles away, none of their men could steer the vessels to it, and none of their prisoners would. So they had to abandon the scheme. Maricourt was left in charge of the captured forts, and de Troyes returned to Quebec.

The troubles in their colonies led England and France to appoint a joint commission in 1686 which concluded a treaty of neutrality, providing for "a firm peace, union, concord, and good understanding" between the kings of the two countries. The document declares, "It has been agreed that each of the said kings shall hold the domains, rights, pre-eminences in the seas, straits and other waters of America which, and in the same manner which, they enjoy at present." This left things exactly as they were, Great Britain holding Fort Nelson and France holding the other forts on Hudson Bay, while the question of sovereignty over the sea was left open. Commissioners were appointed to carry out the details of the treaty, and they were instructed to give both nations equal trading rights at Port Nelson. Denonville, however, wished to give up the forts at Rupert's, Moose, and Albany rivers to secure exclusive ownership of Port Nelson, but the Hudson's Bay Company would not listen to the proposal, and so nothing was done.

This treaty of neutrality, which was signed in November, 1686, scarcely checked the hostility of the Company of the North and the Hudson's Bay Company. Both were making great efforts to monopolize the fur trade of Hudson Bay, and neither was over-particular about the means employed. The English company had established a new fort at the mouth of the Severn river in 1665, and the French government had sent d'Iberville back to Fort Albany to look after its interests along the coast. Fort Albany had been renamed Ste. Anne by the French. In the summer of 1689 Captain Moon sailed from Port Nelson with a force of twenty-four men to retake Albany. He landed and began to throw up defences about eight miles away from the fort, preparatory to making an attack upon it; but d'Iberville marched down, drove Moon's men out of the works, and then set off in boats and canoes to capture his vessel. Those on board only frustrated the attempt by burning her. They escaped to the woods; and when Captain Moon got his men together again, he led them overland to Fort



Severn. But d'Iberville followed quickly, forced Fort Severn to surrender in October, and took the governor prisoner. Among the papers seized there he found an order to the governor to proclaim William III and Mary as sovereigns of the British empire.

D'Iberville returned to Fort Ste. Anne to find it invested by two British ships carrying a force of eighty-three men. They had been instructed to land upon an island in the mouth of the Chechouan (Albany) River and build a fortification from which an attack on Ste. Anne could be made. Their fortification was partly completed, and some of their cannon had been brought ashore. Stores were being landed from the ships, and a party of twenty-one men engaged in this work was ambushed by some of d'Iberville's force and all were made prisoners. Several days of desultory cannonading, interrupted by parleys, followed; and then the English surrendered. Maricourt was left in charge of the fort; and d'Iberville, with his prisoners, sailed for Quebec on the *Hampshire*, one of the vessels surrendered at the fort. In Hudson Strait he met another of the company's ships, bound for Port Nelson and having young Chouart on board. He hailed her as if the *Hampshire* were still in the company's service and proposed that the two ships sail in company; and he might have captured her, if storms had not parted the vessels before his design could be carried out.

Nelson, the best post on Hudson Bay, still remained in the hands of the English. Denonville and the Company of the North were anxious to put this fort in the possession of France, and it was d'Iberville's greatest ambition to carry out their wishes. The governor thought it might be accomplished by the ships which d'Iberville had captured in the bay, if the king would send a ship of war to aid them; and he recommended that d'Iberville be given a commission as a lieutenant in the navy. The king was pleased to give this commission to the colonial leader who had so distinguished himself; and this royal recognition of merit fired the ambition of other young men of new France, including that Pierre Gauthier de Varennes who had much to do with Manitoba's history a few years later. In 1691 Admiral Tast was sent to Canada with a fleet of fourteen vessels; but he arrived too late to attempt any operations in Hudson Bay that season, and d'Iberville refused to serve in an expedition in which he would do most of the work and the admiral receive most of the credit. So the admiral took his fleet elsewhere.

In this same year, 1691, a French frigate appeared before Fort Nelson. Most of Governor Phipps' men were absent on a hunting expedition, and he could not hope to hold the place for any length of time; but rather than give it up he burned the fort and its contents and retired up the river. The French landed, but found nothing to carry off; having no merchandise, they could not obtain furs from the Indians; and so they sailed away. In the spring of 1692 Fort Nelson was rebuilt and made stronger than ever.

In 1692 the Hudson's Bay Company made a determined effort to recover Fort Albany. During the autumn three well-armed ships were dispatched to Fort Nelson under the command of Captain Grimington and wintered there. As soon as the harbor was free of ice in 1693 they sailed to the mouth of the Albany river. The men on board saw no signs of life in the fort as the ship neared it, and no opposition was offered when they landed. In some surprise they entered the fort and found but four inhabitants in the place. Three of

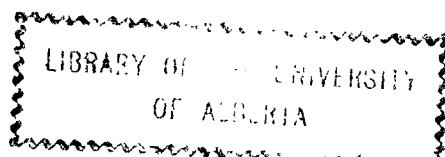
them were running away as fast as they could, and the fourth would probably have followed, if he had been free; but he had been manacled and confined in the prison of the fort for the murder of the surgeon and Father Dalmas, the priest who had been attached to the garrison. Grim tragedies had been enacted in Fort Albany during the previous winter. Captain Grimington seems to have gone on to Moose Fort and Fort Charles and retaken them for the company.

These successes of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1693 gave the Company of the North special reasons to renew its request to the king of France for ships to capture Fort Nelson. D'Iberville, being in Paris about that time, seconded the petition, and two ships were promised for the following year. Early in August, 1694, the *Poli* and the *Salamandre* sailed from Quebec with d'Iberville in command. His brother, de Serigny, captained one of the vessels, Jérémie was one of the subordinate officers, and Father Marest went as chaplain. The ships reached the mouth of the Nelson on September 24, and d'Iberville immediately landed his men, cannon, ammunition, and stores. Batteries were erected within 500 yards of the fort, and the bombardment began.

Jérémie has given a description of the fort. Along the river front was a crescent-shaped earthwork, connecting two bastions; one of these housed the officers, while the other contained a kitchen, smithy, etc. Eight cannon were mounted on the earthwork, and at its foot there was a platform on which six more cannon were placed. There were four other bastions, apparently placed at the angles of the palisade. These bastions were constructed of timber, and were armed with cannon and swivel-guns. One of them was used as a warehouse for furs and merchandise, a second contained provisions, and a third sheltered the men of the garrison. The total number of cannon and swivel-guns on the defences was ninety-nine.

The bombardment began on September 25, but the fort was not to be taken so readily as the others which had fallen into the hands of d'Iberville. The English made a stubborn defence; and Henry Kelsey, a young clerk in the service of the company, distinguished himself by so many acts of bravery that, when they were reported to the company, he received a grant of £40 in recognition of his services. The French lost several men, de Chateauguay, one of d'Iberville's young brothers, being killed. The cannonade continued for three weeks; and then the governor, finding his defences greatly weakened and his wooden bastions in danger from fire and the explosions which would follow, thought it unwise to prolong the struggle. The fort was surrendered on October 15th, and the French hoisted their country's flag over the coveted northern post. It was renamed Fort Bourbon, and the river was called the Ste. Thérèse. Some of the English were allowed to go to Severn or Albany; others were kept as prisoners. As the fort was well stocked with provisions, the French decided to remain there for the winter. On July 20, 1695, d'Iberville sailed away, leaving a garrison of sixty-seven men under de la Forest to hold the fort. Martigny was his lieutenant, and Jérémie remained as interpreter and director of trade with the rank of ensign.

We are told that a force sent overland from Canada took Fort Charles and Moose Fort during the summer of 1694; but Albany seems to have remained in the hands of the English after its capture by Captain Grimington and never to have been recovered by the French. We are also told that in 1695 the *Bona-*



*venture* and the *Seaforth* captured Moose Fort and Fort Charles for the Hudson's Bay Company, leaving the French no fort on the bay except that at Port Nelson.

As soon as d'Iberville's capture of Fort Nelson was reported in London the Hudson's Bay Company petitioned the government for ships to retake the place. It was too late to do anything that season; but in June, 1696, four ships commanded by William Allen sailed for the bay. The French government had been kept posted in regard to the intentions of the English, and three days before the little fleet sailed from England, two French men-of-war were sent to assist de la Forest in the defence of Fort Bourbon. When they reached their destination, they found that the English vessels had entered the mouth of the river a few hours earlier. The French captains, knowing that their ships were no match for the four British vessels and having no place in which to anchor, could do nothing but sail away for France, leaving the garrison to its fate. One of their ships never reached port, and it is supposed that she was wrecked in the ice of Hudson Strait.

The English began to bombard the fort on August 29, and on the next day they landed a force, preparatory to storming the place; but the French commandant, seeing that the attacking force was far stronger than his own, decided that further defence would lead to useless loss of life and offered to surrender. The articles of capitulation, dated August 31, 1696, provided that de la Forest and his men should march out with drums beating and flags flying, that they should take with them their personal effects and the furs which they had obtained in the preceding year, that they should be taken to the French port of Placentia in Newfoundland, and that their priest should be at liberty to conduct the exercises of religion among them. But in those times and in those far northern waters neither English nor French were careful to observe the terms of a surrender or the rights of property. The prisoners captured at Fort Nelson were not taken to Newfoundland, nor were they transferred to a French ship to be taken to France; but they were carried to Portsmouth and confined in a prison there for several months before being allowed to cross to Havre. The English kept the furs found in the fort, and in this they may have been justified.

The influence of the French on Hudson Bay was at its lowest ebb. All the efforts they had made for ten years to establish themselves there seemed wasted. The brilliant achievements of d'Iberville—his reckless daring and strategy, his swift attacks, his surprising captures—which had dazzled the Canadian people for a decade, seemed utterly futile. The Company of the North had expended money and effort to secure trading posts on the northern sea, but had received small returns in furs or otherwise; and France had lent her aid, with no permanent result except loss of ships and men. At the close of 1696 the Company of the North does not seem to have had a single trading post on the shore of Hudson Bay, nor did the flag of France wave over a single fort there.

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## CHAPTER VI

### THIRTY YEARS OF CONFLICT—(Continued)

The year 1696 had reversed the positions of the French and English on the shores of Hudson Bay, at least as far as Port Nelson was concerned. The French were driven out in 1696 just as the English had been driven out in 1694; but the French had no more thought of accepting the outcome of the later year as decisive than the English had of accepting the outcome of the earlier year. The ministers of Louis XIV determined to send four men-of-war and a store ship to the bay to restore French prestige there. They were the *Pelican*, *Palmier*, *Wesp*, *Profound*, and *Violent*; and it was a foregone conclusion that the command of the squadron would be given to d'Iberville.

During the summer of 1696 d'Iberville had been engaged in attacks on British settlements near the southern boundary of Acadie, but in the autumn he and de Martigny with a small force of bushrangers and Indians had been sent to drive the English out of Newfoundland. They did their work so rapidly and thoroughly that by the end of the year St. John's had been captured and before the winter had passed all the English settlements along three hundred miles of coast, with two or three exceptions, had been destroyed. The victorious raiders were waiting in Placentia for an opportunity to complete their task, when the French squadron came into that port on May 19, 1697. De Serigny, who was in command, brought orders to his brother to take charge of the ships and proceed to Port Nelson. D'Iberville and de Martigny sent their men on board, and early in July the ships sailed for their destination.

But the English government was awake to the danger which threatened the fort on the shores of the northern bay. Four armed merchantmen had been sent for its defence—the *Hampshire* of 52 guns, which had been recovered from the French, the *Dering* of 36 guns, the *Hudson's Bay* of 32, and a fire-ship called the *Owner's Love*. The last became separated from the others and was lost, probably in the ice of Hudson Strait; but the rest entered the strait and were soon followed by the ships of France. Both squadrons were caught in the ice-pack, and at one time they were near enough to exchange shots; but the ice hemmed them in so completely that they could not come to such close quarters that either damaged the other. The French store-ship, the *Violent*, was crushed by the ice; but the *Pelican* finally won her way out and sailed down the bay without waiting for her three sister ships. She came to anchor in the mouth of the Nelson on September 3.

Menaced by the French war-ship, Governor Bailey anxiously looked for the vessels which he expected to bring him assistance and discharged a cannon now and then as a signal to them. D'Iberville, the French commander, was no less

anxious, for any hour might bring additional ships to the harbor, and they were as likely to be foes as friends. Two days passed slowly for all parties, and early in the morning of September 5 three vessels were seen heading for the harbor. D'Iberville was so sure that they were his own ships that he weighed anchor and sailed out to meet them; but he was soon undeceived, for the incoming vessels hoisted British colors. Nevertheless his mistake saved the *Pelican*, for she would have been battered to pieces in short order, if she had remained in the river. As it was, her case was desperate, for her enemies were three to one and they carried 120 guns to her 44.

But with the reckless bravery which always characterized him, d'Iberville promptly decided to accept the odds against him and to fight rather than surrender. By skillful seamanship he got to the windward of his opponents, and at half past nine the battle began. The *Hampshire* was in front of her consorts and had to take the brunt of the Frenchman's fierce attack; while they were unable to help much in the early stages of the battle, owing to the clever way in which the *Pelican* was manoeuvred. Then they attempted to cut down her rigging with shot and so render her unmanageable, but they received more damage than they gave. Presently the *Pelican* bore down upon the *Hampshire*, preparatory to boarding; but she received a broadside which killed or wounded two score of her men and forced her to sheer off. For three hours the battle raged with varying fortunes; but finally the *Hampshire* received such a deadly broadside that she sank with many of her crew. The *Pelican* herself was little better than a wreck, and ninety of her men were dead or wounded; nevertheless she bore down on the *Hudson's Bay* and the *Dering* to continue the battle with them. The latter was too badly damaged to make any effective resistance, so she made sail and escaped; the former kept up the fight for a short time and then struck her flag.

Two ships remained where four had floated in the morning, and there was little to choose between victor and vanquished; for their spars and rigging were shot away, their hulls were pierced in many places, and both were in a sinking condition. A strong gale had sprung up from the east, and the captains could do nothing but anchor and hope that their cables would hold and their shattered hulls outride the storm. The French had about ninety prisoners, and neither vessel had a boat large enough to have any chance of living in the breakers along the low shore, if an attempt were made to land these men. Night fell, and the gale increased in fury. About nine o'clock the cable of the English ship parted, and she went ashore on a marsh eight miles from the fort. The survivors of her crew were able to wade to land, and when the morning came, they made their way to the shelter of the fort.

The men on board the *Pelican* were even more unfortunate than their opponents on the wrecked *Hudson's Bay*, for their ship was driven ashore in a place less favorable for landing, and eighteen of them were drowned in the attempt to wade ashore through the icy water. When they reached the land there was no friendly fort to shelter them, and they had to lie in the woods, half-frozen in spite of their fires, subsisting upon boiled moss and seaweed. Under such circumstances, they made little effort to keep their prisoners; and so, one by one, most of the captured men straggled across to Fort Nelson.

In a few days d'Iberville's three delayed vessels reached the harbor, and at once provisions, cannon, and fresh men were landed. On September 11 a small party of French advanced to a wooded spot not far from the fort and made a demonstration in order to draw the fire of the garrison, and this gave d'Iberville an opportunity to land the remainder of his men and guns unmolested. Then de Martigny was sent to Governor Bailey with a message. Blindfolded at the gate, he was conducted to the governor and his council and presented d'Iberville's demand for the surrender of the fort; but Captain Smithsend, whom the French had taken from the *Perpetuana* twelve years before, believed that d'Iberville's force was not in a position to maintain a long siege and urged Bailey to defend the fort; so the governor refused to give it up. As soon as d'Iberville had received the governor's reply, the bombardment began. The next day de Serigny was sent to the fort with a second demand for its surrender; but Bailey returned the same answer as before, and he and Smithsend encouraged their men with promises of rewards and of provision for the widows of those killed to maintain the defense. The men responded bravely, and the fighting continued. Both sides kept up a continuous fire from cannon and muskets; attacks and counter-attacks were frequent; and both forces lost some of their best men. The French were in a desperate plight, owing to scarcity of provisions, the near approach of winter, and the impossibility of escape if they did not win; and they were ready to take any odds in an assault upon the fort. De Serigny was sent once more to demand the surrender of the place, and finally Bailey consented to give it up. There was much parleying about the terms of the capitulation, but at last they were arranged; and on the next day Bailey, with the survivors of his garrison and of the crews of the *Hampshire* and the *Hudson's Bay*, marched out of Fort Nelson, carrying arms and baggage, flags flying, and drums beating. They made a brave show as they marched out, not knowing what awaited them in the leagues of wilderness about them, and the French could not refrain from giving them a cheer; then the French hastened to occupy the captured post, and once more the *fleur de lis* was raised over Fort Nelson. D'Iberville returned to France, leaving de Martigny in charge of the French possessions on Hudson Bay.

It is not likely that the French would have been left undisturbed to enjoy the fruits of their victory, if a treaty had not been concluded between England and France. These two nations had been the protagonists in a struggle which had convulsed Europe for eight years; and the battles between colonial forces and the ravages of border settlements in the northern half of the American continent were only the remote episodes of that struggle. Both the powers were weary of the war, which had brought little advantage to either. It had cost France the best men in her armies and had utterly depleted her resources. The loss of Namur in 1695 had been a heavy blow and had made Louis XIV willing to ask for peace. Although success had rewarded the policy of their king and some victories had been won by their army, the English were as weary of the war as their opponents. Moreover, both nations wished a respite in which to prepare for another struggle that statesmen foresaw in the near future—the struggle over the Spanish Succession.

So on May 9, 1697, a few days after the French king had dispatched de Serigny with a squadron for the capture of Fort Nelson, his commissioners

met those of England and the other great powers at Ryswick near the Hague. The treaty which they concluded was signed on September 30, 1697, a fortnight after d'Iberville had successfully accomplished his task and captured Fort Nelson for the French. The treaty brought a temporary peace, but it settled no questions of sovereignty on the shores of Hudson Bay. The positions of the contending parties there were left unchanged. The Hudson's Bay Company retained Fort Albany, and it was the only post over which the flag of Britain waved to indicate her claim to the vast region. Fort Nelson and the other trading posts on the coast remained in the hands of France.

The commission appointed to settle the details of the treaty of Ryswick did little, and the boundaries of the territories to be occupied by French and English on Hudson Bay were never fixed. The fur companies appear to have traded where they could, without regard to any "sphere of influence." We find that the French rebuilt Fort Severn in 1702 and called it *Neuve Savanne*, and soon after the English established a post not far from Fort Nelson. The trade of the Hudson's Bay Company, restricted to Fort Albany, had fallen to one-fifth of what it had been; and in 1700 it offered to let the Company of the North have all the trade of the coast from Rupert's River to the Albany, if it could have the trade of the remainder. No action was taken, however; and in the next year the English company asked the government to send three men-of-war, a bomb-vessel, and 250 soldiers to drive out the French and recover possession of the whole coast of Hudson Bay. Nor was the French company more content to abide by the treaty of Ryswick than its English rival. In 1704 it induced the government officials in Canada to send an expedition overland for the capture of Fort Albany, but the party had no d'Iberville to lead it and failed to accomplish its task. Many of the men were shot down before the gate of the fort; and the others, after lingering in the neighboring woods for several days, retired. Their only success was to ambush and kill the master and crew of a sloop lying in the harbor, when they came ashore to aid the garrison in the fort.

In the same year the principal ship of the Company of the North was captured by a British frigate before it could reach the bay, and the company was obliged to ask the government of France for ships to carry relief to its forts and to bring out the furs collected in them. This request was granted for two years, but after that France needed her ships too badly elsewhere to send them to the assistance of the company.

Fort Bourbon (Nelson) remained the principal post of the Company of the North, but the proximity of the English interfered with the trade there, just as the proximity of the French interfered with the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Albany; and the dissatisfaction of the Indians with the business methods of the French also tended to reduce the profits of the company. The management of its affairs at Fort Bourbon was in the hands of a commandant. De Martigny held the position for some years, and it was afterwards given to Delisle. Except for one year, Jérémie remained at the fort until it passed out of the hands of the French.

Life in the isolated northern post was lonely and monotonous enough for the most part, but there was a brief interlude in the monotony during the year 1704. In the summer an officer named Lagrange and his suite arrived from France, and with them came a number of gay gentlemen and fair ladies.

For some months the dreary fort was the scene of life such as it had never known before and as never known since. Hunting parties and picnics occupied the days, suppers and dances made the evenings pass too quickly, and the bare rooms of the commandant's residence rang with song and laughter.

Jérémie was the commandant's lieutenant for many years, but in 1707 he obtained leave of absence and went to France. He returned the next year, bearing a commission from the king as commandant of the fort, and found conditions there bad indeed. Delisle, the commandant whom he was to succeed, was ill from exposure and lack of proper food and died soon after. No French ship had arrived for a year, and provisions and ammunition were almost exhausted. The Indians had come down with their furs; but they could not dispose of them, for the French had no goods to give them in exchange and could only urge them to wait week after week for the ship which did not come. The savages were in an ugly mood, and the longer they waited the more bitter their resentment toward the French became. The French dared not sell their dwindling store of ammunition, and without it the natives could not procure food. Starvation threatened them as well as the unfortunate garrison.

In August, 1708, Jérémie sent his lieutenant, two traders, and six men of his garrison into the woods to hunt, hoping that they could secure a small supply of food. The nine men camped one night near a band of Indians who had been friendly up to that time. These Indians were starving, although they had plenty of furs which they had brought from the interior for sale. During the evening a few of them crept up to the French camp and found the hunters feasting on game which they had shot and then crept back to their own camp to report. Some of the squaws decoyed two of the Frenchmen to the Indian camp, and these were killed as soon as they approached it. Their comrades, suspecting no danger, retired to rest, and all but one were murdered in their sleep. This man was wounded, stripped, and left for dead; but when the savages had retired, he got up and made his way through thirty miles of forest to the fort.

The French had a small post called Phillipeaux not far from Fort Bourbon, and as Jérémie had but nine men left to defend the two posts against the attack of the Indians which he hourly expected, he decided to abandon Phillipeaux and remove the small quantity of provision and goods stored in it to the larger fort. Before this task was completed the angry Indians swooped down upon the abandoned post and helped themselves to a supply of the ammunition which they needed so much. The position of the French during the following winter was precarious indeed. They were few in number, provisions were scarce, and they were surrounded by Indians who were starving. The proximity of the new English post was a blessing; for it was well supplied with goods for barter with the natives and so drew away some of Jérémie's unpleasant neighbors. Many of the Indians died from want of food during that terrible winter, and cases of cannibalism among them were frequently reported.

Jérémie's term as commandant of Fort Bourbon lasted six years, and the first of them was scarcely more trying than those which followed. Twice after that hard winter of 1708-9 the ships of the French company failed to bring relief to the starving men at Fort Bourbon, and twice their ships were intercepted by the British and captured or destroyed. The expected War of the



Spanish Succession had broken out in 1702 and continued for eight years; and so long as it continued French merchant ships fared badly on the northern seas. It was not until 1813 that the *Providence* reached Fort Bourbon with relief for the worn garrison, and in that year all the territory about Hudson Bay passed out of the hands of France forever. Fort Nelson was formally restored to the British in the next year; and proud as he was of the commission received directly from his king, Commandant J  r  mie must have been glad that his term of service on the northern coast was ended.

The War of the Spanish Succession was caused by the attempt of Louis XIV to unite France and Spain so closely that the coalition could dominate Europe and obtain possession of both American continents. But there was never a more futile war. Fate, rather than the armies of his opponents, broke down the plans of the French king. The war brought his kingdom to the verge of ruin, and it exhausted the nations arrayed against him; so when he asked for peace, they were ready to grant it. Commissioners met at Utrecht to frame a treaty, and in the negotiations which followed the original cause of the war was tacitly ignored.

The treaty was signed on March 31 (O. S.), 1713. Among other things it provided that the region bordering on Hudson Bay should become British territory, that the French were to evacuate all posts held by them on the bay inside of six months, that commissioners would be appointed to fix the boundaries between the French and British possessions in America, and that the Hudson's Bay Company would receive compensation for damage done to its posts, ships, and goods during the war.

On June 5, 1714, two of the ships of the Hudson's Bay Company sailed from Gravesend for Fort Nelson. Captain Knight, who had been appointed as its governor, and Henry Kelsey, who was to act as his deputy, were on board; and they carried the queen's commission, authorizing the governor to receive the surrender of the territory previously held by France and a mandate from the French king to J  r  mie, ordering him to make the surrender. Fort Nelson was reached on July 25; and in a few days J  r  mie, already advised by a French ship of the terms of the treaty, formally gave up all the French forts on the bay, with the arms, ammunition, and provisions in them, to Britain. Thus passed the French dream of dominion on Hudson Bay.

## CHAPTER VII

### ACTIVITY IN THE NORTH

In the forty-three years, which elapsed between the signing of the charter granted to the Hudson's Bay Company and the signing of the treaty of Utrecht, the company had established seven trading posts on the shores of the bay. They were located at the mouths of the East Main, Rupert's, Moose, Albany, Severn, Nelson, and Churchill Rivers. The company had made little effort to penetrate the interior or secure the trade of distant Indian tribes. The long contest between England and France for the ownership of the coast doubtless deterred the company from such an extension of its business as would have been almost inevitable, had the first forty-three years of its life been years of peace. It was scarcely justified in opening posts in the interior, when the fortunes of war might give them to the French.

Even in a time of peace some of the directors of the company were in favor of slow-going, cautious methods of business that would not require any large additions to the small capital with which the company started its operations. Much depended on the character and ability of the governors placed in charge of its distant trading posts. Some were content to do business in the same way year after year; but others, adventurous, keen-witted, and indefatigable, were eager to push their way further and further into the wilderness, making great discoveries, coming in contact with new tribes, finding richer fur districts, and extending the operations of the company as widely as possible. For two hundred years the company had a splendid list of such men among its factors, and there are no more heroic figures in history than many of these men. Yet they had no thought of posing as heroes. To find new paths through the forests, new routes across the plains, new passes through the mountains; to discover and map out great rivers and lakes; to build new forts and trading posts; to blaze trails for future trade and settlement across a country larger than many an empire of Europe—these were just parts of their day's work. The world owes much to these men, for they were more than mere traders. Their explorations, their records of events, and their observations on the inhabitants, fauna, and flora of the districts which they traversed, have added much to human knowledge and greatly aided the spread of civilization.

At the head of a long list of worthy names we may place that of a mere youth, Henry Kelsey. He entered the company's service when eighteen years of age, and from the first showed unusual energy and ambition. Adventurous, fond of travel, and quick to acquire Indian languages and adopt native modes of life in the wilderness, he resembled the *coureurs des bois* who pushed their way into the remote *pays d'en haut* from Quebec. In 1688 this lad volunteered

to go north from Fort Nelson and find a suitable site for a post on the Churchill River. We have no detailed record of the journey, but it seems to have been successful, for a small fort was soon erected on the river which for many years marked the northern limit of the company's operations on the coast of the bay. Three years later Geyer, the company's governor at Fort Nelson, sent Kelsey on another journey. The young explorer left the fort on July 5, 1691, and proceeded up the river to Dering's Point (probably some point on Split Lake) to meet the Assiniboines who assembled there on their trading trips. He tells us that he met them at that place and travelled with them by water seventy-one miles. Then they beached their canoes and travelled through a wooded country for three hundred and sixteen miles. Passing over open prairie for forty-six miles, they traversed a country broken by lakes, swamps, and rivers for eighty-one miles; and in this region buffalo and beaver were very plentiful. Retracing his steps for fifty-four miles, Kelsey finally found the tribe he wished to meet, the Naywatamee-poets. After various adventures he returned to Fort Nelson, dressed in Indian garb and accompanied by an Indian wife. It is difficult to know just where Kelsey travelled, as he was not careful to give the directions taken in his journey; but he probably went from a point on the Nelson River to some part of the valley of the Saskatchewan. We may consider him the first Englishman to penetrate the interior of the present province of Manitoba from the north. He took possession of the districts which he traversed on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The years which followed the treaty of Utrecht were a period of great prosperity for the Hudson's Bay Company; but while there was some extension of its trade towards the interior, the tendency was to push exploration and trade to the north rather than the south and west. There were two reasons for this tendency; first, the oft-repeated tales of gold and other precious metals to be found somewhere in the far north; and second, the persistent belief that a sea route would be found leading from Hudson Bay to the Orient. The Hudson's Bay Company was quite willing to reap the advantage which would accrue to it from the discovery of precious metals, but it took little interest in the discovery of a northwest passage; nevertheless some people insisted that it was the special duty of the company to seek for this passage, because of certain clauses in its charter. The Indians on the Churchill River had told Captain Knight of rich mines of copper on some river in the north, and he finally persuaded the directors to fit out an expedition to search for them and to make other discoveries in that direction. On June 4, 1719, Captain Knight received orders from the company to take "the *Albany* frigate, Capt. George Barlow, and the *Discovery*, Capt. David Vaughan, commander, upon a discovery to the northward;" and the order says further, "with the first opportunity of wind and weather, to depart from Gravesend on your intended voyage, and by God's permission to find out the Straits of Anian, and to discover gold and other valuable commodities to the northward."

The ships were well provisioned, they had a stock of goods for trade, they were supplied with tools for mining, and they carried strong, iron-bound boxes in which to bring home the "gold and other valuable commodities." The months passed, and although no word came from the ships, no anxiety was felt, because they were expected to winter in the bay. Two of the company's ships made

trading trips to the north during the summer of 1719—the *Prosperous* which sailed from Port Nelson on June 19 and returned on August 10, and the *Success*, which sailed from the mouth of the Churchill on July 2 and came back on August 10. Neither had seen any trace of Captain Knight's ships, but this did not cause any uneasiness; nor was the public seriously alarmed when the summer of 1720 passed without any message from them. In the summer of 1721 the *Prosperous* under Henry Kelsey and the *Success* under Capt. James Napper sailed north from Port Nelson on June 26. The latter was wrecked four days after she sailed; but the former returned safely on September 2, although she brought no information about Captain Knight's vessels.

When the third summer came with no news of the missing ships, grave fears for their safety were felt, and the company sent orders to Capt. John Scroggs of the sloop *Whalebone*, which had sailed from Gravesend on May 21, 1721, and had wintered in the bay, to make a search for Captain Knight's vessels. Scroggs was absent when the order arrived, having sailed from the Churchill in June to trade with the Esquimaux; and when he returned it was too late to do anything that season. He set sail as early as possible in the spring of 1723 and for five weeks searched vainly for traces of the lost ships. Their fate remained a mystery for forty-eight years, and then relics were found which told their story—one more of the grim tragedies of the northern seas. In 1767 the crew of one of the company's ships engaged in the whale fishery landed on a point of Marble Island and found there anchors, chains, tools, and other articles which had plainly belonged to the *Albany* and the *Discovery*; and the ebb tide revealed the broken hulls of the missing ships themselves. Two years later the crew of another whaling ship heard from the lips of an aged Esquimaux the story of sickness and starvation which carried off the luckless men who had sailed with Captain Knight in 1719.

These voyages of discovery in the north had cost loss of life and ships and had added little valuable information about the coast and its resources; so it was only natural for the company to discontinue them and to give attention to the extension of trade in other directions. A post had been built on the spot beside the Churchill River, which Kelsey had selected in 1688; but this was abandoned in 1718, and a new wooden fort was erected five miles further down the stream and named Fort Prince of Wales. But there was always the possibility of a new war with France; and while wooden forts were useful defences against hostile Indians, they had not proved effective against cannon in the attacks made by d'Iberville's forces. These facts led the company to strengthen the fortifications of its most important posts, those at Port Nelson and the mouth of the Churchill. So in 1734 skilled military engineers began the construction of fortifications which ultimately made Fort Prince of Wales one of the strongest fortresses in North America. The walls were from twenty-five feet to forty-two feet thick at their foundations, and were mounted with forty-nine heavy cannon. At each of the four corners of the walls a strong bastion was built, three of them containing bomb-proof storehouses and the fourth containing the magazine. There were covered passages in various directions. At first the parapets of the walls were constructed of timber brought from the abandoned fort up the river, but in 1746 the company replaced these with stone parapets. The fort was about three hundred feet on each side, and within the walls were

two houses, a dwelling, and a building for offices. Joseph Robson, who was the engineer in charge of the work for some years, tells us that one of these buildings was one hundred and ten and one-half feet long, thirty-three feet wide, with side walls seventeen feet high, and roof covered with lead.

In 1720 the Hudson's Bay Company began to push its operations inland and built Henley House on the Albany one hundred and fifty miles above the fort at its mouth. Ten years later a new fort was erected on the site of the old post at the mouth of the Moose River; and about the same time Richmond Fort was built on Richmond Bay at the mouth of the Whale River; but the latter was not a profitable post and was subsequently abandoned. In 1732 a new post was established on the Flude River, a branch of the East Main. In 1760 orders were issued for the construction of a new and stronger fort on the Severn, its site to be as far up the river as possible.

War broke out between England and France in 1744, and the Hudson's Bay Company was fearful of attacks on its forts by French warships or by forces marching overland from Quebec. This accounts for the strengthening of many of these forts and for the increase in their garrisons. The governors of all of them were ordered to keep prepared for an attack at any moment. Moose Fort was to be guarded most carefully, as it would be the first point of attack by any force coming from Canada, and its garrison was increased to forty-eight men. The garrison at Fort Nelson was raised to the same strength.

After the failure of the Hudson's Bay Company to find a northwest passage in the years from 1719 to 1723 no further efforts in that direction were made for several years. Then Arthur Dobbs began to urge the company to renew the search, and he kept up the agitation so persistently that the matter assumed the importance of a public question. As a result of his representations the company sent two ships on the quest in 1737. The *Churchill* under Capt. James Napper and the *Musquash* under Capt. Robert Crow were dispatched from Fort Prince of Wales on July 7 with instructions to seek an outlet from the bay on the northwest. Captain Napper died a month after sailing and his ship returned to port on August 18; the other vessel came back four days later. Neither crew had accomplished anything of importance.

The Hudson's Bay Company had no commercial advantage to gain from the discovery of the northwest passage and was naturally unwilling to expend more capital in the search for it; but the irrepressible Dobbs continued to write and speak about the matter until public opinion compelled the government to take it up. The Admiralty finally detailed the bomb-ketch *Furnace* and a small vessel called the *Discovery* for this service and appointed Capt. Christopher Middleton to command the expedition. The ships sailed westward in June, 1741, and spent some time in exploring the northern part of Hudson Bay in a cursory manner; but no new information of importance was brought back.

In 1746 parliament passed an act to encourage exploration for a northwest passage, offering a reward of £20,000 for its discovery. Under such encouragement a Northwest Association was formed, which dispatched the *Dobbs Galley*, Capt. William Moor, and the *California*, Capt. Francis Smith, to the northern sea. Henry Ellis accompanied them as agent of the association. The crews had signed for a three years' cruise; and the ships were well supplied with naval and military stores, presents for the natives of the new lands to be dis-

covered, and goods for trade. Bonuses were promised to the officers and men, if the voyage were successful in its purpose.

The ships sailed from England on May 10, and a man-of-war conveyed them for a part of the voyage. They cruised about Hudson Bay for several weeks, and in September entered the mouth of the Hayes River where they were to pass the winter. A large log building, called Montague House, was erected to shelter the party during the winter. The relations between Governor Norton and the officers of the ships were far from cordial; and there was much suffering among the crews on account of scurvy and other diseases. Early in the following June the ships sailed out of the river and resumed their search for the passage to India. Nothing of importance was discovered, except that the so-called Wager Strait, which some had hoped might lead to the passage, was not a strait at all but a narrow bay. The ships made sail for home in August and reached Plymouth two months later. "Thus ended a voyage of great expectation, without success, but not without effect, as we had the possibility and probability of a Northwest Passage, having observed and studied the tides, currents, fogs, winds, and ice—as well as the natives of the land and character of the Esquimaux."

Unable to induce the Hudson's Bay Company to make any further efforts to discover the northwest passage, Dobbs and his friends attacked the standing of the company itself. They had sufficient influence in parliament to secure the appointment of a special committee in March, 1748, which was directed "to inquire into the state and condition of the countries and trade of Hudson's Bay, and also the right the company pretend to have by charter to the property of the land, and exclusive trade to those countries." The inquiry lasted two months; and the enemies of the company strove to show that its monopoly should be revoked and the trade thrown open to all who wished to engage in it, and that the lands covered by its charter should be forfeited and re-granted to any persons who would occupy and improve them. It was pointed out that the company had occupied none of the immense area granted to it except the few small sites of its trading posts. Many witnesses were examined, but the final decision of the committee was very favorable to the company.

Even in times of peace the company found itself unable to maintain the monopoly of the fur trade which it claimed under its charter. The fact that its territory had been ceded to Britain by France in the treaty of Utrecht did not keep the French from securing a part of its trade. Traders from Quebec pushed further and further into its territory, securing some of its richest furs. There was a French post on the upper part of the Moose River and another on the Albany not far from Henley House, and Governor Norton is reported to have said in 1739 that the French had a settlement (post) not more than one hundred and twenty miles from Fort Prince of Wales. The company wished the government to make good the promise of protection contained in its charter by keeping French trading ships out of Hudson Bay and restricting the Quebec traders to the east and south of a fixed line.

This seems to have led the Lords of Trade and Plantations to ask the company in 1750 for descriptions of the boundaries of its territory and maps of the same, especially of those parts which were near settlements made by the French. The company's reply stated its position and added that the boundaries between its territory and the French possessions were to be settled by the commissioners

whose appointment had been provided for in the treaty of Utrecht. Although thirty-seven years had passed, the commissioners had not determined these boundaries. Two years later the company took occasion to remind the government that another matter, whose settlement had been provided for in the same treaty, had never been dealt with, and that was the company's claim against the French for damages. The government was not to be hurried, however, and fate took one of the questions out of the discussion a few years later. Wolfe's victory on the Plains of Abraham and the subsequent treaty of Paris gave Canada to the British.

In the meantime the Hudson's Bay Company, mindful of its own interests and perhaps urged forward by the public sentiment which had found a spokesman in Arthur Dobbs, had made another attempt to explore the interior of its vast domain. In the year 1754 James Isham, the governor of York Factory, had in his staff a bookkeeper named Anthony Hendry. This young man was a native of the Isle of Wight, who had been outlawed for smuggling and who was trying to start life anew in the northern post. He had asked for exploratory work, and the governor sent him south to the prairies beyond the Saskatchewan. Four hundred Assiniboinés had come down to the fort with their catch of furs, and when they started on their return trip, Hendry went with them. Following up the Hayes River and the Nelson, they crossed Lake Winnipeg about the end of July and began the ascent of the Saskatchewan. After they had followed the river for a few miles, they turned off to the southwest, and reached the district west of Lake Winnipegosis. Hendry tried to induce the Assiniboinés living there to trade with York Fort, but was told that they preferred to take their furs to the French post at the mouth of the Pasquia River.

Continuing his journey to the west, Hendry finally came to the wide plains where the Blackfeet dwelt. Four horsemen came to conduct him to a village of that nation where he counted three hundred and twenty-two tents. He gave the headmen presents and invited the chief to trade with the Hudson's Bay Company; but afterwards he learned that this displeased the Assiniboinés who did not wish the Blackfeet to leave their native plains. Wherever he went, Hendry tried to draw the Indian trade away from the French and secure it for the company which he served, and when spring came he had an immense quantity of fur. On April 28, with canoes well laden, Hendry began his return trip. At every camping place canoes filled with furs joined his until a flotilla of sixty was floating down the broad Saskatchewan. When he reached the French Fort at the mouth of the Pasquia, the trader in charge of it asked Hendry to be his guest. Almost before the Englishman knew what had happened, the French had given his Indians ten gallons of brandy and had purchased the best of their furs. Coaxing them away from the over-hospitable French, Hendry took his Indians and their depleted cargoes of fur down to Fort York, which he reached on June 20.

Hendry had done valuable work for the Hudson's Bay Company, had the directors been wise enough to appreciate it; but the factors at the bay did not believe his reports of Indian tribes which used horses and did not relish his advice about methods of securing more of the inland trade. The minutes of the company show that he was given a gratuity of £20 for his work, but he was disappointed in his hopes of being sent on another exploratory journey.



COUCHOUCHING FALLS, RAINY RIVER





Released from the menace of attack by the French, the Hudson's Bay Company extended its operations widely in the years which followed the cession of Canada to England. It began by exploring the great district to the west and northwest of Fort Prince of Wales. Moses Norton was governor there, and the reports of a great river far to the north and of copper to be found along its banks, which the Indians continued to bring him, led him to urge the directors of the company to explore the region. He had recommended Samuel Hearne, then employed by the company as mate of the brig *Charlotte*, for this service, and the company accepted his recommendation. Hearne was instructed to make "an inland journey, far to the north of the Churchill, to promote an extension of our trade, as well as for the discovery of a northwest passage, copper mines, etc." He was also to determine the latitude and longitude of important points, estimate distances, note the course and depth of rivers, observe the character of the soil and its products, and to take possession of all places likely to be of advantage to the company.

The guns of Fort Prince of Wales gave Hearne a farewell salute when he set out on November 6, 1769, with instruments, tools, and provisions for his assistants and Indian guides. When he was about two hundred miles away from the fort, his guides deserted him, carrying off a part of his tools and ammunition; and so he was forced to return to the fort after an absence of thirty-seven days. On the 23 of February he started out again with five Indians and a small supply of provision. As it was necessary to stop frequently to secure game for food, Hearne could not proceed very rapidly. In spite of their efforts, the men were often without food for days together and were reduced to using their shoes and parts of their fur clothing to prevent death from starvation. Keeping on in a northwest direction, they ultimately reached some point in the Barren Lands. Here on August 11 an accident befell Hearne's quadrant while he was taking an observation of the sun to determine his latitude, and this forced him to return. He reached the fort in November.

Resting for a few days only, Hearne set out on his third journey into the interior on December 7, 1770. On this trip he was accompanied by the Indian chief Matonabee, who acted as leader of his guides. Pushing on through the snow, the party reached a place called Clowey in the spring. A large party of Indians had assembled there to make a raid on the Esquimaux, and Hearne traveled north with them. Their women, children, dogs, and heavy baggage were left there, and a rapid dash northward brought them to the Coppermine River on July 14. On the way Hearne met the Copper Indians, who had never seen a white man before, and smoked the peace-pipe with them. Descending the Coppermine, Hearne reached the Arctic Ocean on July 18, and after taking possession of the region for the Hudson's Bay Company, he turned southward. Keeping to the westward of the trail which he had taken north, Hearne reached Lake Athabasca on December 24, 1771. He spent the winter in that district, and in the spring turned his steps eastward, arriving at Fort Prince of Wales on the 29th day of June, 1772.

In 1773 Governor Norton sent Hearne south to the Saskatchewan where he established a post, afterward known as Cumberland House, which became an important centre of trade.

The company was not unmindful of the debt it owed Hearne for his wide

explorations, the friendly relations between it and the natives which he had promoted, and the increased trade which he had secured for it; and soon after the position of governor at Fort Prince of Wales became vacant through the death of Moses Norton, Hearne was appointed to it. Unfortunately he did not show in this position the courage, energy, and determination which had characterized him in his explorations.

War had broken out once more between England and her old-time enemy, France; and the French determined to strike England in her distant possessions on Hudson Bay, as had been done in the brave days of d'Iberville. In 1782 Admiral de la Pérouse was sent there with the *Sceptre*, of seventy-four guns, and the *Astarte* and the *Engageante*, of thirty-six guns each, to destroy the forts of the Hudson's Bay Company. He reached the mouth of the Churchill on August 8, much disappointed to find that the company's ships, which he expected to capture in the bay, had eluded him. He was short of provision and ammunition and was in no condition to capture such a stronghold as Fort Prince of Wales, had it been bravely defended by an adequate garrison. But the force there consisted of thirty-nine men only, and Hearne seems to have been stricken with terror by the approach of a force of four hundred Frenchmen on the morning of the 9th. Snatching up a white table cloth, he used it as a flag of truce and secured opportunity for a parley. As a result of the parley the place was surrendered without a shot being fired. The surprised French admiral transferred part of the cannon, ammunition, and provisions to his poorly supplied ships, and then gave his men permission to loot the place. He ordered his engineers to destroy its fortifications; but they were so strongly constructed that most of the works were intact after two days' efforts to blow them up.

On August 11th, Admiral de la Pérouse sailed away to repeat his success at the mouth of the Nelson. Umfreville, who was in York Factory at the time of its capture, tells the story in the following words:

"The first notice we had of an enemy's being on the coast was on the 20th of August, 1782, in the evening, at which time the Company's ship was lying in the roads, and had been for five days, without having the least intimation of this event, although Mons. La Pérouse, by his own account, had been sounding Port Nelson River on the 18th. The next day, August 21st, the weather being extremely fine and calm, it afforded the enemy an opportunity to land their men with safety, which they attempted in fourteen boats, provided with mortars, cannon, scaling ladders, and about three hundred men, exclusive of marines.

"Our number of men consisted of sixty English and twelve Indians, who behaved extremely well to us, and evinced their regard to us by every exertion in their power. The defense of York consisted of thirteen cannon, twelve and nine pounders, which formed a half-moon battery in the front of the Factory; but it being thought probable that the enemy might come in the night and turn these guns against us, they were overset to prevent the French from taking this advantage. On the ramparts were twelve swivel guns mounted on carriages, which might have annoyed the enemy in the most effectual manner. Every kind of small arms were in plenty and good condition within the fort. We had likewise ammunition in great store, and the people seemed to be under no apprehension. A fine rivulet of fresh water ran within the stockades; there were also about thirty head of cattle, and as many hogs, with a great quantity of salt provisions of different kinds.

"August 22. Two Indian scouts were sent to obtain intelligence, who returned in about three hours and gave it as their opinion that the enemy must be nigh at hand, as they heard several guns fired in the vicinity of the fort. About sunset we could plainly discern a large fire behind us, kindled by the French, as we supposed, to refresh themselves before the attack the next day.

"August 23. It was observed at daylight that the Company's ship had taken advantage of a fine breeze at S.W. and prudently shaped her course for England, unperceived by the enemy. About 10 o'clock this morning the enemy appeared before our gates; during their approach a most inviting opportunity offered itself to be revenged on our invaders by discharging the guns on the ramparts, which must have done great execution; but a kind of tepid stupefaction seemed to take possession of the Governor (Humphrey Martin) at this time of the trial, and he peremptorily declared that he would shoot the first man who offered to fire a gun. Accordingly, as the place was not to be defended, he, resolving to be beforehand with the French, held out a white flag with his own hand, which was answered by the French officer's showing his pocket-handkerchief.

"Under this flag of truce a parley took place, when the Governor received a summons wrote in English. In this summons two hours were granted to consult about our situation; but this indulgence was made no use of, and the place was most ingloriously given up in about ten minutes, without one officer being consulted, or a council assembled; so that this fort, which might have withstood the united efforts of double the number of those by which it was assailed in an attack with small arms, was surrendered to a half-starved, wretched group of Frenchmen, worn out with fatigue and hard labor, in a country they were entire strangers to. From the nature of their attack by the way of Port Nelson River, they could not use their mortars or artillery, the ground being very bad, and interspersed with woods, thickets and bogs, by which they were so roughly handled in the course of their march that I verily believe they had not fifty pairs of shoes in their whole army. The difficulties of their march must appear very conspicuous when it is considered they were a whole day in marching seven miles."

The men of the garrison were made prisoners; and after the French had taken some of the contents of the fort, it was burned. The company lost furs, provisions, and other property amounting to many thousands of pounds.

Fort Prince of Wales has never been rebuilt, and stands today much as the French admiral left it one hundred and thirty years ago. Like the ruins of Louisburg on the far eastern coast of Canada, this fortress on her northern shore is a monument of the centuries of war between Britain and France. Dr. Bell has said: "Its site admirably chosen, its design and armament once perfect; interesting still as a relic of bygone strife, but useful now only as beacon for the harbor it had failed to protect."



## CHAPTER VIII

### GREAT FRENCH EXPLORERS

For a hundred years after the Hudson's Bay Company had received its charter from Charles II, it was content to transact its business at seven or eight forts along the coast of the bay and a few posts not far inland; but it neglected the vast interior and the enormous quantity of furs to be obtained there. It was far otherwise with the enterprising traders and the adventurous *coureurs des bois* of Quebec; for they had penetrated into the most distant parts of the territory claimed by the English company and were drawing away a large part of its trade.

Between the years 1659 and 1663 Radisson and Groseilliers had found their way west to the border of the prairies and north to Hudson Bay; and when the chartered companies and the government of Canada compelled these daring men to discontinue their trading trips into the uncharted wilderness, their trails were taken up by others. We know that Duluth had a fort on the Nepigon Lake in 1684, and it is quite likely that he reached the site of the city which bears his name about the same time. We are told that de Noyen, a Canadian from Three Rivers, spent the winter of 1688 with Indians on an island in the Lake of the Woods and that he left a detailed description of the route to it. De la Nouë, who had charge of a fort at Kaministiquia from 1717 to 1721, suggested that a fort should be built on Rainy Lake. Such facts make it more than probable that some of these early traders found their way to the prairie country west of the posts which they occupied; and we know that a French half-breed, named Joseph la France, went from Lake Superior to Hudson Bay between the years 1739 and 1742, following the route which nature seems to have designed for canoemen. He traversed that chain of rivers and small lakes which connects Lake Superior with Rainy Lake, crossed it, and descended Rainy River to the Lake of the Woods; traversed this beautiful sheet of water and went down the Winnipeg River; paddled down the length of Lake Winnipeg; followed the connected waters which lead from it to the Hayes River; and then followed that stream to the bay. But there was no organized attempt to explore the great plains of the west until it was made by a high-minded, intrepid citizen of Three Rivers, whose name is one of the most illustrious in Canadian history.

The small town of Three Rivers in Quebec is connected with the early history of Manitoba and the west in many ways. It was the home of Groseilliers and Radisson, the adventurers who were probably the first white men to find their way from the Great Lakes, to the western plains and the northern sea; it was the home of Duluth and De Noyen; and it was the birth-place of one greater than any of these. In the latter part of the seventeenth century the governor

of this little walled town beside the St. Lawrence was René Gauthier de Varannes, and on the 17th of November, 1685, a son was born to him who received the name of Pierre. The boy received such education as could be obtained in the colony at the time, and when only twelve years of age became a cadet in the army. In 1704 he was a member of the force which de Rouville led on a winter raid against the New England settlements, and in the next year he went with Subercase to attack St. John's, Newfoundland. In 1706 he received an ensign's commission in a Brittany regiment then serving in Flanders and fought with it for three years in the War of the Spanish Succession. At Malplaquet he distinguished himself by many acts of bravery, was wounded nine times, and left for dead on the field. He recovered, however, and soon after quit the service to return to Canada and engage in the fur trade. In a year or two he was married to the daughter of a Canadian gentleman named Dandonneau, and made his home on the island of Dupas in the St. Lawrence not far from Three Rivers. Four sons were born to him, and all of them were to play a part in the history of the west.

For several years the father managed a trading post on the St. Maurice River called La Gabelle; but in 1726 he was sent to take charge of a fort on Lake Nepigon, where Duluth had been stationed forty-four years earlier, and where Radisson had traded thirty years before that. This Pierre Gauthier de la Vérendrye, to give him his full title, was a man of high purpose, and for years he had brooded over the possibility of finding that elusive water-route to the western sea, which had lured so many dauntless explorers into the west and north; and perhaps the hope of a chance to engage in the search led him west to the Nepigon.

Among the Indians who came west to trade at la Vérendrye's fort was a man named Ochagach, who lived on the Kaministiquia about a hundred miles away. He gave the commandant of the post very interesting accounts of a journey which he had once made to the west, of a great lake there, and of a large river flowing out of it to the westward. He said that he had paddled down this river until he reached a point where the tide rose and fell, and that he had been told of a great salt lake or sea into which it emptied. He had also heard that large ships came from some land across this sea, and that on its shores were strange men who wore armor and rode upon horses.

To la Vérendrye it seemed that, if these tales were true, the sea could be no other than the long-sought western ocean and that if it were so near, there should be little difficulty in finding a route to it. Inspired with the desire to discover it, la Vérendrye went to the governor of Canada, the Marquis de Beauharnois, in 1730 and outlined a plan for an exploring expedition into the far west. He showed a rough map of the route to be taken, which Ochagach had drawn on birch bark. His arguments were seconded by the reports made by Father Gonor, who had established a mission among the Sioux in 1727. Finally la Vérendrye was permitted to leave his fort in order to take an expedition into the interior, but the government could give him no money for the purpose. However, it gave him a monopoly of the fur trade in the regions he might explore, and this concession induced the merchants of Montreal to form a company to promote the enterprise. La Vérendrye put all his own money into it.

Early in the summer of 1731 la Vérendrye set out. He was accompanied by three of his sons, Jean-Baptiste, Pierre, and François, and by his nephew,

Christopher Dufrost de la Jemeraye; and Father MESAIGER joined them on the way. They followed the usual route by the Ottawa, Lake Nipissing, French River, Lake Huron, and Lake Superior to the Grand Portage of the Pigeon River. The long journey which they had made and the unknown difficulties before them so discouraged some of la Vérendrye's men that they would not go further; he therefore camped for the winter at Kaministiquia with these men and sent Jemeraye and one of his sons forward with the remainder of the party. They penetrated the forest for a hundred leagues, and having reached the outlet of Rainy Lake, they built Fort St. Pierre near the present town of Fort Francis and wintered there.

In May, 1732, Jemeraye went back to Grand Portage with a good supply of furs, and la Vérendrye sent them to Michilimackinac in charge of one of his sons; then he took the rest of his men westward. They set out on June 8 and reached Fort St. Pierre on July 14. After a short stay at the fort, la Vérendrye and his men descended the Rainy River, accompanied by about fifty Indian canoes. Some time was spent in exploring the island-studded Lake of the Woods, and then a site for Fort St. Charles was selected about three miles up a stream near the Northwest Angle. The fort was "an inclosure made with four rows of posts, from twelve to fifteen feet in height, in the form of an oblong square, within which are a few rough cabins constructed of logs and clay, and covered with bark." Here the party spent the winter.

In the spring of 1733 Jemeraye was sent back to Montreal to make a report to the merchants who had fitted out the expedition and to secure supplies for the coming year. Father MESAIGER accompanied him. La Vérendrye spent a part of the summer exploring the Winnipeg River, preparatory to building a fort on it, if Jemeraye's success in Montreal would warrant the expense. But the merchants there gave the expedition rather meagre support, and the government still declined to aid it with money; so a scanty supply of goods reached Fort St. Charles in the autumn and only a small stock of furs could be purchased from the Indians. In the spring of 1734 la Vérendrye decided that he must go to Montreal himself, if his enterprise was to be saved from ruin. Sending his eldest son, Jean-Baptiste, to build Fort Maurepas at the mouth of the Winnipeg River, and leaving Fort St. Charles in charge of Jemeraye, he set out on his long journey and reached Montreal on the 25th of August.

La Vérendrye was more than a mere trader. His was the vision of the explorer and the imperialist. He saw the vast western plains added to the empire of France, its great rivers as her highways, and, beyond them all, the western sea over which her ships would carry the commerce of the Indies; but to his Montreal partners he must talk of the profits to be made from the trade in furs, else the money and goods to continue his explorations would not be secured. His arguments prevailed, and he received orders to continue his work and returned to the west with new supplies.

Leaving Montreal on June 6, 1735, la Vérendrye reached Fort St. Charles on September 6. He found the place in sore straits. Provisions were exhausted, and the men had taken to hunting to supply themselves with food. He spent the winter there, doing the best he could under the circumstances, but unable to extend explorations into the west. In the spring the party was without goods or provisions. La Vérendrye sent two of his sons to Fort Maurepas, and



on June 4 they returned with sad news, for la Jemeraye was dead, worn out with the labors and hardships which he had undergone. His death was a great blow to la Vérendrye, for no one could have given him more loyal and enthusiastic support than his nephew had done.

Another blow soon followed. It was necessary to send a party to Michilimackinac to hurry forward supplies, if the explorers were to be saved from starvation during the approaching winter. Led by Jean-Baptiste and accompanied by Father Aulneau, the party set out on June 8 in three canoes. That night they camped on an island about twenty miles from Fort St. Charles. In the early morning a band of Sioux, intent on avenging an injury done them by the Chippewas, crept up to the French party and poured a shower of arrows upon it. The leader, the priest, and others fell, and the remainder seized their guns and attempted to defend themselves in a retreat to their canoes. But the Indians were too strong for them, and those who were not shot down were driven into the lake and drowned.

La Vérendrye remained at Fort St. Charles during the autumn and winter; but when spring came, he had not even the necessities of life, and was compelled to go to Montreal again. The journey took most of the summer, and he spent the winter in Canada. On June 18, 1738, he turned his face westward once more, carrying what was necessary to continue his enterprise, and reached Fort St. Charles on September 2. During his absence his two sons had managed affairs there and had maintained very friendly relations with the natives.

The autumn was unusually fine, and la Vérendrye determined to push his explorations further into the west. Leaving his second son, Pierre, in charge of Fort St. Charles, and taking the third, François, and the fourth, Louis, who had just joined the expedition as its cartographer, he went down the Winnipeg River to Fort Maurepas, paused there a day, and crossed Lake Winnipeg to the mouth of the Red River. He ascended the river to its junction with the Assiniboine, and it was probably on September 26, 1738, that the intrepid French explorer landed on the site of the future capital of Manitoba to select a place for a trading post. Two bands of Crees were camped at the junction of the rivers, and after a conference with their chiefs, la Vérendrye secured their promise to trade with the French rather than the English. When these Crees learned that la Vérendrye intended to ascend the Assiniboine, they attempted to dissuade him. "You will find yourself among the Assiniboines," said one of the chiefs, "and they are a useless people, without intelligence, who do not hunt the beaver, and clothe themselves only in the skins of buffalo. They are a good-for-nothing lot of rascals, and might do you harm."

La Vérendrye went forward, and on October 3 he landed and began the construction of a fort in which to pass the winter. In his journal he says, "My fourth fort is Fort de la Reine, on the north bank of the Assiniboine River;" and he adds, "From Fort de la Reine there is a nine mile portage leading to Lac des Prairies." Lac des Prairies is now Lake Manitoba and Fort de la Reine, named in honor of the queen of France, stood on or close to the present site of Portage la Prairie. Before the fort was completed a band of Assiniboines came to visit la Vérendrye, who found them not less ready to trade than the Crees. The knives, awls, and other steel tools which he gave them were very highly prized.

As soon as Fort de la Reine had been started, la Vérendrye sent some of his men under de Louviere back to the mouth of the Assiniboine to build a fort there to retain the trade of the Crees in the neighborhood. The post was erected on the south bank of the Assiniboine close to its mouth and was named Fort Rouge, an appellation which survives in the name still given to that portion of the city of Winnipeg. Fort Rouge was abandoned after a year or two, as it was found more convenient to conduct trade with the Crees from Fort Maurepas. It seems to have been more than sixty years before another trading post was established on the site of the present commercial centre of Manitoba.

For a long time the French explorer had been receiving from the natives who came to trade with him accounts of a great Indian nation that occupied the country through which the upper Missouri flows. These Indians were called the Mandans, and la Vérendrye was very anxious to visit them; so, although it was late in the autumn when Fort de la Reine was completed, he started on the long journey to the Missouri country. He took one of his sons, de la Marque, who had come west to serve as his lieutenant, twenty Frenchmen, and four Indian guides. They had travelled a day or two when they received an urgent invitation to visit a band of Assiniboines some distance off the line of march. Unwilling to lose so much time but anxious to secure the friendship of the Indians, la Vérendrye finally consented to go to their village. The party was well received, the usual presents were made, and the Indians promised to trade with the French.

The next evidence of the Indian's friendship proved rather embarrassing to la Vérendrye, for he was assured that the band would accompany him to the country of the Mandans and that word of their coming had already been sent forward. He could not prevent this migration, and so the whole band, about six hundred in number, began the march next morning. Progress was slow, because the Indians often halted to hunt buffaloes, and it was late in November before la Vérendrye met the first party of Mandans and exchanged presents with them in token of friendship. After some delay he went forward to one of their fortified villages and was well received. These people did not appreciate the visit of such a large band of Assiniboines, and contrived to scare them back to their own country by stories of the approach of a large force of hostile Sioux. The Assiniboines managed to carry off a large part of the presents which la Vérendrye had brought for the Mandans, and so honors might be considered even between the unwilling hosts and their self-invited guests.

La Vérendrye noted many interesting facts about the Mandans and their customs, and he tried to obtain from them information about the country west of theirs and the possibility of crossing it to the western ocean; but he was unable to gain much knowledge about these matters, as his interpreter had deserted him. So he left two Frenchmen to learn the Mandan language and gain all the information possible; then, with the rest of his men, he set out on the return journey. The mid-winter trip proved very trying, and Fort de la Reine was not reached until the 11th of February, 1739.

In May la Vérendrye sent his men from Fort de la Reine to Grand Portage to bring up the season's supply of goods. Nothing had been sent to that point, however, and the men went on to Michilimackinac. No goods had been sent there for them, and their furs were seized for an alleged debt due by la Vérendrye.

Under the circumstances his men carried a very small amount of supplies when they came back to Fort de la Reine in October. During the summer Indians from the northern shore of Lake Manitoba had asked that trading posts be established in their district, and two of his sons had been sent to find suitable sites; but when the father found that he would have no goods to stock these posts, he was obliged to postpone their erection.

He spent the winter of 1739 in his fort on the Assiniboine, and in the spring he set out once more for Montreal, hoping to induce the merchants to forward the supplies which he needed so much. He had sunk his own fortune in the western enterprise, had spent nine strenuous years in the work, and had lost a son and a nephew in its prosecution; and now he found himself involved in lawsuits over his management of the business. He had the sympathy and aid of the governor, however, and finally succeeded in getting a new stock of goods. In the spring of 1741 he left Montreal, accompanied by Father Coquart. La Vérendrye reached Fort de la Reine on October 13th, but the priest did not arrive at that point until 1743.

The two men whom la Vérendrye had left with the Mandans returned to Fort de la Reine late in the autumn of 1739 with tales of a race of Indians living by a western sea, among whom bearded white men dwelt. They had heard these stories from a band of western Indians which had visited the Mandans and from which guides to the sea might be obtained. Pierre had gone to the Mandans in the summer of 1740, hoping to secure these guides; but he was not successful, and returned the next summer.

The arrival of his stores enabled la Vérendrye to carry out his plan of building new forts in the north, and in the autumn of 1741 he sent his son to build a fort on the shore of Lake Manitoba and another on Cedar Lake near the mouth of the Saskatchewan. The former was called Fort Dauphin, the latter Fort Bourbon. La Vérendrye himself says, "From Fort de la Reine there is a nine mile portage to the northeast, reaching to the Lake of the Prairies. The south side of the lake is followed to the outlet of a river that comes from the great prairies, at the foot of which is Fort Dauphin, the fifth establishment, built at the request of the prairie Crees and the canoe Assiniboines. There is a trail from there to Fort Bourbon, which is the sixth establishment. But the road is not advantageous. The custom is, on leaving Fort Maurepas, to pass along the north of Lake Winnipigon to its first strait, where a crossing is made to the south, from island to island, then the land is coasted along to the river *aux Biches*, where Fort Bourbon stands near a lake of the same name. From Fort Bourbon to the Paskoyac (Pasquia) river is thirty leagues." A fort was built on the Paskoyac not long after, and one of la Vérendrye's sons followed the Saskatchewan River to its forks. A small post was built on the Red River not far from the present town of Selkirk about this time, but it was soon abandoned.

In the summer of 1742 la Vérendrye sent his sons, Pierre and François, with two men from Fort de la Reine, to make another visit to the Mandans. They set out on April 29, and on reaching the Missouri, crossed it and kept on to the southwest until they found themselves close to the Bighorn Mountains. They were most anxious to cross the range, believing that the sea which they sought must lie close beyond; but the Indian tribes in that region were at war,

and the Frenchmen were compelled to turn back. They spent some time in exploring the country now included in the states of Wyoming and Montana, taking possession of it for France. At length they turned their steps eastward and reached Fort de la Reine on July 2, 1743.

In spite of the noble achievements of la Vérendrye and his sons their enemies in Canada made the prosecution of their discoveries more and more difficult. Pierre was recalled from the west in 1745 and given a commission in the army under Legardeur de Saint-Pierre; François seems to have been recalled to serve under the same officer; and in 1746 la Vérendrye himself was summoned to Montreal to answer charges made against him. The brave and energetic man, who had spent fifteen years of his life in unselfish service to his country, was deprived of his position, and de Noyelles was appointed to direct the work of exploration and trade, no one of the Vérendrye family being left to take part in it except young Louis who had charge of Fort St. Charles. De Noyelles does not seem to have gone further west than Kaministiquia and to have given little attention to the business committed to his charge. The forts fell into ruins, and the Indians began to take their furs to the English posts in the far north.

In 1747 la Vérendrye's son, François, seems to have returned to his work in the west. He repaired Fort Maurepas and Fort de la Reine, and in 1749 he began preparations to ascend the Saskatchewan to its sources. The Indians assured him that it rose in very lofty mountains, and that beyond them was a great lake whose water could not be drunk; but it was necessary to await supplies from Montreal before making the ascent of the river. The year 1749 seemed to promise a change in the fortunes of la Vérendrye, for his sons had received promotions, he himself had been decorated with the cross of St. Louis, and had been appointed once more to conduct the exploration of the west. But in the midst of preparation for resuming his work death overtook him, and he passed away on December 6, 1749.

It would have been wise and just to give the position made vacant by the death of the great explorer to his son François, who had spent nearly twenty years in exploring the west; but it went to de Saint-Pierre instead. The young Chevalier de la Vérendrye generously offered to serve under this man, but was not allowed to do so. De Saint-Pierre seems to have owed his appointment to the notorious intendant, Bigot, and to have been more anxious to secure profit out of the fur trade for himself, his patron, and la Jonquiere, the governor, than to extend la Vérendrye's explorations. He started for the west on June 5, 1750, taking M. de Niverville with him as his lieutenant. The party reached Fort St. Pierre on September 29, and making short stays there and at Fort St. Charles, went down to Fort Maurepas. There the party was divided, some of the men going to the Saskatchewan with de Niverville, the others going to Fort de la Reine with de Saint-Pierre.

It was too late in the autumn to traverse Lake Winnipeg in canoes, and de Niverville's men were obliged to go by land to Fort Bourbon and then to follow the river bank up to Fort Paskoyac. There was no provision in the fort, and they were on the verge of starvation most of the winter. In the spring de Niverville received orders to follow the Saskatchewan to its sources and to build a fort at the foot of the mountains. He was too ill to go himself, but he sent ten men to carry out the undertaking. They were successful, and during the sum-

mer they constructed Fort la Jonquiere, which is supposed to have stood near the present city of Calgary. De Niverville remained at Fort Paskoyac until 1753, when it was abandoned and he returned to Canada.

De Saint-Pierre went from Fort Maurepas to Fort de la Reine. It had not been occupied after the sons of la Vérendrye left it and was without provisions. De Saint-Pierre's party passed a hard winter there, and in the spring he went to Grand Portage for supplies. He returned in October, and five weeks later he set out for Fort Paskoyac but did not reach it. Food was scarce that winter, and the nineteen men under de Saint-Pierre, as well as the Indians in the vicinity of the fort, were often menaced by starvation. The starving Indians became desperate, and one day in February, when fourteen of the Frenchmen were out hunting, the natives made an attempt to seize the fort.

De Saint-Pierre tells the story thus: "On the 22nd of February, about nine in the forenoon, I was in the fort with five Frenchmen. I had sent the rest of my men to get provisions, as I had been without any for some days. I was quiet in my room, when two hundred armed Assiniboines came into my Fort. These Indians were, in a moment, scattered through all the houses; several, without arms, came into my place, the others remained in the Fort. My men came to notify me of the appearance of the Indians. I hastened to them. I told them plainly that they were very daring to come in a crowd, thus armed, into my Fort. One of them made answer, in the Cree language, that they had come to smoke. I told them that such was not the manner to do things and that they would have to retire at once. I thought that the firmness with which I had spoken to them had intimidated them, especially as I had put four of the most insolent Indians out, without saying a word. I felt at once at home; but, in a moment, a soldier came to inform me that the guard-room was full of Indians, and that they had taken possession of the arms. I hastened to the guard-room. I asked those Indians, through my Cree interpreter, what were their intentions, and, at the same time, I prepared with my little troop for battle. My interpreter, who deceived me, said that the Indians had no bad intentions, and, at the same moment, an Assiniboine orator, who had unceasingly delivered beautiful harangues, told my interpreter that, in spite of him, the tribe wanted to pillage and kill me. No sooner had I learned their determination than I forgot about the necessity of taking their arms. I seized hold of a burning brand. I burst in the door of the powder magazine; I smashed two barrels of powder over which I waved my burning torch, making it be told in a positive tone to the Indians, that I would not perish by their hands and that in dying I would have the glory of making them suffer the same fate. The Indians saw more of my torch than they heard of my words. They all flew in haste to the gate of the Fort, which they fairly shook in their hurry. I soon dropped my torch and was not slow in closing the gate of my Fort. The peril which I had happily escaped, by thus placing myself in danger of destruction, caused me a great anxiety concerning the fourteen men whom I had sent after food. I kept a good watch on my bastions; I saw no more of the enemy, and, in the evening, my fourteen men arrived without having met with any misadventure."

The remainder of the winter passed quietly, and in the spring the Indians came back with protestations of friendship, in which de Saint-Pierre had little confidence. However, when he and his men set out for Grand Portage on July

24th, he left Fort de la Reine in charge of the Indians, who promised to guard it until his return. Four days after the commandant's departure the savages burned his fort as the most effective means of keeping intruders out of it.

On September 29, as he was coming down the Winnipeg River on his return trip, de Saint-Pierre learned of the destruction of Fort de la Reine; and so he seems to have taken his goods and provisions to Fort Rouge and to have spent the winter there. He was recalled to Canada in 1753, and de Niverville went with him. Governor Duquesne sent out the Chevalier de la Corne to take charge of the trading posts in the west, and by his orders a fort was erected on the Saskatchewan, a little below the forks, during 1756. This post, Fort la Corne, was the last fort built by the French in the west. In a short time it and all the forts built under la Vérendrye's direction were abandoned and soon fell into ruins.



## CHAPTER IX

### “THE PEDDLERS”

When the forts which la Vérendrye and his sons had built were abandoned by la Corne, the Indian trade passed north to the posts of the Hudson's Bay Company once more. The transfer of this trade foreshadowed a more important change. French sovereignty in the northern part of the American continent was nearing its end; and a few years after the fur trade of the west passed from the Canadian companies to the hands of their English rival, Canada itself was ceded to Britain by France. When the cession was finally completed by the treaty of Paris in 1763, British merchants were not slow to avail themselves of the business opportunities which were offered by the newly acquired colony, and many of them settled in Montreal. Such men were not likely to neglect the fur trade, which had proved so profitable to the Canadian merchants in spite of the rapacity of government officials; and the Hudson's Bay Company soon found its monopoly challenged by competitors keener, more energetic, and more persistent than the French companies had ever been. Its factors might despise these independent traders and denounce them as “peddlers”; but in a few years they were sapping its business in every part of its great territory.

Michilimackinac was the first objective point of these adventurous traders. Alexander Henry, a youth who had hardly reached his majority, had gone with General Amherst's army to the siege of Quebec in 1759; but before the end of 1761 he was in Michilimackinac with a cargo of goods to be bartered for furs. Young Henry was only one of the many who had reached the outlet of Lake Superior on the same quest. Beyond them lay the great west, and it cast its spell upon these energetic Britishers, just as it had done upon the French for more than a hundred years. The wealth which the French had found in the vast interior might be theirs also, the trails of the French were open to them; and so in a few years they had penetrated to the most remote points ever reached by their predecessors.

The early trading expeditions which started out from Michilimackinac did not reach the prairies. The Indians in the neighborhood of Rainy Lake had greatly appreciated the trading posts established there by the French, and greatly missed the articles sold at these posts, when the French abandoned them. So eager were they to secure a new supply that the first English traders, who reached Rainy Lake in 1765, were plundered by the natives and could not proceed further. Another attempt to reach the far west was made in the next year; but again the Rainy River Indians took all the goods, and the trader went back empty-handed. A third attempt, probably made by Thomas Curry, was more successful, for the Indians took only a part of the goods, and the trader



was allowed to carry the remainder to a point on the Saskatchewan. Curry spent some time trading near Fort Bourbon and was so successful that he had no need to go further west. He returned to Canada with such a rich cargo of furs that he could retire from business with a comfortable fortune.

James Finlay, a merchant of Montreal, spent the winter of 1770-1 at Fort Bourbon, but in the spring he ascended the river to its forks and passed the following winter at Fort Nipawi. He, too, was very successful and in a few years went back to Montreal a wealthy man. He was the father of the James Finlay who became prominent in the North-West Company in the early part of the nineteenth century and whose name had been given to one of our western rivers.

Of all the early British traders in the west none were more shrewd or enterprising than the three Frobisher brothers. They joined with the firm of Todd & McGill to send a cargo of goods into the west in 1769, but the Rainy Lake Indians plundered it and would not permit the traders to go further. A year or two later a second attempt was made with greater success. Joseph Frobisher seems to have been in charge of the venture, and he tells us that Fort Bourbon was reached. We are told by others that he had a trading post, called Frobisher's Fort, at some point on the Red River, probably in the winter of 1771-2. We are also told that he went north to Hudson Bay in the summer of 1772, that he met the Indians at Pike (Jackfish) River soon after as they went north to trade at Fort Prince of Wales and induced them to sell their furs to him regardless of their obligations to the Hudson's Bay Company, and that in 1774 he was at Trade Portage, which lies on the route connecting the North Saskatchewan with the Churchill. There he secured such an immense quantity of furs that he had a clear profit of £10,000 on the cargo which he took to Montreal. During the summer of 1775 Thomas Frobisher explored the country west of Trade Portage as far as Lake Ile à la Crosse, but his older brother does not seem to have returned to the west, although he took an active interest in the fur trade for many years.

The amazing success of Curry and Finlay could not fail to incite the other traders to greater ventures in the far west. So we find that Alexander Henry, whose enterprises on the shores of Lake Superior had not proved very remunerative, left Michilimackinac on June 10, 1775, with twelve small canoes and goods worth £3,000, and took the route of the old French voyageurs to the western wilds. Late in July he reached the site of la Vérendrye's fort at the outlet of Rainy Lake, and on the 30th he reached the Lake of the Woods. He crossed the Portage du Rat on August 4, descended the Winnipeg River, following the Pinawa channel, and halted at a Cree village near the old French fort, Maurepas. On August 18 he set out on the voyage of three hundred miles down Lake Winnipeg, and before it was completed, he had been joined by another trader, Peter Pond. They reached Jackfish River on September 1 and on the 7th were overtaken by Joseph Frobisher, his brother Thomas, and another trader named Patterson. The combined parties numbered one hundred and thirty men with thirty canoes. They entered the Saskatchewan on October 1, reached Lake Bourbon (Cedar Lake) on the 3d, and the site of the present Pas Mission on the 6th, finding a band of Wood Crees encamped there. On October 26 they reached Cumberland House, near Sturgeon Lake, the fort which Hearne had built for the Hudson's Bay Company about a year earlier to divert the Indian



ST. MARY'S ACADEMY, WINNIPEG



ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, WINNIPEG



trade of that district to the bay. The post was garrisoned by Orkneymen under the command of Mr. Cockings. Being at the junction of the canoe routes to the north and the west, it soon became one of the most important posts of the company.

At this point the traders separated, having divided the territory so that each would practically have a monopoly of the trade of the district to which he went. Cadotte went with four canoes to Fort des Prairies (Nipawi) not far from the forks of the Saskatchewan; Pond took two canoes to Fort Dauphin beside Lake Manitoba; while the Frobishers with six canoes and Henry with four went westward and camped for the winter at Beaver Lake. On New Year's Day, 1776, Henry and Joseph Frobisher set out for Cumberland House, and after a short stay there, went west on a long trip of exploration. The snow was deep, the cold was severe, and their provisions were soon exhausted. For several days they had nothing in the way of food except water in which a little chocolate had been dissolved; and had they not been fortunate enough to find a deer frozen in the ice of the river, they would have perished from starvation. Finally they reached Fort des Prairies, where they remained several days. Leaving the hospitality of the fort, the two hardy travelers wandered far across the Saskatchewan plains, hoping to find new bands of Indians whose trade they might secure. At last they met a party of Assiniboinés and were conducted to their village, where they were well entertained until the 20th of February. Then they returned to Fort des Prairies, where they stayed for four weeks, and, continuing their journey to their own post, reached it on the 9th of April.

Three days later Thomas Frobisher was dispatched with six men to build a post on the Churchill River, where the Indians could be intercepted on their way to Fort Prince of Wales. The rest of the party remained to fish until May 22, when it followed the advance detachment. On June 15 it reached the fort which Frobisher had erected, and on the next day a small party was sent forward toward Lake Athabasca to find a certain tribe of Indians with whom the traders wished to establish friendly relations. They met these Indians coming down to the post, and all returned together. The Indians had brought down great quantities of fur, and a brisk trade was soon going on. Henry says, "On the third morning this little fair was closed; and, on making up our packs, we found that we had purchased twelve thousand beaver skins, besides large numbers of otter and marten." Leaving Thomas Frobisher in charge of the unsold goods, Henry and the elder Frobisher then set out on their return journey and reached Montreal on October 15. Their venture had been so successful that neither of these men had any need to return to the west.

Peter Pond, who spent the winter of 1775-6 near Fort Dauphin, passed the next two years on the Sturgeon River, probably near Fort Saskatchewan. He went north to Lake Athabasca in 1779 and remained in the vicinity for several years. This was a district to which Canadian traders had not penetrated before, and Pond's post beside the Elk River was a well known landmark for some time. He went there as the representative of several traders, who had united in the venture, and stored goods in this post in 1779 to be used in the next year's trade, thus imitating in a small way the practice of the large companies. Pond was far more successful than his principals had anticipated, and in 1780 a new supply of goods was sent out in charge of Mr. Wadin, who was to act as Pond's col-

league. The two men soon quarreled, and Wadin was shot and died from the wound. Pond and his clerk were tried in Montreal for the murder, but were acquitted.

The remarkable success of such men as Henry and Frobisher drew an ever-increasing crowd of traders into the west, and many of them were simply unprincipled adventurers. A party of such men had crossed from the Saskatchewan River to the Eagle Hills in 1780. Annoyed by an Indian's repeated requests for liquor, one of these men gave him laudanum. The savage dropped dead a few minutes later, and his friends took swift vengeance on his murderer. When the skirmish was over the trader and six of his men were killed, and the others were glad to escape with their lives, leaving their goods in the hands of the enraged Indians. There was trouble at two of the posts on the Assiniboine during the same season. Both posts were attacked by the hostile Indians, and several men, both white and red, were killed. The Montreal traders gave the natives poorer goods than they had formerly received from the Hudson's Bay Company, and often crazed them by giving them the vilest kind of liquor in large quantities.

The hostility of the Indians, which had been provoked by the unscrupulous methods of the white traders, might have resulted in a long series of atrocities, had it not been for a terrible epidemic of smallpox. In the summer of 1781 a band of Assiniboines went to the Mandan country to procure horses and brought back the disease which has always proved so fatal to Indians. It spread with great rapidity among the tribes living west and north and prevailed for two years. At the end of that time many thousands of the natives were dead, the fur trade was almost destroyed, and nearly all the traders had fled from the country.

When the fur trade was resumed after this interruption, it was conducted on a new plan. The individual trader, taking a small quantity of goods so far and meeting the competition of traders like himself, found the enterprise hazardous and expensive; and he was helpless against the hostility of the Indians. The plan adopted by Henry and his fellow-traders in the winter of 1775 had shown the value of co-operation, and Joseph Frobisher and Simon McTavish were busy carrying the idea a little further. During the winter of 1783-4 they organized the North-West Company to carry on the fur trade in the west. In the spring McTavish and Benjamin Frobisher went to Grand Portage and persuaded nearly all the traders congregated there to join the new company; but Peter Pond and Peter Pangman, both New Englanders, were not satisfied with the terms offered by McTavish, and they organized another company whose leading members were John Gregory, a merchant of Montreal, and his partner, Alexander Norman McLeod.

The North-West Company was very energetic and ambitious. In a memorial presented to Governor Haldimand in October, 1784, it recites the discoveries it had made and the benefits it had conferred on the country in less than a year, and asks that it may be granted a monopoly of the old French route from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg for ten years, a perpetual monopoly of a new route which it was about to open between the two lakes, and a monopoly of the trade in the remote west for ten years. It also asked for the privilege of building its own ships for carrying goods and furs up and down the Great Lakes.

The fact that these requests were refused did not deter the company from pushing its business with great energy.

Nor was the opposing company less ambitious or less energetic. McLeod was left in charge of all its business in Montreal, and most of the other partners took charge of districts in the west. Alexander Mackenzie was sent to the Churchill River to compete with William McGillivray whom the North-West Company had sent there as its representative; and when they came out together in 1786, both had been very successful. Ross was sent to Lake Athabasca, Pangman went to the Saskatchewan, Roderick McKenzie was ordered to Ile à la Crosse, Pollack had charge of the Red River district. Not content with opposing its rival in nearly every district in the west, the new company established a post of its own at Grand Portage.

The unprincipled Pond soon deserted the company he had helped to organize and was sent by the North-West managers to oppose Ross in the Athabasca district. He immediately stirred up a bitter strife between his own men and those of his rival, and in one of their conflicts Ross was killed. Pond was arrested and sent east, and thereafter he plays no part in the story of the fur companies. These and similar troubles hastened the amalgamation of the two companies which was consummated in 1787. McLeod, McTavish, and the Frobishers were the principal directors of the new company in Montreal. Alexander Mackenzie was sent to take the place of Ross on Lake Athabasca, and the information which came to him there led him to the explorations that afterwards made him famous.

Between 1789 and 1793 Mackenzie followed to the Arctic the great river which bears his name and crossed the mountains to the Pacific. These splendid achievements brought him fame and promotion; but after a few years he disagreed with his partners and retired from the North-West Company. The arbitrary methods of McTavish had alienated many of the other shareholders, and these men, led by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, organized the new North-West Company, more commonly known as the X. Y. Company. For three years the keenest rivalry existed between the two companies, each sending agents into new and remote districts and building forts wherever possible; but their keen competition does not seem to have reduced the profits of either. Simon McTavish died in 1804, and this made a reunion of the companies possible. An agency was established in London, and business in the Canadian west was pushed more energetically than ever before. The independent traders having been taken into the reunited North-West Company or driven from the field, it could give all its strength to its contest with the Hudson's Bay Company for the control of the fur trade in British America.

The fur trade, as conducted by the French companies of Quebec, had bred a class of men who were almost indispensable in carrying it on when it passed into the hands of the British merchants of Montreal. These men were Frenchmen, adventurous, fond of the free, roving life of the *voyageur* or the *coureur des bois*, and ready to adopt the life of the aboriginal inhabitants of the forests and the plains. Many of them took Indian wives, and in time a considerable number of French half-breeds enlisted in the calling followed by their fathers. The independent traders employed many of these men, and it was only natural for the North-West Company to retain their services when it absorbed the business of the individual traders. In his letter to Governor Haldimand, dated Octo-

ber 4, 1784, Joseph Frobisher says that the North-West Company then employed more than five hundred of these men in the transportation of goods, furs, and provisions, about half being engaged on the Great Lakes and the other half in the interior. It required more than ninety canoes in its operations between Montreal and the Lake of the Woods. Those used on the Great Lakes were manned by eight or ten men and carried about four tons; but those employed in the interior would carry only about one and a half tons. The canoes with goods for the more distant posts left Montreal in May, carrying provisions to last their crews to Michilimackinac. Here they took on a new supply to meet the needs of the canoemen on the inland trip and provide some food for the men in charge of the interior posts. On the inland trip about one third of the cargo would be provisions and the remainder goods for the Indian trade. Sir Alexander Mackenzie tells us that by the end of the century the company employed twelve hundred canoemen, fifty clerks, seventy-one interpreters and clerks, and thirty-five guides.

No small share of the success of the North-West Company was due to the character of the men in charge of its posts in the west. Some of the company's bourgeois, or partners, and its clerks may have been men of low morals and vicious lives, and they may have often resorted to the most unscrupulous methods in trade; but almost without exception they were men of wonderful energy and determination. And there were some men of ideals higher than large cargoes of fur and great profits. Perhaps the first place must be given to Sir Alexander Mackenzie, but high honor is also due to men like David Thompson and James Finlay. Of the incessant activity of the bourgeois, whether Scotch, English, French, or Metis, we have abundant evidence in the records of the company and the journals of its employees, such as Harmon and the younger Henry.

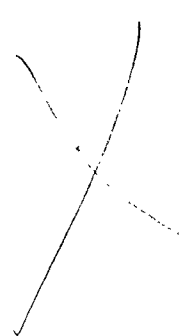
Daniel William Harmon entered the service of the North-West Company in the year 1800, being twenty-two years of age at the time. In April of that year he was sent west from Montreal and travelled by the usual route to Lake Winnipeg. There he received orders from Alexander N. McLeod, who had charge of the trade of the surrounding district, to proceed to a point west of Lake Manitoba where a new post was to be opened. He explored the country around this lake, establishing friendly relations with the Indians as far as possible. The winter was spent at a fort on the Swan River, and the spring found him at Fort Alexandria. The next two years were spent between the posts at Swan River and Bird Mountain and Fort Alexandria; but in the spring of 1804 Harmon went on to Fishing Lake and thence to Last Mountain Lake. The remainder of that year was spent on the Qu'Appelle River, at Fort Dauphin, and on the Assiniboine.

In the spring of 1805 Harmon was on the Souris, and later in the year went down the Assiniboine and the Red, visited Rainy Lake, and by September was at Cumberland House, where he remained nearly two years, trading with Crees, Assiniboines, Chippewas, and a few Blackfeet. Midsummer of 1807 saw him at Fort William, whence he went to the Nepigon for the balance of the year. In the next year he was sent west again, visiting the posts at Rainy Lake, Bas de la Rivière, Cumberland House, Beaver Lake, Portage du Traite, Ile à la Crosse and elsewhere. September found him at Fort Chippewayan on Lake Athabasca, October at Fort Vermillion, and the winter at Dunvegan Fort in the remote west where he remained until October, 1810. Then he went to St. John's Fort on the upper Peace River with Mr. Stuart and crossed the Rocky

Mountains into British Columbia. For three years he worked at various posts in the heart of the mountain region and did not return to Dunvegan until March of 1813. But a month later he went back to the mountains once more and spent the next six years of his life at different posts there. It was August, 1819, when Harmon reached Fort William on the last of his long trips. He had spent nineteen years in almost incessant travel among trading posts scattered over half a continent and was ready to retire from the service of the company and spend his remaining years with his Indian wife and their children in his quiet home in Vermont.

Alexander Henry the younger was a nephew of that Alexander Henry who went to the Saskatchewan with the Frobishers in 1775. His life does not command our respect as does that of Harmon, but it was just as full of activity, change, and strange experiences as that of his fellow bourgeois in the North-West Company. His first winter in the west, that of 1799-1800, was spent at Fort Dauphin beside Lake Manitoba. In the spring he went down to Grand Portage and was sent back with goods for the trade along the Red River. The autumn and winter were spent at various points along the river and its branches as far south as Grand Forks. The temper of the Indians appears to have been very uncertain, and there was some danger of war between the different tribes; so Henry does not seem to have thought it wise to establish any permanent posts in the district. He showed himself more than a mere trader however, for he procured a stallion and a mare which were sent to Mr. Grant at a post on Rainy River, probably the first horses in that region, and at some place on the east side of Red River he planted potatoes from seed obtained at Portage la Prairie.

A few years later we find Henry in charge of various posts in the Saskatchewan district, and then he is sent further and further west—to Vermillion, Terre Blanche, and Rocky Mountain House. Then follow some years at posts beyond the mountains, and finally his death by drowning in the mouth of the Columbia during the spring of 1814.







## CHAPTER X

### THE RIVAL COMPANIES

The Hudson's Bay Company accepted the challenge of its rivals. Hearne's successful explorations were the prelude to a wide and rapid extension of the company's business, and in the thirty-five years which followed his appointment to the governorship of Fort Prince of Wales it had occupied nearly all the vast interior of the region granted to it by Charles II. Its factors were trading with Indians beside the Great Lakes, its flag floated over posts far south of the international boundary, and its brigades were ready to penetrate the mountains which barred its way to the Pacific.

It is true that in the race for the Pacific as well as the race for the far northwest it had been outstripped by the North-West Company. The great discoveries which that company owed to the courage and determination of Alexander Mackenzie had been supplemented by the explorations of such men as James Finlay, Simon Fraser, and John Stuart. These men were traders as well as explorers, and a score of new posts in the far north and west marked the trails which they had found through the mountain wilds. Another noted name in the annals of western exploration is that of David Thompson, a name appropriately given to one of the great rivers whose course he followed.

Before Thompson was sent to the mountains by the North-West Company, he had done valuable work for it in the country we now call Manitoba. He had come to the west in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company; but bartering goods for furs with Indians was far less to his liking than making explorations and surveys, drawing maps, and taking notes of the country through which he passed. Acting on the orders of Mr. Joseph Colen, the officer in charge of York Factory, Thompson had made an exploratory trip to Lake Athabasca in the summer of 1795; but when he asked for more of such congenial work, his request was not granted. He therefore resigned and entered the service of the North-West Company.

Thompson left Grand Portage with one of the North-West Company's brigades in the spring of 1796. The tasks before him were just such as he would have chosen. He was instructed to determine the exact position of all the posts of the company which he might visit, to survey the forty-ninth parallel west of the Lake of the Woods, to find the true source of the Mississippi, to visit the ancient villages of the Mandans, and to gather all the scientific and historical information possible about the places and people which he visited. He travelled by the usual route to Lake Winnipeg, crossed it to the mouth of the Little Saskatchewan, and ascended it to Lake Winnipegosis. To follow the Swan River toward its source, cross to the branches of the Assiniboine, and follow that stream eastward

were the next steps in Thompson's journey. He found very comfortable quarters in Assiniboine House and spent some time there, writing up the records of his journey and preparing for a trip to the Missouri. This journey was made successfully during the winter.

About the end of February, 1798, Thompson started down the Assiniboine and in ten days reached its mouth. There was no trading post at that point then, and the explorer pushed on up the Red River without delay until he reached Pembina House. He remained there some time to determine as accurately as possible the position of the boundary between Canada and the United States, and then continued on his way up the river. Leaving it at Grand Forks, he crossed to the upper waters of the Mississippi and spent some weeks in attempts to locate its source. Then he followed a series of small lakes and streams to the St. Louis River, descended it to Lake Superior, and coasted its shore until he reached Grand Portage.

The first important move of the Hudson's Bay Company in its aggressive campaign against its rivals was the building of Cumberland House on the spot beside Sturgeon Lake which Hearne had selected in 1773. The fort which he had begun was completed by Mr. Cockings in the next year, and the latter remained in charge of it for some time. No more strategic position could have been chosen, for it was the very centre of the fur trade of the vast region in every part of which the war of the companies went on. From it canoe routes led up the Saskatchewan and its branches across the great plains to the mountains; another took the trader to Lake Athabasca and thence to the immense country drained by the Mackenzie River; a third led easily to the Churchill River and Hudson Bay. Descending the Saskatchewan to its mouth, and crossing Lake Winnipeg, canoe routes in all directions were open to the trader. One took him northeast by the Nelson and the Hayes Rivers to Hudson Bay; another took him far into the south by the Red River, and from it a branch route led him west and southwest; a third took him to Lake of the Woods, Rainy Lake, and Lake Superior—the oft-travelled route of the French voyageurs and their successors; and from the last a branch route, easily followed, led to the Albany and James Bay.

Along all these great interior waterways the two companies sent their canoes, brigade for brigade; in all the districts reached by them the companies established their trading posts, fort beside fort; and wherever the Indians had furs for sale, there the companies sent their agents, trader competing with trader. It is hard for us to realize the vastness of the territory over which these operations were carried on, the tremendous distances to be traversed, the transportation difficulties to be overcome, the splendid organization which made it all possible, the remarkable ability of the men who managed it, and the endurance of their employees. To have accomplished such a wonderful extension of trade in a single generation would seem a remarkable thing even in these days of swift transportation and instantaneous communication; and it appears almost a miracle when we remember that it was done a hundred years ago when there were no swift railway trains or steamships, no mails, no telegraphs, when the swiftest means of transportation was the bark canoe and the quickest means of communication was the Indian runner.

The independent traders and the North-West Company had reached the Upper Saskatchewan, the Upper Churchill, Lake Ile à la Crosse, and Lake Athabasca before the factors of the Hudson's Bay Company had reached those districts, and yet the latter was soon carrying on an energetic competition in them. It established a post at Lake Ile à la Crosse in 1791, built Edmonton House on the Saskatchewan in 1795, and Carlton House two years later. It was not until 1798 that the North-West Company built Fort Augustus to compete with Edmonton House and secure a share of the fur trade which even at that early date centred at Edmonton. Although many of its partners had traded near Cumberland House before they united in the North-West Company, the latter does not seem to have built a fort there until 1793.

The region lying between the Saskatchewan and the Assiniboine and extending eastward to Lakes Manitoba and Winnipegosis was one of the best fur-producing districts in all the west. La Vérendrye had developed the fur trade on the Assiniboine from its mouth upward; but the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company reversed the process and developed their trade along this river from its sources downward, and so it happened that the site of the present commercial centre of Manitoba was one of the last points to be occupied by these companies. It came about in this way. From Lake Winnipeg there is an easy canoe route by the Little Saskatchewan River, St. Martin's Lake, Lake Manitoba, and Lake Winnipegosis to Swan Lake. This small lake receives Swan River, which drains a valley once very rich in beaver fur. From the most southern elbow of the Swan River an Indian trail a few miles in length led across the portage to the main stream of the Assiniboine. Thus it was easier to reach the upper waters of this stream by way of the Swan River than to follow the winding Assiniboine itself.

After Fort de la Reine was burned by the Indians in 1752 there seems to have been no fort on the Assiniboine or its affluents until Robert Grant, one of the independent traders, built Fort Esperance on the Qu'Appelle in 1780; but his post seems to have been occupied for a short time only. The Hudson's Bay Company built a fort on Swan River in 1790. It was about twelve miles above the lake, but it was soon abandoned for Fort Pelly on the Assiniboine near the portage leading to the Swan River. A fort was erected on the Qu'Appelle River a little later. Extending its trade down the Assiniboine, the company built Brandon House thirteen miles below Brandon in 1794 and a fort at Portage la Prairie in 1796.

The other companies were equally active. In 1794 Peter Grant built a fort on the Shell River for the North-West Company, and one of its agents built Fort Tremblante on the Assiniboine the previous year. Fort Alexandria was erected in the neighborhood in 1800. Before 1804 both the North-West and X. Y. Companies had forts on the Qu'Appelle River.

The Souris was the most important branch of the Assiniboine on the south. It flowed through a good fur district; it led to plains where buffaloes were numerous; and it was the route to the Missouri and the country of the Mandans. There is a tradition that la Vérendrye had a post at the mouth of the Souris and that a priest who lived there a little while taught his religion to the Indians in the vicinity; but all traces of such a post had disappeared long before the Hudson's Bay Company and its rivals contended for the control of the trade along the

river. The North-West Company had a post called Pine Fort a few miles below the junction of the Souris and Assiniboine, which was probably built in 1785. Nine years later the Hudson's Bay Company built Brandon House on the south side of the Assiniboine and about three miles above the outlet of the Souris. It occupied a good position, having the river in front and a ravine on one side; and it was quite a large post, being one hundred and fifty-five feet long and one hundred and twenty-four feet wide. It was a challenge to the North-Westerns, and so their company built Assiniboine House, sometimes called Stone Indian House, on the opposite bank of the Assiniboine during 1795 and then abandoned the old Pine Fort. When Thompson visited Assiniboine House in 1797, it was in charge of John Macdonell, and when Harmon was there seven years later Charles Chaboillez had charge. Thompson mentions Ash Fort, a post some miles up the Souris.

The X. Y. Company also built a fort on the south side of the Assiniboine, separated from Brandon House by the ravine which has been mentioned. It was about one hundred and fifty feet long and sixty-six feet wide and was called Fort à la Souris. It became the post of the North-West Company after the X. Y. Company lost its identity in 1804, and a few years later the agent in charge was John Pritchard.

From the Assiniboine the two companies extended their operations to the Red. The Hudson's Bay Company built a fort at the mouth of the river near the present site of Fort Alexander about 1795, and the North-West Company erected Fort Bas de la Rivière near by within a year. In 1797-8 Charles Chaboillez built Fort Pembina close to the international boundary for the North-West Company, and in 1800 the other company erected a post not far away. The former seems to have had several temporary trading stations along the Red River about this time, but probably none were occupied for more than a single season. La Vérendrye does not seem to have found Fort Rouge at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine a good point for trade with the Indians, and the companies which took up that trade fifty years after Vérendrye's time were slow to establish posts there. It was not until 1805 that the North-West bourgeois, John McDonald of Garth, ordered John Willis to construct Fort Gibraltar at the mouth of the Assiniboine and on its northern bank. It took twenty men a year to complete the work. It was surrounded by a stockade eighteen feet high, made of oak trees split in half; and inside was a residence for the bourgeois, sixty-four feet long, two houses for servants, a store, a smith's shop, a stable, a kitchen, and an ice-house surmounted by a watch-tower. It may be that the Hudson's Bay Company had a small trading post about a mile north of Fort Gibraltar soon after the latter was completed; but the first important fort which it built on the site of Winnipeg, was Fort Douglas. It stood on the west bank of the Red River nearly two miles below the mouth of the Assiniboine and dates from 1812.

The keen competition of the two companies was not restricted to the prairie country. The North-West Company had a chain of posts along the water routes leading southeast from Lake Winnipeg, and its rival pushed its way along most of them. It had a post on the Lake of the Woods and another on Rainy Lake before 1797 and pushed south to Red Lake in Minnesota soon after. Between that lake and Lake Superior the North-West Company had several posts, but into that particular district the English company does not seem to have pen-

etrated just then. It did push its way along the north side of Lake Superior, however, for both companies were trading on the Nepigon very early in the nineteenth century.

The relentless rivalry of the two great companies was not confined to the interior. In the spring of 1803 the North-West Company fitted out the *Beaver*, a vessel of one hundred and fifty tons, and sent her to Hudson Bay to secure as much as possible of the trade over which the Hudson's Bay Company claimed a monopoly. At the same time an expedition was sent to the bay by the old French overland route for the same purpose. These expeditions established two posts for the company—one on Charlton Island, and the other beside the Moose River. The factors of the Hudson's Bay Company were astonished to see these posts erected under their very noses by their irrepressible opponents; but, secure in the long friendship of the Indians and confident of the superiority of the goods in their stores, they felt no alarm. These two ventures did not prove remunerative to the North-West Company, and in a few years both of the new posts were abandoned.

Had the rivalry of the two great companies been confined to the extension of their operations to remote districts, the building of new forts, and competition for furs by legitimate methods, it might have resulted in good to both of them, for the country seemed capable of supplying an incalculable quantity of fur. Certainly legitimate competition would have been an advantage to the poor Indian. Unfortunately the competition soon became too fierce to be confined to legitimate methods. Many of the traders were utterly unscrupulous men whose one rule of life was to get the largest cargoes of fur possible, regardless of the means employed. So the Indians were wheedled, deceived, or intimidated into taking their furs from the post of the company, which had probably advanced them the price of the furs in provisions during the previous season, to the post of the other company. When these methods failed, the unprincipled traders resorted to the free use of the vilest "fire-water," and the terrible demoralization of the Indians which resulted is the darkest stain on the records of the two companies.

But the competition which resorted to such methods would not stop at them; and from debauching the Indian and cheating him of the value of his furs, it was an easy step to take furs from the stores of the rival company, seize them by force when being transported in its canoes, or burn both stores and the furs in them. Such robbery naturally led to fights between the employees of the hostile companies, and a long list of brave men—Scotch, French, and Metis—lost their lives in a quarrel in which they really had nothing at stake.

In 1800 a young Frenchman named Labau was employed in the North-West Company's fort on the Nepigon; but becoming dissatisfied, he resigned and went over to the post of the Hudson's Bay Company. Schultz, the North-West clerk in charge of the post, went across to the other fort and ordered Labau to return. When the young fellow declined to go, Schultz stabbed him, and before morning he died. Schultz was sent to Montreal, but he does not seem to have been brought to trial, and after a time the company gave him a position in Lower Canada.

In the year 1806 both the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company had posts at Bad Lake not far from Albany. William Corrigan was in charge of the post of the older company, in which four hundred and eighty pack-

ages of fur were stored; a North-West partner named Haldane had charge of the other. One night in May, Haldane with five of his voyageurs carried off the furs in Corrigan's store; and when the latter demanded their return, he was told, "I came to this country for furs, and furs I am determined to have." Haldane kept the furs, and later in the same year he pillaged a Hudson's Bay Company's post at Red Lake, carrying off provisions as well as furs.

In the same year a man named John Crear had charge of a post of the Hudson's Bay Company at Big Falls not far from Lake Winnipeg. One evening a party of Frenchmen in two canoes, commanded by Alexander McDonnell, arrived and camped near by. All of Crear's men, except a man named Plowman, went away to fish the next morning; and during their absence McDonnell's party broke open the warehouse and carried off the furs, a part of the provisions stored there, and a canoe. When Crear and Plowman tried to prevent this robbery, they were roughly handled by the North-Westerns, Plowman being stabbed in the arm by McDonnell, and Crear being badly clubbed with a musket. In the following February, McDonnell sent one of his under-clerks to the same post with a number of men, and they carried off a quantity of valuable furs. Crear was beaten until he signed a paper declaring that he had given up the furs willingly.

In the year 1808 John Spence had charge of a post at Reindeer Lake belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, and John Duncan Campbell had charge of the neighboring North-West post. Spence sent one of his men to procure furs from a party of Indians who were bringing them down from Lake Athabasca. He had obtained the furs and was nearing his post with them, when Campbell and a number of his men came out and demanded the furs on the usual ground that the Indians had promised them to the North-West Company in payment of debts contracted the year before. Linklater, the Hudson's Bay Company's man, refused to give them up, but they were taken from him by force.

The same Campbell had plundered a post of the Hudson's Bay Company at Ile à la Crosse, which was in charge of Peter Fidler who had gone there in 1806. Campbell came down with a party of bullies and forbade the Indians to trade at Fidler's fort and ordered Fidler's men not to go beyond a line which he drew on the sand. For some three years Fidler remained, getting some furs by strategy and sending many of the Indians by circuitous routes to sell their furs at other posts belonging to his company; but his wood was stolen, his nets cut, his canoes broken, and in the end he was compelled to retire. His buildings were burned as soon as he went away.

William Corrigan, who had been at Bad Lake in 1806, was sent to a post of the Hudson's Bay Company at Eagle Lake in the fall of 1809. About the middle of September a party of North-Westerns, commanded by Aeneas McDonnell, camped close to the post. An Indian, who had sold his furs to the Hudson's Bay Company, was about to set off for his camp with the goods he had purchased, when McDonnell came down to the water's edge and claimed the Indian's canoe and his goods in satisfaction of a debt contracted with the North-West Company some time before. When two of Corrigan's men went to the Indian's assistance, McDonnell drew his sword and wounded one of them severely on the wrist and neck, while his companion threatened to shoot the other. Men from both camps joined in the fray, and before it was over McDonnell had slashed another man with his sword, and an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company had a shoulder dislocated

by a blow from an axe. As McDonell continued to attack those opposed to him, one of them who had been struck by him, shot him on the spot. A few days later Haldane came to the post with ten North-Westerns and shortly after another partner, McLellan, arrived with his men; so the party in the post of the Hudson's Bay Company found itself besieged. Finally John Mowat, who had killed McDonell, agreed to surrender, and was sent to Montreal for trial. The North-Westerns were careful to keep him in the dungeon of their post at Fort William for months before taking him on to Montreal.

These are a few examples of the lawlessness which prevailed over much of the country in which the two companies carried on their operations. That it could have continued so long seems scarcely credible, especially when we remember that these events happened little more than a hundred years ago. But there was no law in the land then, and "might was the right of the strongest."

In the winter of 1801-2 the North-West Company and the X. Y. Company had posts at the same point in the Athabasca district. A band of Indians came down to sell their furs, and each agent sent a clerk to secure them. King, the North-Western, got all of them except one bale; but not satisfied, he attempted to take by force the single bale which Lamotte, the X. Y. Company's man, had obtained. Lamotte warned him to desist, and when he persisted, shot him dead. Only the interference of the savages prevented a general mêlée between the employees of the two companies. Lamotte was afterwards arrested and sent to Montreal; but he was never tried, although kept in prison for two years. This outrageous proceeding led the British parliament to pass the "Canada Jurisdiction Act" in 1803, which professed to remedy a defect of the law arising from the fact that some parts of the empire in North America were not included in any organized province. It allowed the courts of Canada to take cognizance of offenses committed within certain districts, termed in the act the "Indian Territories." The act was very vague, and the districts to which it applied were not clearly defined, and so it did little to improve conditions in the west. John Mowat was tried under this act and condemned to branding and a term of imprisonment, a sentence which showed the great need for better administration of justice in the west. The defects of the "Canada Jurisdiction Act" were partly remedied by a supplementary act passed about eighteen years later.





## CHAPTER XI

### AN EMPIRE-BUILDER

The conditions, which prevailed over the great Canadian west at the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, could not continue long. It was as vast, as fertile as beautiful then as it is now; yet, except for the trade in fur, its untold resources were wholly undeveloped. There were no towns, farms, roads, schools or churches. The country was as wild as when the white man first found it, except at a few points where the isolated posts of the fur companies showed that civilization had marked the region as her own. There was no settled population except a few factors and clerks in these scattered posts. There was a roving population of perhaps two thousand people, consisting of Orkneymen, French, and Metis, who served the companies as boatmen, canoe-men, and servants; a few hundred Metis roamed over the plains in pursuit of the buffalo; and some thousands of Indians, scarcely less civilized than the hunters, were spread over the great region. Law, order, and the refinements of civilized life were almost unknown. Bands of savages were always ready to take the warpath against the villages of hostile tribes, and between the adherents of the rival fur companies there was a strife almost as relentless as that which the Indians waged against their enemies.

The country—so vast in extent, so rich in resources—seemed weary of waiting for its future and to cry aloud for the new force necessary to its development. Its greatest need was a settled, agricultural population; for only in a settled population can law, order, and the refinements of social life be developed, and most of the industries have their ultimate roots in the soil. The drama of western history was ready for a new act, and the leading actor in it had made himself ready for his part.

At the mouth of the river Dee in Scotland there is a small and pretty island called St. Mary's Isle, which formed a part of the estate of the earls of Selkirk for many years. An old-fashioned family residence stood upon it, and in this house on June 5, 1771, Thomas Douglas, the seventh son of the fourth Earl of Selkirk, was born. When this child came to man's estate, his ideals and his efforts gave a new direction to the history of the Canadian west, for he was the first colonizer of Manitoba, the first to bring to its rich lands the landless, poverty-stricken people of the Old World.

The Douglas family is one of the oldest, largest, and most influential families in Scotland, and members of it have been prominent in all departments of the country's life. The Earls of Douglas, Angus, and Morton belonged to it, also some of the Earls of Ormond and some of the Dukes of Hamilton. Several members of it were connected with the royal families of Scotland and England.

A Douglas was married to Margaret, daughter of King Robert II; another was married to a daughter of Robert III; and a third, Archibald, Earl of Angus, was married to Margaret, queen-dowager of James IV and sister of Henry VIII of England. They left a daughter who was the mother of Lord Darnley and so grandmother of James I of England.

The Douglas family has rendered high service to the state. Two lord chancellors of Scotland have been Earls of Angus, an Earl of Douglas sat as a member of the Council of Regency on the death of James I, and the Earl of Morton was Regent of Scotland in the troublous time of Queen Mary. The Douglas family has also been prominent in war. Sir James Douglas, surnamed the Good, commanded a wing of the Scottish army at Bannockburn in 1314, and sixteen years later, while on his way to the Holy Land, met his death in Spain, battling with the Saracens. His brother, Archibald, was killed at Halidon Hill in 1333, and a grandson of the latter fell at Otterburn in 1388. An Earl of Douglas fought at Shrewsbury in 1403 and afterwards entered the service of France where he so distinguished himself that he was made duke of Touraine. There were Douglasses at Flodden in 1513, and two sons of "The Great Earl of Angus," sometimes called "Bell-the-Cat," were killed on that bloody field. In recent times many military and naval officers, bearing the Douglas name, have served the empire well. In literature, too, the Douglas name has been honored, for one of Scotland's earliest and greatest poets was Gavin Douglas, son of the fifth Earl of Angus. Many of the Douglasses have been distinguished in the learned professions, and others have been noted in the field of scientific research.

The traditions of the Douglas family, tempered and refined by the centuries, could not fail to influence the character and ideals of the lad who was brought up in the Selkirk home on the little island of Kirkcudbright Bay. They all pointed to duty to the state in her councils or in her defense, to service on behalf of his less fortunate fellowmen, to earnest efforts in literature. We may be sure that these impulses were strengthened by the influences of distinguished men whom he met in his father's house or who were his fellow-students and friends during his course in the University of Edinburgh. Among the latter were such men as Sir Walter Scott, Sir A. Ferguson, Lord Abercromby, and William Clark. The time in which he lived must have left a deep impress upon the thought and character of Thomas Douglas. His youth was passed in a period of great intellectual and moral upheaval, the period marked by the French revolution. Men found themselves forced to abandon their old theories in regard to the structure of society and their old ethical standards and were receiving new conceptions of their relations to society and of their duties to each other.

In the case of young Douglas these new ideas found expression in a practical way, for during his residence in Edinburgh he took an active part in philanthropic efforts to better the condition of the poor in the city. Several of his vacations were spent in the Highlands, and the condition of the crofters there roused his keenest sympathy. He spent time, strength, and fortune freely to help them; and it is because his efforts in their behalf planted another outpost on the far frontier of the British Empire that Thomas Douglas must always be one of the leading figures in the story of Manitoba. At the present time very

few men, who take the trouble to learn the actual facts, will contend that he was actuated by mercenary motives in the plans which he made for these poor people; and when the air has been fully cleared of all the old animosities, prejudices and misapprehensions, men will see in Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, a philanthropist, a patriot, and one of Britain's empire-builders.

Up to the year 1745 the relation between a chief and his clansmen in the Scottish highlands was very like that between a lord and his vassals in the old feudal days; and the clansman, instead of paying his chief a fixed rental for the patch of land which he occupied, rendered him such service and gifts as custom or unwritten law required. But after the ill-starred attempt of the Stuarts to regain the throne of Britain had ended in utter failure at Culloden, laws were passed which completely changed the system of land tenure in the Highlands; and thereafter the chiefs were landlords, and the clansmen were ordinary tenants, who were to pay a fixed rental for their little holdings. The new system was so foreign to their traditions and habits of life that many of the Highlanders left their crofts rather than adapt themselves to it and migrated to the towns or to foreign lands.

Even the clansmen who were willing to hold their lands by the new tenure were not always allowed to do so, for changes in economic conditions soon made it more profitable for many owners of estates in the Highlands to lease their lands in large areas to sheep-raisers than to rent them in small patches to crofters. So the latter were compelled to abandon the little farms and cottages which they and their ancestors had occupied for centuries; and as there was little work for them in the agricultural districts, they naturally drifted to the towns, seeking a livelihood in occupations for which they had had no training.

To make matters worse business was in an unwholesome condition owing to the long-continued Napoleonic wars. Some industries had been unduly stimulated, others had been hampered by lack of labor. In the last decade of the eighteenth century large numbers of laboring men had been withdrawn from ordinary occupations to fill the ranks of Britain's armies, and in the first decade of the nineteenth century many discharged soldiers were coming home to swell the ranks of the unemployed.

Thus the hard conditions in the Highlands were aggravated by the conditions prevailing over other parts of Great Britain. As a result there was much distress in the north of Scotland. Perhaps none suffered more than the former tenants of the Duchess of Sutherland, and their circumstances seem to have made a special appeal to the generous instincts of young Douglas. Thus it happened that some of the influences which have determined the history of Manitoba have their sources in Scotland's northern shire.

In 1797 Thomas Douglas succeeded to the title Baron Daer and Shorteleugh, because all his elder brothers had died; and two years later the death of his father made him Earl of Selkirk. Young, dominated by high ideals, ambitious to be of service to the state, wealthy, and the head of an influential family, we may be sure that the young earl felt the responsibility which his wealth and influence entailed and that he pondered more earnestly than ever over plans for relieving the distress of his countrymen.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie published his "Voyages" in 1801, and this book, which tells in such a modest way of a great country and great deeds done in it,

probably brought to the young earl the vision which never left him during the remaining nineteen years of his life. He saw the western half of British North America, vast, fertile, unoccupied; next he saw the poor people of his native land settled in that new country, comfortable and prosperous; and then, looking forward through the years, he beheld it as one of the richest possessions of the empire. On April 4, 1802, he wrote to the colonial secretary, outlining a scheme of emigration as a relief to the distress in the country and suggesting a suitable field for settlement. Among other things he said:

{ "No large tract remains unoccupied on the sea-coast of British America except barren and frozen deserts. To find a sufficient extent of soil in a temperate climate we must go far inland. This inconvenience is not, however, an insurmountable obstacle to the prosperity of a colony, and appears to be amply compensated by other advantages that are to be found in some remote parts of the British territory. At the western extremity of Canada, upon the waters which fall into Lake Winnipeg and, uniting in the great river of Port Nelson, discharge themselves into Hudson Bay, is a country which the Indian traders represent as fertile and of a climate far more temperate than the shores of the Atlantic under the same parallel, and not more severe than that of Germany or Poland. Here, therefore, the colonists may, with a moderate exertion of industry, be certain of a comfortable subsistence, and they may also raise some valuable objects of exportation."

Lord Selkirk saw some of the difficulties in the way of his scheme, but did not hesitate to speak of them. He says: "The greatest impediment to a colony in this quarter seems to be the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly, which the possessors cannot be expected easily to relinquish. They may, however, be amply indemnified for its abolition without any burden, perhaps even with advantage to the revenue." The earl also suggested that the trade of both the rival fur companies might be greatly increased, if individual agents were limited to fixed district, each being given a license for his district and no other; and he proposed that the North-West Company should be allowed free navigation on Hudson Bay, instead of being forced to transport all its goods, furs, and provision by the long, laborious, and expensive route of the Great Lakes. The earl believed the Nelson River to be the natural channel of trade for the district which he suggested for settlement.

But the government did not wish to encourage emigration, and the reply of the colonial secretary intimated that it could not favor Lord Selkirk's scheme "because the prejudices of the British people were so strong against emigration." Apparently, however, neither the government nor public opinion was so opposed to emigration to less remote parts of the empire; for in 1803 about 800 Scotch colonists sailed in three ships for Prince Edward Island and settled on a large tract of land which Lord Selkirk had purchased there. It became necessary for him to visit the settlement in the autumn, and when he had seen the colonists well started on the road to the success which they afterwards achieved, he went on to the United States.

The earl found many of his fellow countrymen in the United States, and his visit strengthened his conviction that some plan should be devised whereby emigration from his native land should be diverted to British colonies to aid in their development rather than that of a foreign country. This impression



LORD SELKIRK



was deepened when he went to Toronto and learned of the efforts which were being made there to settle Upper Canada with United Empire Loyalists and disbanded soldiers. He started several colonies in Upper Canada and spent large sums of money in bringing out settlers, clearing land, and constructing roads; but the districts for his settlements were not wisely chosen, and so little success attended his efforts, although he continued them for several years.

Lord Selkirk spent the winter of 1803-4 in Montreal, and there the larger vision came to him. Many of the wealthiest merchants of the city were partners of the North-West Company, and the earl was often entertained by them. From them and from other people interested in the fur trade he gained much information about the vastness of the Canadian hinterland, the character of its surface, soil, and climate, and the great quantity of furs to be obtained from it. Of all the men whom Selkirk met in Montreal probably none influenced him so much as did Colin Robertson, a keen-minded, energetic Highlander, who had spent several years in the Saskatchewan district as an agent of the North-West Company but who had withdrawn from the service owing to some disagreement with the leading directors. Did this man inherit from some Highland ancestor the gift of second sight which enabled him to foresee so clearly that the wild land which he knew and loved would soon become something far better than a hunting ground for fur traders and buffalo runners? "A great empire will be there some day," was his enthusiastic exclamation during one of his conversations with Lord Selkirk. And when his lordship, still brooding over the vision of a British settlement in that remote region, asked, "What part of the great Northwest do you think best for a colony, Mr. Robertson?" the quick, decided answer was, "At the forks of the Red and the Assiniboine." The reply should be remembered, for history turned upon it. It should also be remembered that, when the statement was made, neither of the fur companies had occupied that particular district and that a circle drawn with the forks as a centre and a radius of fifty miles would probably have inclosed none of their forts except the two at the mouth of the Red River. Neither company had a post on the spot where their long struggle was to culminate, neither had stationed an agent on the site of the future commercial metropolis of the country.

During his visit to Canada Lord Selkirk became acquainted with another man who has much to do with the story of Manitoba. This was Captain Miles Macdonell. He was born in Scotland, but his father had afterwards migrated to the United States, and there the son passed his youth. Both father and son had served in a regiment which had fought on the British side during the American Revolution; but when the war was over young Macdonell did not find the country a congenial place for Loyalists and so went back to his native land. He married there and a few years later came out to settle in Upper Canada. It seems more than probable that Captain Macdonell acted as an agent for Lord Selkirk's *Sketch of the Fur Trade*, published anonymously the next year, is believed

Philanthropic schemes and imperial problems continued to occupy Lord Selkirk's attention during the years which followed his return to Scotland. In 1805 he published a pamphlet entitled "Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland and the Probable Consequences of Emigration." "A Sketch of the Fur Trade," published anonymously the next year, is believed to be the earl's work, and shortly after two pamphlets, dealing with plans for



civilizing the Indians of British America, were published, and these, too, seem to have been written by him. In 1807 he submitted to the government a scheme of military defence very similar to that which many European nations have adopted since; and in the next year he published a pamphlet entitled "The Necessity of a More Effective Scheme of National Defence," in which his ideas were set forth in detail. This was very favorably received and led to Lord Selkirk's election as a fellow of the Royal Society.

As England's long war against Napoleon went on year after year, the condition of her working classes grew steadily worse. The population had increased rapidly, wages had fallen, and the price of food had risen. "Scarcity was followed by a terrible pauperization of the laboring classes. The amount of the poor-rate rose fifty per cent; and with the increase of poverty followed its inevitable result, the increase of crime." In no part of Britain was the prevailing distress among the poor felt more severely than in the Highlands, and by 1809 it was so acute that some measure for its relief seemed absolutely necessary. But just at that time the plans over which the Earl of Selkirk had pondered for seven years took definite shape. On November 24, 1807, he was married to Jean, the daughter of James Colville, a wealthy man and a large shareholder in the Hudson's Bay Company. The stock of the company was a most unprofitable one to hold just then, and this fact and the position of his father-in-law in the company had much to do in determining the earl's plans.

The Hudson's Bay Company had been almost ruined by its long struggle with the North-West Company. Its forts had been destroyed, its furs had been seized, its agents killed or driven away. It could not secure employees for its posts in Rupert's Land, it received small cargoes of new fur, and it could not sell the fur in its London warehouses. At one period in its early history it had paid a dividend of fifty per cent on its actual capital, and at a later date it had paid twenty-five per cent. on a capital watered to three times its original value; but its dividends shrank to five per cent. and in 1808 it could pay no dividend at all. In 1802 the company had borrowed £20,000 from the Bank of England at six per cent. and a few years later it found itself unable to make new loans because it could scarcely pay interest on the old ones. In 1809 it had petitioned the government for a temporary lowering of the duties on its furs and other favors which would afford some relief from the difficulties which beset it, but its requests were not granted. As a result of its unfortunate position, its stock, which once sold for £250 per share, would not bring more than £50 per share.

This was Lord Selkirk's opportunity. He, his father-in-law, and his other friends bought all the company's shares which could be obtained at this low price, and in a short time they held about one-third of its total stock. Sir Alexander Mackenzie and one or two other partners of the North-West Company held small amounts of the stock of the rival company, and as soon as they suspected Selkirk's plan, they began to buy more, but they had entered the field too late to secure any large amount of it. One of the first indications of Selkirk's influence in the management of the Hudson's Bay Company was the appointment of Colin Robertson as its advisor in London, and about the first advice Robertson gave the company was to relinquish its attempts to secure Orkney men for its work in the distant interior and employ Frenchmen and Metis instead.

This would have been a great advantage to the Hudson's Bay Company in its competition with the Montreal company, but it was six years before the suggestion was adopted.

Lord Selkirk's next step was to ask a number of able lawyers to investigate the validity of the title of the Hudson's Bay Company to the lands covered by its charter; and, having been advised by them that the title was absolutely valid, he offered to buy an immense tract of this land and to place settlers upon it. The offer was first submitted to the governing committee of the company on February 6, 1811, but the matter was of such importance that it was referred to a general meeting of the shareholders to be held May 30. At this meeting the earl's proposal was vigorously opposed by Sir Alexander Mackenzie and other North-Westerners, as well as by a few of the shareholders who had no interest in the North-West Company; but, after a long discussion, the offer was accepted.

The area of the district purchased by the earl is estimated at 116,000 square miles, which is almost equal to the total area of Great Britain and Ireland. The region formed a great quadrilateral and included parts of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Dakota, and Minnesota. Its boundaries are thus described: "Beginning on the western shores of Lake Winnipeg, at a point on  $53^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude, and thence running due west to Lake Winnipegosis, otherwise called Little Lake Winnipeg; thence in a southerly direction through the said lake so as to strike its western shore in latitude  $52^{\circ}$ ; thence due west to the place where the parallel  $52^{\circ}$  intersects the western branch of the Red River, otherwise called the Assiniboine River; thence due south from that point of intersection to the heights of land which separate the waters running into Hudson Bay from those of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers; thence in an easterly direction along the height of land to the sources of the River Winnipeg, meaning by such last named river the principal branch of the waters which unite in the Lake Saginagas; thence along the main stream of those waters, and the middle of the several lakes through which they flow, to the mouth of the Winnipeg River; and thence in a northerly direction through the middle of Lake Winnipeg to the place of beginning, which territory is called Assiniboia." This makes it plain that the map submitted to the courts of Upper Canada by agents of the North-West Company a few years later are not correct in showing that Selkirk's purchase extended to Lake Superior. His lordship seems to have believed that the governing powers conferred on the Hudson's Bay Company by its charter were transferred to him so far as they applied to the land which he had purchased.

For this immense domain Lord Selkirk paid a very small sum. He was to place as many settlers upon it as possible, selling the land to them at a very low price, such settlers to pay for their passage when taken out in the company's ships. He also engaged to supply the company with at least two hundred servants each year for ten years and to give them free grants of land (one hundred acres each) at the end of their service, if they wished to remain in the country. These employees were to receive free transportation to Rupert's Land in the ships of the company. He also agreed to quiet the Indian title to the lands he had purchased and to provide the necessary protection for his colonists. This, in brief, was Lord Selkirk's scheme for relieving the distress of the Highlands and for settling the great prairies of western Canada.



## CHAPTER XII

### THE FIRST COLONISTS

The Earl of Selkirk had scarcely completed the purchase of his great western domain before he issued an attractive prospectus of the new colony and instructed his agents to enlist settlers for it. Captain Miles Macdonell, whom Lord Selkirk had met in Upper Canada seven years earlier, was brought over to take charge of the first party of colonists. He was sent to seek recruits in Ireland, Captain Roderick McDonald was at work in Glasgow, while Colin Robertson strove to persuade the needy Highlanders that comfort and happiness awaited them on the western prairies.

Captain Macdonell had to contend with many difficulties, and most of them had their source in the hostility of the North-West Company to Selkirk's colonization scheme. In a letter to the earl Macdonell says, "I have learned that Sir Alexander Mackenzie has pledged himself so opposed to the project that he will try every means in his power to thwart it." Simon McGillivray, who acted as the North-West Company's agent in London, wrote to his partners in Montreal, on June 1, 1811, "Mr. Ellice and I will leave no means untried to thwart Selkirk's schemes, and being stockholders of the Hudson's Bay Company, we can annoy him and learn his measures in time to guard against them." The North-Westerners were as good as their word. To counteract the inducements held out to colonists by Lord Selkirk's agents several articles appeared in Scottish newspapers declaring that his lordship's motives were most mercenary and painting in dark colors the dangers and hardships of pioneer life in such a remote region as Rupert's Land.

Three vessels were made ready for the voyage to Hudson Bay. The *Eddystone* and the *Prince of Wales* were to carry freight and the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, but most of the settlers were to go on the *Edward and Anne*, a poor vessel manned by a poor crew. The little flotilla sailed from London in June and proceeded north to pick up its passengers. Heavy weather drove them into Yarmouth harbor, and while waiting there, Macdonell purchased a few small cannon for the defence of his colony. These diminutive pieces of artillery come into the story of the settlement on several occasions. Sailing north again, the *Prince of Wales* stopped at Stromness in the Orkneys to allow some of the company's employees to come on board, while the other vessels went on to Stornoway in the Hebridean island, Lewis, where most of the emigrants were waiting. About seventy-six settlers and fifty-nine clerks were to be taken out. Many of the clerks came from Glasgow, but most of the settlers came from the Highlands or from Ireland.

There seems to have been little enthusiasm in the party, and some of that little oozed away under the influence of a discouraging pamphlet circulated among them, the doleful predictions of friends, the petty annoyances of customs officials, and the obstacles put in their way by agents of the North-West Company. A few were induced by clever recruiting officers to enlist, and several deserted from the ships, some going in such haste that their clothing was left on board. Finally Macdonell could write to the earl, "All the men we shall have are now embarked, but it has been a Herculean task." Even then his troubles were not quite ended, for on July 26 a Captain Mackenzie, posing as an officer of the law, rowed out to the *Edward and Anne* to read the Emigration Act and to ask if every one on board was going away of his own free will. But a round shot, dropped over the ship's side, went through the bottom of his boat and compelled him to pull for the shore in hot haste. He promptly challenged the captain to a duel for this insult to his dignity; but Miles Macdonell would not delay his departure for such a paltry matter. A breeze sprang up in the evening, and about eleven o'clock Macdonell gave orders to leave the port. As the *Edward and Anne* weighed anchor, a man dropped overboard and swam to the shore; and two others would have been left there, if Robertson had not bundled them into a boat and rowed them out to the vessel just as she was making sail. One wonders if any of her passengers would have remained on board, if they could have foreseen all the hardships which awaited them; but this they could not do, and so shortly before midnight the vessels left the harbor, bearing the pioneers of three great provinces to their future homes. The midnight sailing of the colonists on July 26, 1811, was a historic occasion, but no demonstration marked it; even the customary salute from departing ships was omitted, so anxious was Captain Macdonell to leave the port where he had endured so much annoyance.

As there was danger from French ships cruising in the North Atlantic, the government sent a man-of-war to protect the *Edward and Anne* and her consorts until they were some hundreds of miles west of Ireland; then she returned, and they continued their voyage without protection. The weather was not favorable, and the voyage lasted sixty-one days. Macdonell tried to relieve its monotony by auction sales of deserters' clothing, games, and military drill. The drill was not very successful, and the men in Macdonell's party did not seem likely to prove very efficient protectors of their settlement, if it were ever attacked, or very successful hunters, if it were necessary to depend on game for food. He says, "I had some drills of the people with arms; but the weather was generally boisterous, and there were few days when a person could stand steady on deck. There never was a more awkward squad—not a man, or even officer, of the party knew how to put a gun to his eye or had ever fired a shot." One of the men, named Walker, openly opposed the drills, declaring that the colonists were going out as free settlers, not as soldiers of the Hudson's Bay Company; and others fomented discontent by arguing that neither Lord Selkirk nor the company had a valid title to the land on which it was proposed to place them, inasmuch as the French and the North-West Company had prior rights in the country.

By September 6 the ships were in Hudson Strait, and soon they were sailing across the bay towards their destinations. The *Eddystone* was laden with

goods for Churchill Harbor, but was unable to reach her destination. She went on to York Factory with her sister ships, and the three vessels anchored off that port on September 24. As soon as possible the colonists were landed on the tongue of land which lies between the Hayes and Nelson rivers. Snow was falling and the thermometer registered 8° below zero. No preparations had been made to receive the party, and it was too late in the season to attempt the journey of seven hundred miles to the district intended for the colony; and many of the settlers must have wished that they had listened to the advice of North-West agents at Stornoway. Macdonell found that the fort was "poorly constructed and not at all adapted for a cold country." So on October 8 the settlers were taken across the strip of land between the two rivers to a point on the Nelson some miles above its mouth and sheltered in tents until they could build that collection of cabins, afterwards known as the "Nelson Encampment," in which they passed the winter.

By the end of October the rough cabins, sheltered from the prevailing winds by the high bank of the river, were ready for occupation. They were constructed of logs about a foot in diameter, the interstices between them being filled with clay and moss and the sloping roofs being covered with the same material. The floors were of logs roughly hewn, bunks served as bedsteads, and the other furniture was home-made and scanty. Twigs and moss took the place of mattresses, and buffalo robes and coarse blankets served for bedclothing. The comfortable homes which the people looked for were still a long way off.

The men were kept busy during the winter, some hunting, others drawing provisions from the fort. Macdonell took wise precautions against scurvy; and while there was some sickness, no deaths occurred. On Christmas day he gave his people a dinner; and on New Year's day Mr. W. H. Cook, the company's factor at the fort, sent them a generous supply of strong drink that they might keep the day in accordance with the customs of the country. This was unfortunate, for it resulted in a fight between the Irishmen and the Glasgow men that night and many sore heads the next morning.

There was a good deal of latent discontent among the people, and some declared that they were under no obligation to obey Captain Macdonell. On February 12 one man flatly refused to do the work assigned to him. It was necessary to maintain some sort of discipline, and so Macdonell had him confined in a hut; but fourteen of the Glasgow men broke into the hut during the night, released the prisoner, and then burned his prison. When they were brought before Mr. Hillier, the magistrate, they showed their contempt for his authority by walking out of the court-room. Macdonell was puzzled to know what course was best in such cases, for legislation adopted by the home government and the government of Canada had left it very uncertain what power was entrusted with the maintenance of order in Rupert's Land; but Messrs. Cook and Auld of the Hudson's Bay Company had lived in the lawless land long enough to have learned effective methods of dealing with turbulent characters. So the fourteen Glasgow men were expelled from the encampment, and their supply of provisions was stopped. This compelled them to go down to the fort and purchase provisions at their own cost. When spring came and the other members of the party were preparing to go south, the insubordinate men were ready to submit to Captain Macdonell's orders; but he believed that prevention

is better than cure and refused to allow those who had caused so much trouble during the winter to go to the Red River. Some of them were employed in the company's factories on the coast, others were assigned to more western posts, and a few were sent back home.

During the winter a few men had been employed in building boats, and when spring arrived, four were ready for use. They were twenty-eight feet long and proved to be very heavy and somewhat unmanageable, but they served their purpose. Macdonell had a poor opinion of the ability of his people as boat-builders. The ice on the Hayes River broke up in May, and all the settlers were moved across to its banks in readiness for the journey south; but the ice continued to run for a long time, and while the people waited, the Saskatchewan fur brigade came down. When this party had stored its furs in the company's warehouse and set out on its return trip, the settlers went with it. It was the 6th of July when they started on their toilsome journey inland.

Seven hundred miles lay between the settlers and the homes which they hoped to secure. For nearly four hundred miles their route led up rapid rivers and through an absolute wilderness, and in all their forecasts of the journey these Scotch and Irish people could never have imagined the experiences through which they would pass before they reached its end. As the idle onlooker watches skilled Indian or half-breed boatmen manage a heavy York boat, the work seems simple enough. It is fascinating too—the muscular bodies rising and falling in time with some monotonous chant, the regular swing of the heavy oars as they propel the boat through the foaming water, the dextrous movements as it is poled up a shallow, the straining file of trackers as it is towed up a heavy rapid, the hurried unloading when a landing is made, the swift rush across a portage with incredible loads, the quick reloading; but to the colonists, all unused to such work, it was the most wearing toil. Only unlimited hope and courage could have led them forward.

Pushing off into the swift Hayes River, the voyagers slowly made their way up it for about fifty miles, rowing and tracking by turns. Then the stream divided, and they followed its western branch, the Steel River, through a beautiful valley for nearly thirty miles more. Its banks are high, but they afford a better footing for trackers than the banks of the lower river do. The eastern branch of this stream, called the Hill River, is a swift river, with many shallows and rapids, and its banks are very steep, sometimes rising to a height of ninety feet. Beyond them the country is studded with wooded hills, and many small lakes nestle in the intervening valleys. Rowing, tracking, and poling by turns, the settlers made their way up this stream for sixty miles. At Rock Portage, the river bed, is divided into narrow channels by several small islands, and the water rushes down them in beautiful falls and cascades. Beyond Mossy Portage the river widens out into Swampy Lake whose still waters gave the men a partial respite from their arduous toil. So did Knee Lake and Oxford Lake still further up the stream. On these expanses it was possible to hoist sails sometimes so that favorable breezes would give the weary rowers a chance to rest.

Beyond Oxford Lake they pushed up the narrow gorge between precipitous cliffs, known as Hell Gates, and then on through a chain of small lakes and connecting streams until at Painted Rock Portage they reached the summit of the slope drained by the Hayes River. They were seven hundred feet above their



THOMAS, EARL OF SELKIRK





starting point at its mouth, and the hardest part of the trip was accomplished. Crossing the portage, they followed the Echemamish River to Hairy Lake, went down Blackwater Creek to an arm of the Nelson River, and ascended it to Lake Winnipeg. Skirting the shore of the lake, and rowing and sailing by turns, they made their way southward and in time reached the mouth of the Red River. To follow it to its junction with the Assiniboine was comparatively easy, and on August 30, 1812, the little band of colonists, utterly worn but still hopeful, reached their destination. It was a year and thirty-five days after they left Stornoway.

No preparation had been made for the weary travellers, and this seems a serious oversight on the part of Lord Selkirk; but it is difficult even now to make Old Country people understand conditions in new prairie provinces, and it would have been quite impossible at that time when there were no settlements at all in the prairie country. However, the few people living in the neighborhood gave the new arrivals the kindly welcome which seems characteristic of the frontier. They received a warm reception from the Highlanders employed in the North-West Company's fort, and a few of them were housed in the company's buildings. Some were taken into the homes of a few retired servants of the companies who lived in the vicinity, and the others were sheltered in tents. A party of Indians and Metis made a warlike demonstration when the unsophisticated strangers arrived, but this was probably no more than a rough practical joke.

It is likely that Captain Macdonell would have located his settlement on the west side of the Red River close to the Assiniboine, if that site had not been occupied by Fort Gibraltar, built by the North-West Company about seven years earlier. As it was, he selected a site nearly two miles further down the river at the base of that triangle of land known as Point Douglas, many of his people being encamped on the opposite bank of the Red in the meantime. As soon as possible, he allotted to each man a plot of ten acres on the site which he had selected and made preparations for the erection of small houses on these plots. The small village thus formed was called Colony Gardens. A little further down the west bank of the river farms of about one hundred acres were granted to the settlers, each having a frontage of ten chains on the river and running back about a hundred chains.

There were no oxen or working horses in the country, and no farm implements except spades and hoes; and it was too late to put in any crop that season, if teams and implements had been available. There was no grain in the country, and few vegetables were grown at that time. The agents of the Hudson's Bay Company at Brandon House had been ordered to send down a supply of pemmican for the settlers, but they had failed to do it; so Captain Macdonell purchased such provisions for them as the North-Westerns in Fort Gibraltar could supply, and Lord Selkirk paid the bills, as he had agreed to furnish his colonists with food for a certain time. We are told that four cows, a bull, a few pigs, and some poultry were also purchased for the colony by Selkirk's agent during the next few months. These animals had been brought from Canada at great expense.

The ceremony of taking formal possession of Lord Selkirk's domain occurred on September 4. Invitations to attend the function had been sent to the part-

ners and clerks of the North-West Company, to the time-expired servants of the fur companies who had settled in the neighborhood, to the colonists, and the Indians. The ceremony took place on some spot now included in the site of St. Boniface. The central figure of the group which gathered there was Miles Macdonell, the representative of the Earl of Selkirk, who was attended by a small armed guard; Mr. Hillier represented the Hudson's Bay Company, while its rival was represented by John Willis, Alexander McDonell, and Benjamin Frobisher; the travel-worn colonists gathered around, and Metis and Indians were interested spectators. By Macdonell's directions the instrument which gave Lord Selkirk a title to his great territory was read and parts of it translated by Mr. Heney for the benefit of the French, and then Macdonell took possession in the name of the earl. Flags were unfurled, and a salute was fired from the small cannon brought from Plymouth. A keg of spirits was broached for the people, the gentlemen retired to Captain Macdonell's tent for refreshments, and the ceremony was ended.

The Red River Settlement was founded, and a new page in the history of the west was turned. Thenceforward it was to be an agricultural country, not a mere hunting ground; farmers rather than trappers and fur traders were to determine its destiny. We do not know all the motives which urged the colonists forward during the thirteen weary months of their journey and the weary months of privation which followed it. It may have been hope, a spirit of adventure, dogged obstinacy, indifference, or sheer desperation. Having once embarked on the enterprise, they had little chance to turn back. It is true that a few who reached York Factory were not allowed to go further, and that Father Bourke, the Roman Catholic priest who had been selected by Captain Macdonell to minister to the spiritual needs of his co-religionists, remained at the factory to wait for a ship which would take him back to Ireland. Mr. Edward, the medical man who had accompanied the party to York, does not seem to have gone further, and probably it was not intended that he should; but of the others all who had the chance to go on to Red River seem to have done so. Most of them were young. Of eighteen men whose names are given us only three were over thirty years of age, and all except three are set down as "laborers." One of the three is called a boat-builder, another a carpenter, and the third an overseer. There are Scotch names in the roster of the party—Campbell, McKay, McLennan, Bethune, Wallace, Cooper, Harper, Isbister, and Gibbon. Six of their owners came from Ross-shire, Argyle-shire, and Ayr-shire, but the last four belonged to the Orkney Islands. And from Sligo, Killalla, and Crosmalina in Ireland came Corcoran, McKim, Green, Quinn, Jordan, O'Rourke, McDonell, and Toomey. These unknown laboring men, whose great ambition was to make homes of their own on the frontier of a vast wilderness, were real empire-builders. The rest of the world may not have known about them nor cared; but because they went on doing their best under the most adverse conditions, they were true heroes. The wonderful development of a century helps us to appreciate the great debt which Manitoba owes to these humble pioneers, and appreciation of their work will continue to grow with the passing years.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE SECOND PARTY

Before Lord Selkirk's first party of settlers had reached the Red River a second party was on its way. His agents had been making an active canvass of England and Scotland for colonists, but do not seem to have met with very encouraging success; in Ireland, however, Mr. Owen Keveny, who was to lead the second party, had enlisted a considerable number, and when all its members were embarked at Stornoway, he had seventy-one people in his charge.

The colonists were favored with fair weather, and the voyage was much shorter than that of 1811. It was marked by an exciting incident, for some of the crew had decided to mutiny, capture the ship's officers, and cruise the seas under the black flag. But hints of the plot came to the ears of the passengers, who promptly notified the captain; and when the time seemed ripe for the uprising and the first mutineer put his head through the hatchway, he found the ship's swivel-guns shotted and turned towards it and her officers well armed and waiting. Before he could recover from his surprise at such a reception, one of his arms was severed by the stroke of a cutlass; and the unexpected turn of events so discouraged the other mutineers that they surrendered. The leaders were punished by being obliged to "run the gauntlet," and the mutiny was over.

Fever broke out on the ship before the voyage was ended, but no deaths resulted; and except for sickness and the mutiny, the trip was a pleasant one. The second party seems to have been more contented and hopeful than the first; but in all their forecasts of the future, few of them were likely to picture its realities. Young Andrew McDermott may never have imagined that he would become the leading merchant of the settlement and a benefactor of his fellow citizens in many ways; John Bourke, "a useful man," as the agent's list informs us, may not have guessed that he and his descendants would give the community such good reasons to endorse the record; Owen Keveny could have had no presentiment that his skeleton would lie unburied for years on an island in the Winnipeg River where the ruffian, Reinhart, struck him down at the instigation of a North-West Company's agent; J. Warren could not have foreseen that he would die of wounds inflicted by half-breeds in the course of the companies' quarrel; and Heden, the blacksmith, could not have imagined that he would be taken out of the settlement as a prisoner after the skirmish at Seven Oaks. Some of the party were to suffer from frost, hunger, and long journeys in the wilderness; but for the time being their sky was unclouded, and they had nothing to do except to get all the pleasure possible from the voyage.

Before the voyage was completed one of the young men on board and one of the young women had decided that their life in the new land would be far

more happy and successful, if they could live it together; and fate seemed to have kept its special favors for them, for when they landed at York Factory they found Father Bourke there, waiting to go back in the ship which had brought them out. So they were married at once; and we may be sure that their after life was none the less happy because the marriage ceremony was performed by a Roman Catholic priest, even though they were Presbyterians, as the story tells us. Life on the frontier has a happy way of shaking itself free from many of the unreasonable prejudices and conventions of older communities. This was probably the first marriage celebrated by a clergyman in Manitoba.

Among the names of the men in Lord Selkirk's second party of settlers we find the following: Andrew McDermott, John Bourke, J. Warren, Charles Sweeny, James Heron, Hugh Swords, John Cunningham, Michael Heden, George Holmes, Robert McVicar, Edward Costello, Francis Heron, James Bruin, John McIntyre, James Pinkham, Donald McDonald, and Hugh McLean. Many of their descendants are numbered among Manitoba's citizens today, and some of them have occupied prominent places in the life of the community.

It was not very late when their ship reached York, but many of the party seem to have remained there for the winter, and we are told that they were housed in the company's buildings at the fort instead of being sent up to the "Nelson Encampment." Several of the men, however, decided to push on to the settlement at once, and all, except three, arrived there safely on October 27, 1812. The three remained to assist some servants of the Hudson's Bay Company who were fishing on the shore of Lake Winnipeg. The fishing proved a failure, and the three men started to walk to the settlement, following the eastern shore of the lake. They had no food except such small game as they could kill along the trail. When this could not be obtained, they gathered *tripe de roche* from the rocks, boiled it, and tried to cheat their hunger with the unpalatable mess. Finally two of the men, exhausted by cold, hunger, and fatigue, lay down to die; but the third staggered on. Overtaken by darkness and a blizzard, he, too, was about to give up in despair, when he heard the sound of bells, and a few minutes later he met some employees of the North-West Company driving a team of dogs. His helpless companions were rescued, and all were taken to the company's post at the mouth of the Winnipeg River and kindly cared for. When they were fit to travel, they were sent up the Red River to the settlement.

In the meantime the settlers themselves had gone further up the river. Captain Macdonell found himself face to face with a very difficult problem. He had to provide food for nearly a hundred people who had reached a district where little food could be bought and who had had no chance to raise crops for themselves. During the autumn they could catch fish in the river, but as soon as winter came little food could be obtained from this source, and they, like the other inhabitants, must depend on the winter buffalo hunt. So, very soon after their arrival at the Forks, Macdonell took his colonists up to Pembina, the headquarters of the hunting parties. A band of mounted Indians conveyed them thither and kindly carried the smaller children; but the larger boys and girls and the adults had to make the journey of sixty miles on foot. Indians are fond of practical jokes, and they gave the anxious Scotch mothers many a bad scare by pretending to gallop off across the plains with the little ones. The French and the half-breeds living at Pembina seem to have received the strangers kindly,

although their arrival meant a large increase in the number to be fed from the proceeds of the hunt and the new arrivals could lend but little assistance in it.

As soon as they reached Pembina, Captain Macdonell selected a spot about two miles away, and began to construct winter quarters for his colonists. In the meantime they were sheltered in the houses of the Pembina people or in such temporary structures as they could put up for themselves. Early in the new year log huts to house them all had been completed; but these buildings were far from being comfortable, for the floors were of clay, and the openings for windows had to be filled with hay to keep out the winter wind. Captain Macdonell called the place Fort Daer. The colonists received a share of the meat obtained by the Metis hunters, and were helped by them in many ways; nevertheless the winter was one of great hardship.

Early in the spring the disheartened settlers returned to Colony Gardens, and began to work their farms; but as they lacked teams and implements, only small patches of land could be seeded. The remainder of the second party came up from York Factory early in the summer, but their coming seemed to add to the distress of the people who had arrived the year before. It was very difficult to obtain food. For some reason fish were very scarce in the lakes and rivers that season, and there was a small crop of wild fruits. Only the free use of wild roots growing on the prairies saved some of the people from starvation during that hard summer. The wheat which they sowed had grown and ripened well, but having so little to sow in the spring, it was necessary to save the whole yield as seed for the next season. When winter returned Miles Macdonell could do nothing but march his hungry settlers back to Fort Daer once more and trust to the buffalo hunt for food.

The Metis were naturally a hospitable people, and had they been left to themselves, they would probably have received the unfortunate colonists as kindly as they did a year earlier; but the enmity of the North-West partners in Montreal towards Lord Selkirk's colony had been transmitted to the company's agents in the west and by them to the Metis, who naturally sympathized with a company whose headquarters were in Lower Canada and which claimed to be the legitimate successor of the early French traders. Easily influenced and very excitable, the half-breeds became reckless partisans of the North-West Company. So the settlers did not find themselves welcome visitors when they went to Pembina in the fall of 1813. The cold was severe, the snow was deep, and the Scotch and Irish were without skill in hunting. Two of them attempted to join the Pembina hunters, but desisted when they learned of a plot to take their lives. The colonists obtained a little food for themselves, the more friendly Metis brought them meat occasionally, and the Indians, who always seemed well disposed towards the settlers, helped them as far as possible; but their misery was great, although they parted with nearly all their possessions in exchange for food. They went back to the settlement in the spring, absolutely destitute and vowing never to go to Fort Daer or Pembina again.

Captain Macdonell's position at the beginning of that year 1814 was more difficult than ever before. He had to provide food for a hundred starving and helpless people, and he expected another hundred, equally helpless, to arrive during the summer. Practically the only supply of food in the country consisted of a limited amount of pemmican and the meat which might be obtained from

the winter buffalo hunt, and no provisions could be procured from other sources for at least six months. He believed that the governing powers bestowed on the Hudson's Bay Company by its charter had been transferred to Lord Selkirk with the title to his lands and that as his lordship's representative he was justified in exercising those powers; so he took a step for which he has been greatly blamed, because it helped to provoke the most lawless and violent acts in the contest of the rival fur companies, in the course of which the settlers endured the greatest loss and suffering.

Early in January, 1814, Captain Macdonell, who had been appointed governor of the little colony by the Earl of Selkirk, issued the following proclamation:

"Whereas the Right Honorable Thomas Earl of Selkirk is anxious to provide for the families at present forming settlements on his lands at Red River, with those on the way to it, passing the winter at York and Churchill forts, in Hudson's Bay, as also those who are expected to arrive next autumn, renders it a necessary and indispensable part of my duty to provide for their support. In the yet uncultivated state of the country, the ordinary resources derived from the buffalo and other wild animals hunted within the territory, are not deemed more than adequate for the requisite supply.

"Whereas it is hereby ordered that no person trading furs or provisions within the territory for the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company or the North-West Company, or any individual or unconnected traders, or persons whatever, shall take any provisions, either of flesh, fish, grain, or vegetable, procured or raised within the said territory, by water or land carriage, for one twelvemonth from the date hereof; save and except what may be judged necessary for the trading parties at this present time within the territory, to carry them to their respective destinations; and who may, on due application to me, obtain a license for the same.

"The provisions procured and raised as above shall be taken for the use of the colony; and that no loss may accrue to the parties concerned, they will be paid for by British bills at the customary rates. And it is hereby further made known, that whosoever shall be detected in attempting to convey out, or shall aid and assist in carrying out, or attempting to carry out, any provisions prohibited as above, either by water or land, shall be taken into custody, and prosecuted as the laws in such cases direct, and the provisions so taken, as well as any goods and chattels, of what nature soever, which may be taken along with them, and also the craft, carriages and cattle, instrumental in conveying away the same to any part but to the settlement on Red River, shall be forfeited.

"Given under my hand at Fort Daer (Pembina)

the 8th day of January, 1814.

(Signed) MILES MACDONELL, Governor.

By order of the Governor.

(Signed) JOHN SPENCER, Secretary."

The evidence does not warrant the conclusion that Macdonell took this step to injure the North-West Company. Extreme conditions sometimes demand extreme measures, and this act was simply the last resource of a man doing his best in a difficult and responsible position. Nevertheless the proclamation roused much indignation. The Metis hunters declared that it interfered with their



JEAN, COUNTESS OF SELKIRK





right to sell pemmican where they pleased. The agents of the North-West Company protested that it would cripple their trade, inasmuch as the war between Canada and the United States prevented the importation of provisions from Montreal, and that their brigades in the far west were entirely dependent on the pemmican supplied by the Red River country. The Abbé Dugas tells us that, in response to the protest of the North-Westerns, Macdonell gave them permission to send out the provisions necessary for their western posts, on condition that they would furnish him with an equal quantity later, should the colonists need it. Although this arrangement seemed satisfactory to the local agents, the partners in Montreal repudiated it, when they heard of it, and later in the season they ordered the agents to send provisions west without regard to Governor Macdonell's proclamation.

The proclamation might have done little harm, if Macdonell had not attempted to enforce the embargo in a practical way. Having been informed that the North-West Company was not living up to the agreement which he had made with it, he sent John Warren to seize a supply of food stored in a North-West post some distance west of Pembina; and in June John Spencer, who acted as sheriff of the colony, was sent to seize the provisions kept in the North-West fort, at the mouth of the Souris River. Spencer seems to have been doubtful about the wisdom of such a step and perhaps uncertain about its legality, for he insisted on receiving written instructions and a warrant to make the seizure. These were given him, and he was furnished with a strong guard. Proceeding to Fort à la Souris, he demanded the surrender of the food stored there. John Pritchard, the agent in charge, had too few men to attempt any effective resistance; but he refused to give up the supplies, and so Spencer was obliged to break open the storehouse to secure them. He took six hundred bags of pemmican, each weighing about eighty-five pounds, and had them conveyed to Brandon House.

The resentment of the North-Westerns over these seizures was aggravated by Lord Selkirk's efforts to drive them off the lands which he had purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company. His lordship regarded them as trespassers, and on April 15, 1814, he directed Governor Macdonell to serve all the agents of the company with notices to quit the forts and posts occupied by them in Assiniboia, and he advised that the notices should be given in writing as well as verbally and before a sufficient number of witnesses.

The annual meeting of the North-West partners opened at Fort William early in August, and there was much indignation among them when they learned the details of the steps taken by Governor Macdonell. Some time before McGillivray, writing to his partners, had said, "Lord Selkirk must be driven to abandon his projects, for his success would strike at the very existence of our trade;" and this was the key-note of the policy which the men meeting at Fort William decided to adopt. Duncan Cameron, who had had a long experience in the company's posts about Lake Superior, was sent to Fort Gibraltar at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and was instructed to use every means to alienate the sympathies of the settlers from Lord Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company; Cuthbert Grant, a Scotch half-breed, was to keep in close touch with the hunters of the plains; Alexander McDonell was to proceed to the Qu'Appelle district, where he was well known, and hold the sympathy of the Metis there; and James Grant at Fond du Lac was to keep the Pillager Indians of his district

in readiness for a descent upon the colonists, if less harsh measures failed to drive them from the country. These plots against a few inoffensive settlers may seem incredible, but letters exist showing that they were actually made. Alexander McDonell was a brother-in-law of William McGillivray, one of the leading partners of the North-West Company, and he was a brother of that Aeneas McDonell, who had been killed in the fight at Eagle Lake during the fall of 1809. Thus personal feelings helped to inflame his hostility towards the Hudson's Bay Company and the colony which it had allowed the Earl of Selkirk to found. On August 5, 1814, he wrote to McGillivray:

"You see myself and our mutual friend, Mr. Cameron, so far on our way to commence open hostilities against the enemy in Red River. Much is expected from us, and if we believe some—too much. One thing certain is that we will do our best to defend what we consider our rights in the interior. Something serious will undoubtedly take place. Nothing but the complete downfall of the colony will satisfy some, by fair or foul means—a most desirable object if it can be accomplished. So here is at them with all my heart and energy."

Writing to James Grant about the same time, McDonell said, "I wish that some of your Pillagers who are so full of mischief and plunder would pay a hostile visit to these sons of gunpowder and riot. They might make good booty if they went cunningly to work. Not that I wish butchery; God forbid."

Soon after the bourgeois and clerks of the North-West Company had returned from the meeting at Fort William, their anger against Lord Selkirk and his colonists was further inflamed by receipt of the notices which the earl had ordered Governor Macdonell to send out. They were required to quit all their posts in Assiniboia within six months, and the governor's notice contained the warning, "If after this notice your buildings are continued, I shall be under the necessity of razing them to the foundations." The employees of the North-West Company were not allowed to cut any more timber either for buildings or for fuel, and what they had cut might be seized. They were also forbidden to fish in any waters included in the earl's grant of land, and if they put down nets, these might be destroyed. Lord Selkirk was thoroughly convinced that he had the same rights to the timber, fish, and game on his immense grant of prairie as he would have on an estate in Britain, and Macdonell seems to have shared the earl's opinion. In his instructions to his agents the governor said, "We are so fully advised by the unimpeachable validity of the rights of property that there can be no scruple in enforcing them, wherever you have the physical means. If they make forcible resistance, they are acting illegally, and are responsible for what they do, while you are safe, so long as you take only the reasonable and necessary means of enforcing that which is right."

In the meantime the settlers, not dreaming of the plots of the hostile North-Westerners nor of the trouble which the near future held in store for them, had been cultivating their farms as well as they could. They were determined not to go to Fort Daer again in the autumn; so they had sown all the wheat and planted all the potatoes possible. The season proved very favorable; and the settlers, harassed so long by an unkind fate, began to think that comfort and prosperity were almost within their reach. They were cheered, too, by the arrival of a large party of new colonists during the summer. Lord Selkirk was

making further efforts to secure cattle for them, as we learn from one of his letters to Governor Macdonell.

Nor was the earl mindful only of the temporal welfare of his colonists. With the first party he had sent a priest, Father Bourke; but Macdonell did not find him adapted for work on the frontier, and so he did not accompany the settlers on their journey south from York, but returned to Ireland. The earl made several attempts to induce another priest to go to Red River, and in a letter to the governor, written early in 1814, he expresses his regret that he had been unsuccessful. He was equally anxious to send a minister for his Presbyterian colonists. Lord Selkirk also tried, but with little success, to provide schools for the settlers' children.



## CHAPTER XIV

### THE THIRD PARTY

The opposition of the North-West Company's partners to his colony stirred Lord Selkirk to greater efforts to insure its success, and his third party of settlers was larger than either of the two which had preceded it. On June 28, 1813, three vessels sailed away from Stromness in the Orkney Islands, bound for Hudson Bay. On board the *Prince of Wales* there were ninety-three settlers for the Red River colony in charge of Archibald Macdonald; the *Eddystone* carried employees of the Hudson's Bay Company; and the third ship was taking a party of Moravian missionaries to their lonely stations on the shores of the Arctic Ocean. The last war between Britain and the United States had not come to an end, and there was danger from the war-ships and privateers of the republic; so the man-of-war *Brazen* was sent as an escort to the three merchant ships of the Hudson's Bay Company.

A few of the people who sailed from Stromness with this third party came from Ireland, but the majority were natives of Sutherlandshire in Scotland. About thirty of them belonged to Kildonan and about twenty to Borobal. Eighteen bore the name of Gunn, seventeen were Sutherlands, and thirteen were Bannermans; while the McKays and Smiths numbered six each, and the Stewarts and McBeths five each. Kerrigan and Sheil appear among the Irish names.

Two days after the hills of their native land had faded from the sight of the passengers, the ships overtook an American privateer towing a prize westward. They gave chase, and as four to one seemed an unequal contest to the captain of the privateer, he cut his tow-rope and abandoned his prize. The chase was continued until darkness fell, but when daylight came again neither the captured ship nor her captor were to be seen.

By the end of July the *Prince of Wales* was in Hudson Strait, but instead of continuing to her destination, York, she made for the nearer port of Churchill. Fever had broken out on the ship, several of the passengers were dangerously ill, and one had died; and so the captain was anxious to make the nearest land. The ship dropped anchor in Churchill Harbor on August 12, and her passengers were landed as soon as possible. Those who were able to make the journey were sent forward to York, a hundred miles distant. The trail was bad, and food gave out when the party had traversed about half of it; but finally its members reached the factory and wintered there in great discomfort. The sick were cared for at Fort Churchill, but seven or eight persons, including P. La Serre, the surgeon who came out with the party, died. When the others were sufficiently recovered, they were sent to cabins in the neighboring forest; and

when winter came, all were housed there except one old couple who preferred the shelter of the fort.

Winter had scarcely passed when the people who had spent it in the log cabins at Churchill started on their long walk to York. There were twenty-one men and lads in the party and twenty women and girls, and one fourth of its members were under eighteen years of age, while only two whose ages are given were over twenty-six. Only a part of the journey had been accomplished when Angus McKay's young wife, Jean, became ill. The supply of food for the party was so scanty that the others could not wait. But they stopped long enough to set up a tent, bank it with snow, and gather a good supply of firewood; then, leaving some food, a musket, and ammunition, they resumed their march through the woods. As soon as the young mother was able to travel, she took the baby boy, who had been born in that snow-banked tent, her nineteen-year-old husband shouldered the musket and their small possessions, and they followed the rest of the party. Before the end of April they reached York Factory, where the others had arrived twenty-one days after leaving Churchill. Of the people who had left Stromness with the intention of settling at Red River eight had died and two had deserted; but Jean McKay's babe had been added to the party, and so when all its members were re-assembled at York, it numbered about eighty-four.

As soon as the rivers were free of ice, half the party gathered at York Factory was sent south and reached the settlement on May 27. They were in time to plant potatoes and other vegetables, which furnished a valuable addition to the food supply of the colony for the next winter. The remaining members of the party left York Factory about a month later than the first contingent, and were met on Lake Winnipeg by Governor Macdonell and some of his men. Two of the men in this third party of settlers seem to have abandoned the idea of farming and to have entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in July, but the others received the usual grants of land from Lord Selkirk's agent. He also gave each of them two Indian ponies, as well as a rifle and some ammunition.

The arrival of a third body of settlers did not tend to allay the indignation of the North-Westerners, but it gave Duncan Cameron larger opportunity to carry out the task which the partners had assigned to him. When he arrived at Fort Gibraltar in the latter part of August, he made a great show of dignity and authority. Because he had been an officer in a regiment of Canadian militia at one time, he assumed the title of captain, donned a red coat, and carried a sword. He nailed his commission to the gate of the fort that all might be impressed with his authority, and set himself to win the confidence of the settlers. He spoke Gaelic, and that fact opened one way to their sympathy. He invited them to dinners and dances, and at these entertainments liquid refreshments were dispensed generously, while there was music from bagpipes and fiddles which appealed strongly to Highland hearts.

Cameron did not confine his energies to these quiet but cunning efforts to undermine the allegiance of Lord Selkirk's settlers. He had received from Alexander Norman McLeod, one of the North-West partners who held a magistrate's commission from the government of Canada, warrants for the arrest of Governor Macdonell and Sheriff Spencer. They were charged with breaking into the posts of the North-West Company at the mouth of the Souris and elsewhere

and carrying away provisions and other property of the company. Spencer was arrested on September 5 and sent as a prisoner to a post on Rainy Lake; but the governor refused to recognize the warrants in Cameron's hands.

The next hostile move was made by Captain Macdonell. He sent the following notice to Cameron:

"To Mr. Duncan Cameron, acting for the North-West Company at the Forks of the Red River:

Take Notice, That by the authority and acting on behalf of your landlord, the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Selkirk, I do hereby warn you, and all your associates of the North-West Company, to quit the post and premises you now occupy at the Forks of the Red River, within six calendar months from the date hereof.

(Signed) MILES MACDONELL.

October 21, 1814."

This notice was in accordance with Selkirk's instructions that agents of the North-West Company, who occupied posts in Assiniboia, should be treated as tenants at will.

Most of the settlers seem to have remained in the settlement during the winter of 1814-15, instead of going to Pembina or Fort Daer as they had done in the two preceding winters. Duncan Cameron had made himself so agreeable to them after his arrival that many of them were ready to listen to his advice about their future plans. He assured them that Lord Selkirk's colony would be short lived and that they could not hope to secure permanent homes of their own in the country. He hinted at the hostility of Indians and half-breeds, which his influence alone restrained. Early in the autumn he had won the allegiance of George Campbell, one of the members of the third party and a man who seemed to have a good deal of influence with his neighbors, and this man became Cameron's active agent in fanning the colonists' discontent. Through him Cameron advised them to abandon Red River and go to Canada, where the North-West Company would aid them in securing free grants of land in districts less remote and where they would be provided with implements and with free supplies for a year. Small grants of money were promised to some of them. Campbell had been promised a considerable sum, and early in the winter he went to live in the North-Westers' fort. It would appear that some of the other settlers followed him there later.

The leaven of discontent, so skillfully placed by Cameron and Campbell, worked as they expected. Early in the new year several of the settlers had decided to abandon the colony in the spring. In a letter to two of them, written in February, Cameron said, "I do not ask you a cent for your passage, nor for the provisions that you may need on the way. You are going to a good country, where you can find an honest livelihood for your families. We will bind ourselves to find farms for those who wish to have them." Writing to the same men in March, he said, "I rejoice that you are always of the same mind, especially that I will thus have an opportunity of delivering a greater number of people from slavery, and not only that, but of saving your lives, for every day your lives are in danger from the Saulteaux and Sioux Indians." In the



same letter he adds, "You need expect no justice in this country. However, before going, take all you can get hold of from the storehouse of the colony; I will buy the articles that may be of use here, and I will pay you for them in Canada."

If the Indians had been left to themselves, the danger to which Cameron alludes in his letter would have been fictitious, for they were friendly toward the settlers; but there is evidence, perhaps not wholly conclusive, that they were not left to themselves. Some time later the following declaration was made at Drummond Island by an Indian chief before Mr. John Askin, of the Department of Indian Affairs and a justice of the peace:

"Katawabetay (the chief) declares that in the spring of 1815, as he was at Lake du Sable, McKenzie and Morrison told him that they would give him and his people all the goods or merchandise, as well as the rum that they had at Fort William and at Lake du Sable, if he, Katawabetay, and his warriors would declare war against the Red River settlers; on which he asked McKenzie and Morrison if the request to make war on the settlers was by orders from the big chiefs at Quebec and at Montreal, or by the officers in command at Drummond Island, or in fine by the Justice of the Peace, J. Askin. The answer of McKenzie and Morrison was that the request came from the agents of the North-West Company, who desired that the settlement be destroyed because it injured them; on which Katawabetay said that neither he nor his people would acquiesce to their demand before having seen and consulted the justice of the peace, J. Askin; that after that, he, the Indian chief, would be governed according to the advice he would receive."

By the first of April George Campbell had induced nearly one-third of the two hundred odd settlers to abandon the colony; the others, whose recognized leader was Alexander McLean, were not to be lured away by such inducements as Cameron and his agent could offer. So Cameron decided to adopt intimidation instead of persuasion. Business had taken Captain Macdonell to Fort Daer at the time, and he had left Archibald Macdonald in charge at Colony Gardens; so it seemed an opportune time for Cameron's next move. He therefore handed the following order to George Campbell:

"Monday, 3rd April, 1815.

To Mr. Archibald Macdonald,

Guardian of the Fort.

I have authorized the settlers to take possession of your fieldpieces, but not for the purpose of using them in a hostile manner, but only to prevent a wrong use being made of them. I hope that you will not be blind enough to your own interests to make any useless resistance, especially as nobody wants to do any harm either to you or to your people.

(Signed) D. CAMERON,

*Captain of the Corps of Voyageurs."*

On the following Sunday, after the settlers had been dismissed from the religious service of the day, Campbell informed them that he had received the above order; but Macdonald seems to have regarded the statement as an idle boast and took no precautions. On the next day, Monday, April 9th, Campbell

took the order to Macdonald and demanded the surrender of the cannon. He was accompanied by several of the settlers, among whom were George Bannerman, Angus Gunn, Hugh Bannerman, Donald McKinnon, and Donald McDonald. A number of half-breeds joined the party, as well as the employees of the North-West Company, Cuthbert Grant, William Shaw, and Peter Pangman. When Macdonald refused to give up the guns, he and the other officers in charge of the colony were detained as prisoners by George Campbell, Andrew McBeath, Angus McKay, and John Cooper, while the others broke into a building adjoining Governor Macdonell's house and took from it four brass fieldpieces, four iron swivel-guns, and one howitzer. These were hauled across to Fort Gibraltar. It is said that Campbell's party took some of the goods in the colony store at the same time.

The seizure of these cannon left Colony Gardens in a defenceless position and was only the prelude to acts of open hostility against the settlers who refused to listen to Cameron's persuasions. Captain Macdonell had come back from Fort Daer, and Cameron was very anxious to have him removed from the colony. On May 25th another attempt to arrest him was made, but he would not recognize the warrant. During the first week of June a party of half-breeds came down from the west with Loughlin McLean, a North-West clerk. They went from house to house among the settlers, making threats, and finally camped at Frog Plain, a short distance below the settlement, from which point they sent notice to James Sutherland, factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, that they would not withdraw until Governor Macdonell was given up.

On June 11th Lamarre, Grant, Shaw, and Pangman took guns from Fort Gibraltar and armed a number of the servants of the North-West Company and some half-breeds living in the vicinity. This party, about twenty in all, went to a small grove of trees not far from Governor Macdonell's house and began to fire upon those who passed near it. A cannon was discharged into the brushwood to disperse them, but they returned to the attack. Alexander McDonell, who directed their movements, then brought the band of half-breeds up from Frog Plain. They drove some of the settlers from their homes, pulled down their fences, and used the material to build a barricade about a house, some four hundred yards from the residence of the governor, in which they took their position and prepared to lay siege to the latter.

Governor Macdonell, aware that these attacks were made to compel his surrender and hoping that they would cease in his absence, left Point Douglas on June 11th; but as they continued, he returned on the 14th. Mr. McKenzie, one of the North-West partners, arrived at Fort Gibraltar about this time, and several men from Point Douglas had an interview with him in regard to the surrender of the governor and afterwards advised Macdonell to give himself up. Finally Governor Macdonell had a conference with McKenzie, and as a result he submitted to the warrant for his arrest on June 21st, with the understanding that he would be given time to put his affairs in order. This was not allowed, however, and on the next day he was sent east as a prisoner.

By the 21st of June the settlers who had been induced to migrate to Upper Canada were ready for their long journey, and one hundred and thirty-four of them started east under the leadership of Duncan Cameron. Angus McKay, his wife, and their year-old baby were in this party. The trip was long and toil-

some, and it was the 5th of September before the emigrants reached Holland Landing on Georgian Bay. There they learned that many of the fair promises made by Cameron and Campbell would not be carried out. Their situation seems fairly well indicated by the following dispatch from Sir Gordon Drummond to the Earl of Bathurst, dated November 2, 1815:

"I could not but lament this entire dispersion of the colony which Lord Selkirk has been endeavoring to form, yet it has occurred, and as the persons, who have thus sought refuge within the limits of my authority, were without means of subsistence, I have authorized the issue of rations to them for their immediate support, and I have recommended to Lieutenant-Governor Gore to grant locations of land, with the usual conditions and advantages, to such of them as shall be willing and qualified to take up land as settlers."

The people who had gone to Canada were allotted lands in various parts of the country, and most of them seem to have prospered there. The men who had assisted Cameron and Alexander McDonell in leading three-fourths of the settlers away from Lord Selkirk's colony were suitably rewarded by the North-West Company, as its records show. In regard to his useful assistant Cameron wrote:

"George Campbell is a well-known man; he was a zealous partisan, who more than once exposed his life for the company. He rendered important services in the Red River transactions; he deserves a hundred pounds and the protection of the company.

"(Signed) DUNCAN CAMERON."

Governor Macdonell seems to have been taken east as a prisoner in company with the settlers as far as Fort William, which was reached about July 25th; but here he was detained some time before being sent on to Montreal. John Spencer, the sheriff of the colony, who had been arrested in the preceding autumn and detained all winter at a North-West post near Rainy Lake, was also held at Fort William for a time. It was August before he reached Montreal and was admitted to bail. The charges against Macdonell and Spencer seem to have been dismissed for lack of sufficient evidence.

The governor and most of the settlers having been taken out of the country, it only remained to drive away the few determined people who remained. A few days after Cameron and his following set out for Canada the following notice was given to the heads of the families left in the settlement:

"All settlers retire immediately from the River, and no appearance of a colony to remain.

CUTHBERT GRANT,  
BOSTONNAIS PANGMAN,  
WILLIAM SHAW,  
BONHOMME MONTOUR.

June 25th, 1815."

This demand was emphasized by further hostile demonstrations against the settlers. John McLeod, who was in charge of the posts of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Red River district that summer, tells the story thus in his journal:

"On June 25th, 1815, while I was in charge, a sudden attack was made by an armed band of the N. W. party under the leadership of Alexander McDonell (Yellow Head) and Cuthbert Grant, on the settlement and Hudson's Bay Company fort at the Forks. They numbered about seventy or eighty, well armed and on horseback. Having had some warning of it, I assumed command of both the colony and H. B. C'y parties. Mustering with inferior numbers, and with only a few guns, we took a stand against them. Taking my place among the colonists, I fought with them. All fought bravely and kept up the fight as long as possible. Many about me falling wounded; one mortally. Only thirteen out of our band escaped unscathed.

"The brunt of the struggle was near the H. B. C'y post, close to which was our blacksmith's smithy—a log building about ten feet by ten. Being hard pressed, I thought of trying the little cannon (a three or four pounder) lying idle in the post where it could not well be used.

"One of the settlers (Hugh McLean) went with two of my men, with his cart, to fetch it, with all the cart chains he could get and some powder. Finally, we got the whole to the blacksmith's smithy, where, chopping up the chain into lengths for shot, we opened a fire of chain shot on the enemy which drove back the main body and scattered them, and saved the post from utter destruction and pillage. All the colonists' houses were, however, destroyed by fire. Houseless, wounded, and in extreme distress, they took to the boats, and saving what they could, started for Norway House (Jack's River), declaring that they would never return.

"The enemy still prowled about, determined apparently to expel, dead or alive, all of our party. All of the H. B. Company's officers and men refused to remain, except the two brave fellows in the service, viz., Archibald Currie and James McIntosh, who, with noble Hugh McLean, joined in holding the fort in the smithy. Governor Macdonell was a prisoner.

"In their first approach the enemy appeared determined more to frighten than to kill. Their demonstration in line of battle, mounted, and in full 'war paint' and equipment, was formidable, but their fire, especially at first, was desultory. Our party, numbering only about half theirs, while preserving a general line of defence, exposed itself as little as possible, but returned the enemy's fire, sharply checking the attack, and our line was never broken by them. On the contrary, when the chain-firing began, the enemy retired out of range of our artillery, but at a flank movement reached the Colony houses, where they quickly and resistlessly plied the work of destruction. To their credit be it said, they took no life or property.

"Of the killed, on our side, there was only poor John Warren of the H. B. C'y service, a worthy, brave gentleman, who, taking a leading part in the battle, too fearlessly exposed himself. Of the enemy, probably, the casualties were greater, for they presented a better target, and we certainly fired to kill. From the smithy we could and did protect the trade post, but could not the buildings of the colonists, which were along the bank of the Red River, while the post faced the Assiniboine more than the Red River. Fortunately for us in the fort (smithy) the short nights were never too dark for our watch and ward.

"The colonists were allowed to take what they could of what belonged to them, and that was but little, for as yet they had neither cow nor plough, only a

horse or two. There were boats and other craft enough to take them all—colonists and H. B. C'y people—away, and all, save my three companions already named and myself, took ship and fled. For many days after we were under siege, living under constant peril; but unconquerable in our bullet-proof log walls, and with our terrible cannon and chain shot.

"At length the enemy retired. The post was safe, with from eight hundred to one thousand pounds' worth of attractive trade goods belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company untouched. I was glad of this, for it enabled me to secure the services of free men about the place—French Canadians and half-breeds not in the service of the N. W. C'y—to restore matters and prepare for the future.

"I felt that we had too much at stake in the country to give it up, and had every confidence in the resources of the H. B. C'y and the Earl of Selkirk to hold their own and effectually repel any future attack from our opponents.

"I found the free men about the place willing to work for me; and at once hired a force of them for building and other works in reparation of damages and in new works. So when I got my post in good order, I turned to save the little but promising crops of the colonists, whose return I anticipated, made fences where required, and in due time cut and stacked their hay, etc.

"That done I took upon me, without order or suggestion from any quarter, to build a house for the Governor and his staff of the Hudson's Bay Company at Red River. There was no such officer at that time, nor had there ever been, but I was aware that such an appointment was contemplated.

"I selected for this purpose what I considered a suitable site at a point or sharp bend in the Red River about two miles below the Assiniboine, on a slight rise on the south side of the point—since known as Point Douglas, the family name of the Earl of Selkirk. Possibly I so christened it—I forget.

"It was of two stories, with main timbers of oak; a good, substantial house, with windows of parchment in default of glass."

John McLeod, who had come to Red River as a clerk of the Hudson's Bay Company with Selkirk's first party of settlers, tells us that the company had no post at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers at that time. He was left in charge of the company's business at that point during the summer of 1813 with four men, and he says, "I immediately on Mr. Henney's departure (for York Factory) began to build, and had a good snug house erected before the return of the fall craft." In the autumn Peter Fidler came to take charge of the district and appears to have made this new post his headquarters. It seems probable that this post was afterwards known as Fidler's Fort and that it stood a short distance north of the junction of Main Street and Portage Avenue. It should be added that other witnesses of the incidents described by John McLeod in the paragraphs quoted from his journal do not always agree with him as to details. For instance Alexander McDonell states that John Warren and his three companions were wounded in the fighting of June 11, and that Warren was wounded by the bursting of a cannon on his own side. Other witnesses say that the houses of the settlers were burned on June 28, the day after they started for Jack River. Four houses were burned at Colony Gardens, eighteen houses in the settlement, besides a mill, and several stables.

There was a form of capitulation between the victors and the vanquished,

which was signed by Grant, Pangman, Shaw, and Montour as chiefs of the half-breeds, and by James Sutherland, chief factor, and James White, surgeon, for the Hudson's Bay Company. It provided that all the settlers were to retire, and that those who went peaceably were not to be molested; that the Hudson's Bay Company's people were to remove from the colony buildings and carry on trade at some other spot; that the company might send three or four trading boats up the river as usual with four or five men to each boat; that former disturbances between the company and the half-breeds were not to be recalled by either party, and that peace and amity were to "subsist between all parties, traders, Indians, and freemen in future throughout these two rivers."

Thirteen families, numbering about fifty persons, left the colony on June 27 under the escort of a few friendly Indians and made their way in boats and canoes to the lower end of Lake Winnipeg, where the Hudson's Bay Company had a post now known as Norway House. It was July when they reached it, all poorer than when they had arrived there on their way south from one to three years before. A few went on to York Factory, and the agent at Norway House seems to have cared for the others. As the weeks dragged by it seemed that there was little hope of their return to Lord Selkirk's colony, which had cost so much in toil, hardship, and money.

A new actor was coming on the stage, who was to bring fresh hope and courage to the settlers and lead them back to their farms. The Hudson's Bay Company had at last adopted the policy which Colin Robertson had suggested years before; and the early months of the year 1815 found him in Lower Canada enlisting *coureurs des bois* for service with that company. Some time before the end of July he reached Lake Winnipeg with two hundred of them, and there he learned of the disaster to Selkirk's colony. The matter demanded his immediate attention, and so he sent his men forward in charge of Mr. Clark. Dressed in their best clothes, wearing their gayest sashes, and singing their French boat-songs, the two hundred careless voyageurs set out for their destinations in the remote west, never dreaming that most of them would be sacrificed to cold, hunger, accident, and the weapons of hostile Indians and North-Westerners in the wilderness and that few of them would ever see Canada again. The fur trade took heavy toll of human life in those days.

Robertson turned south to take a hasty look at the abandoned settlement and then hurried north to Jack River. He had news for the refugees there. A large party of new settlers was on the way to the colony, also a number of clerks and servants for the company, and a new governor and his staff accompanied them. There would be an armed schooner on Lake Winnipeg to protect the settlers and the company's interests. Lord Selkirk himself would arrive during the next year. So the settlers determined to try once more and returned to their farms on August 15. When they harvested the crops which John McLeod's thoughtfulness had saved for them, they had 1,500 bushels of wheat and a quantity of other grain, as well as potatoes and other vegetables.

Early in October Robertson re-occupied Point Douglas, and later in the month the cannon, which George Campbell's followers had carried away, were sent back from Fort Gibraltar. When Duncan Cameron, much elated by the rewards and commendation bestowed upon him by the North-West Company,

returned to the Forks, he was surprised to find the settlers once more in possession of their homes, and Point Douglas with its new buildings in the hands of its owners. He was still more surprised later in the fall to find himself arrested by officers from Fort Douglas. He was permitted to return to his post after he had given his promise to keep the peace, but a number of his clerks and servants were sent down to Bas de la Rivière Fort.

## CHAPTER XV

### THE NEW GOVERNOR

Lord Selkirk's fourth party of settlers left Scotland early in 1815 and reached Red River without being obliged to pass a winter on the shores of Hudson Bay. There were eighty-four people in the party, and all but five or six were Scotch. The McKay families included eighteen persons, the Sutherland families twelve, the Mathesons twelve, the Bannermans eleven, the McBeths ten, and the Polsons five. James Sutherland, the elder authorized by the church of Scotland to baptize and marry, came with this party. The earl had promised the colonists a minister of their own faith, and they had chosen Mr. Sage, a son of Rev. Alexander Sage, then minister of the parish of Kildonan, Sutherlandshire. The earl offered him a yearly salary of £ 50 and some special privileges, and he had agreed to go to Red River; but as he wished to perfect himself in the Gaelic language, he stipulated that he should remain in Scotland another year for that purpose. Elder Sutherland was to act as his substitute in the interval.]

During the voyage a school was started for the boys and girls on board the ship, and it proved a source of entertainment for the adults as well as a benefit to the children. The lessons were given on deck in fine weather, but below decks when it was stormy; and the school hours were from 11 A. M. to 2 P. M. English bibles were the only textbooks used. George McBeth was the first teacher; but as he did not give satisfaction, he was superseded by John Matheson.

Mr. Robert Semple, the new governor of Assiniboia, came out on one of the ships which brought Lord Selkirk's fourth party of colonists. He reached Fort Douglas on November 3, 1815, and took up his residence in the "good, substantial house" which John McLeod had built during the summer. Semple was born in New England of loyalist parents. He had seen some military service, had engaged in business for a time, and had traveled extensively. He was a man of culture and high ideals, but he seems to have lacked the knowledge of frontier life and frontier people which would have helped him to cope with the difficulties of his new position. This position was not identical with that which Miles Macdonell had filled; for Macdonell was simply the agent of the Earl of Selkirk and does not appear to have held any appointment from the Hudson's Bay Company, while Semple was appointed governor of Assiniboia in accordance with a resolution of the company's directors adopted on May 19, 1815.

Governor Semple was accompanied by Dr. Wilkinson, who was to act as his secretary, by Lieutenant Holte, who had formerly been an officer in the Swedish navy and who came to Red River to command the armed schooner which was to be placed on Lake Winnipeg, and by Captain Rogers, a mineralogist. Dr. White, the surgeon of the colony, came up from Norway House with the party.



Farms were allotted to the new settlers on the usual terms, and a few new houses were built; then, as there was not food enough in the settlement for its increased population, many of them went to Fort Daer to subsist as well as they might on the proceeds of the buffalo hunt. Some of them went far out on the plains in pursuit of the herds, and it seems to have been a hard winter for all of them. Governor Semple himself went to Fort Daer to spend some time in hunting, leaving Robertson in charge at Fort Douglas.

When the Earl of Selkirk landed in New York in the autumn of 1815 and learned that most of his colonists in the Red River Settlement had been coaxed away to Upper Canada and that the others had been forcibly expelled by the French half-breeds, he asked the British government to send a military force to Rupert's Land sufficient to keep the peace between the hostile fur companies and to protect the settlers who wished only to work their farms in security. He was informed that it was the duty of the government of Canada to maintain peace in Rupert's Land and that the home government could not interfere. More and more anxious about his colony, the earl set out for Canada, but reached Montreal too late to proceed to Red River that season. He strongly urged the governor of Canada to send a force into the west to keep order there; but most of the government officials of Canada seem to have been friends of the North-West Company, and so the earl's suggestions were received coldly and nothing was done.

During the winter of 1815-16 friendly Indians warned Colin Robertson now and then that danger threatened the colony, and Robertson himself knew the Metis and the North-Westerns too well to believe that they would remain quiet while all their successes of the previous spring were reversed. He urged the governor to take measures which would make another attack on the settlement impossible, but Semple did not appreciate the situation nor think the danger imminent. During the governor's absence at Fort Daer Robertson decided that he must let Lord Selkirk know the true state of affairs in the colony; yet it was almost impossible to send a message to Montreal, for all routes to Canada were carefully watched by half-breeds or Indians in the pay of the North-West Company. But Robertson had lived too long in the west not to know of a man whose cunning was a match for that of any North-West spy, if such a man existed.

About nine years earlier J. B. Lajimoniere, a Canadian voyageur, had gone from the prairies to spend the winter in his native village, Maskinonge. There he met Marie Anne Gaboury, a young woman of good family and some education. The voyageur's strange life and adventures in the far west appealed to some romantic element in her temperament and made him a hero in her eyes. Hero-worship grew into love; and when Lajimoniere returned to the prairies in the spring, Marie Anne Gaboury went with him as his wife. It is generally claimed that she was the first white woman to reach the Canadian prairies, although Alexander Henry (the younger) tells us a story of a young Scotch lass who came out disguised as a boy a few years earlier to search for a roving lover. Surely no white woman ever led a stranger life than Madame Lajimoniere did for the next ten years. Her husband, who was trapper, hunter, trader, and guide by turns, roamed the plains from the Missouri to the North Saskatchewan and from the Red River to the foothills of the Rockies; and his wife accompanied him on most of his wanderings in spite of fatigue, hunger, cold, and dangers



ST. MARY'S ISLE



from wild animals and wild Indians. Four children had been born to them in the changeful years, and in the fall of 1815 the family was living in a cabin on the eastern bank of the Red River nearly opposite to Fort Douglas. One day in the latter part of November Lajimoniere came home and told his wife that he was going on a long journey alone and that while he was absent the governor would furnish her and the children with food and lodging in the fort. Her life had been too full of strange vicissitudes for one more change to surprise her much, and so she acquiesced in the arrangement.

Robertson had asked Lajimoniere to carry dispatches to Lord Selkirk in Montreal, and he had agreed to start at once. Of course the trip of 1,500 miles could only be made on foot at that time of the year, and a part of the route was beset by lurking enemies; but these facts did not deter the hardy Frenchman from attempting it. Leaving the fort so stealthily that no friends of the North-West Company suspected his departure, he made his way to Pembina, where he persuaded two or three old-time friends to accompany him. Together they set out on the long journey through the woods to the head of Lake Superior. There the merest chance saved them from capture at the hands of the North-Westerns. Snow impeded them, breaking ice nearly cost them their lives, and starvation dogged them much of the way; but they pushed forward with relentless haste, and on January 6, 1816, a haggard, wild-looking man thrust Robertson's dispatches into Selkirk's own hands in Montreal. In thirty-eight days Lajimoniere had accomplished his mission.

In those days life on the prairies developed men of iron constitutions who hardly seemed to know fatigue, and Lajimoniere wished to return at once; but the earl detained him until replies to Robertson could be written, and these required much consideration, for the situation was serious indeed. At last the fearless voyageur started on the return trip. He reached the neighborhood of Fond du Lac at the head of Lake Superior without mishap, but there his good fortune forsook him. Norman McLeod had written to agents of the North-West Company in Minnesota, "Lajimoniere is again to pass through your Department, on his way to Red River. He must absolutely be prevented. He and the men along with him, and an Indian guide he has, must all be sent to Fort William. It is a matter of astonishment how he could have made his way last fall through your Department.") So the Indians, anxious to earn the promised reward of £20, two kegs of rum, and some tobacco, watched the trails more closely than ever. They captured Lajimoniere, beat him into insensibility, and carried him to Fort William, where he was kept a close prisoner. It was a year before he saw wife and children again.

Lord Selkirk's letters, which were taken from Lajimoniere and handed to the North-West partners at Fort William, did not lessen their animosity against the writer. He informed his agents at Fort Douglas that he would visit the colony in the spring to reduce its affairs to a more settled condition and to protect the settlers from further molestation by the half-breeds. He indicated that he intended to continue his efforts to evict the North-Westerns. "There can be no doubt," he wrote, "that the North-West Company must be compelled . . . to quit my lands . . . especially at the Forks . . . , but as it will be necessary to use force, I am anxious that this should be done under legal warrant."

Soon after he had received Robertson's dispatches, he renewed the application

for troops to keep the peace in Red River, which he had made in person and by letter during the previous November; but Lord Drummond, the governor-general, replied that he had not changed his opinion and did not think it wise or necessary to send soldiers to the colony. Selkirk wrote again about the matter on March 11, and once more in a letter dated Montreal, April 23, 1816. In the latter he urges that the governor-general has been given full authority to deal with the matter by Lord Bathurst, the colonial secretary, that only the presence of troops in the Red River country can protect the colonists from their enemies, that the Indians are friends of the settlers and will not resent the presence of soldiers, that there is danger of the half-breeds' attack on the settlement being renewed, and that the return of the expelled settlers and the arrival of a considerable body of new settlers warrant His Excellency in reconsidering the whole matter. He also offers to produce ample testimony to prove the statements he makes and undertakes to pay the whole cost of transporting and provisioning the troops, if, on investigation, the home government does not deem the expedition necessary. All his arguments were of no avail, however; and when he subsequently asked the government of Canada to investigate the evidence he had obtained against the North-West Company, he was told that there was nothing to fear as all necessary steps had been taken to restore tranquillity. Lord Selkirk had been given a commission as a justice of the peace in Upper Canada and the Indian Lands, and in that capacity he was given permission to take a guard of one sergeant and six soldiers when he went west to Red River. The guard was to accompany him from Drummond Island in Lake Huron, the most western point in Canada having an English garrison at that time.

The Earl of Selkirk did not share Lord Drummond's confidence that permanent peace had been secured for the colony, for he had information from Robertson that the North-Westerns and their allies were making preparations for the complete destruction of the settlement before the summer was over. His only hope was to get a strong force into the country before they could deliver their blow. He found that there was nothing to hope from the government of Canada, dominated as it was by the influence of the North-West Company, and that he must depend on his own resources. Fortune seemed to favor him in one respect, for he found the instrument, which he needed, ready to his hand.

During the wars with Napoleon the British war office had engaged two regiments of mercenaries for service on the Continent. They were commanded by Colonel de Meuron and Colonel de Wattville and were composed of soldiers of many nationalities—French, German, Swiss, and others. They afterward came to Canada to aid her in the war with the United States; but after it was concluded by the peace of Ghent in the last days of 1814, the regiments were disbanded. Many of the soldiers remained in Canada, and lands were given to those who wished them; but their military life had not fitted them to be successful farmers, and some of them were willing to go to Red River with Lord Selkirk as military settlers. They were to receive grants of land there in the same way as other settlers, but in consideration of a little pay, they were to bear arms in defence of the colony, should circumstances make it necessary. They entered into a written agreement with the earl, and one of its conditions was that he would send them back to Europe, if they were not satisfied with the country. Of course he was to supply them with arms and ammunition. About a hundred

of these soldiers were engaged, and they were placed under the command of two of their former officers, Captain d'Orsonnens and Captain Matthey.

These preparations had delayed Lord Selkirk somewhat, and it was about the middle of June before he left York (Toronto) with his soldiers and a hundred canoemen and commenced the trip up the lakes. The large canoes were heavily laden with a plentiful supply of provisions for his men, muskets for the soldiers, and two small cannon; so they could not proceed very rapidly. Captain Miles Macdonell, who had been discharged by the courts of Canada for lack of any evidence against him, was ready to return to Red River with the earl, and he was sent in advance with a few men in light canoes to make preparations for the main body of the expedition. The protection, which the Red River colony needed so sorely, seemed to be on the way to it at last.



## CHAPTER XVI

### SEVEN OAKS

In the Red River Settlement events had marched so rapidly that Lord Selkirk's well meant efforts could not avert disaster. Governor Semple returned from Fort Daer early in the year 1816, and about March left Fort Douglas again to inspect the trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company in various parts of Assiniboia. Robertson was left in charge, and soon received information that the half-breeds and Indians of the Qu'Appelle district were being organized for a raid on the colony in the spring. He believed that the preparations were more general than the friendly Indians had reported, and he suspected that Duncan Cameron was taking an active part in them notwithstanding his promise to the contrary made in the preceding October. Most of the clerks and servants of the North-West Company in Fort Gibraltar had been sent down to the mouth of the Winnipeg River then, and so Cameron had few men in the fort with him. On the evening of March 17, Robertson, accompanied by Alexander McLean, John Bourke, Michael Heden, Martin Jordan, and several others, went to Fort Gibraltar and arrested Duncan Cameron and three clerks of the North-West Company. They were completely taken by surprise and could offer no resistance. Cameron was in the act of writing a letter to James Grant of Fond du Lac, which suggested that the Pillager Indians should raid the settlement.

The letters seized by Robertson then, others written by the North-Westerns and intercepted by him, as well as evidence obtained by Lord Selkirk at Fort William later in the year, all show that the North-Westerns were determined to destroy the settlement. Their plan was very similar to that which had been followed the year before, but it was more carefully arranged and provided for such a perfect co-ordination of all the forces available for the purpose that the colony could have no chance of escape. Most of the Indians were well disposed to the colonists; but where it was possible to stir the savages to hostility by telling them that the colonists would deprive them of their hunting grounds or by appealing to their desire of plunder, this was to be done. The Metis were to be imbued with the idea that they had been the first to occupy the country and were its true owners, while the whites, "*les jardinieres*" as they were contemptuously called, were interlopers. The notion was quickly adopted by the half-breeds, and they began at once to speak of themselves as the "New Nation;" and the conviction which lay behind this name was one of the causes of the unrest of the Metis which continued to show itself at intervals for seventy years. Alexander McDonell was to bring the "New Nation" down from Qu'Appelle; William Shaw was to induce their friends along the Saskatchewan to accompany them; Cuthbert Grant would



reinforce the party with those living at White Horse Plains; Bostonnais Pangman would bring a few from Pembina; and James Grant would send the Pilleurs from Minnesota, if necessary. Moreover the force thus raised was to be joined on the lower part of Red River by the North-West Company's brigade bound from Fort William to the far west. It was confidently expected that such a force would over-awe the colonists and that they would submit at once.

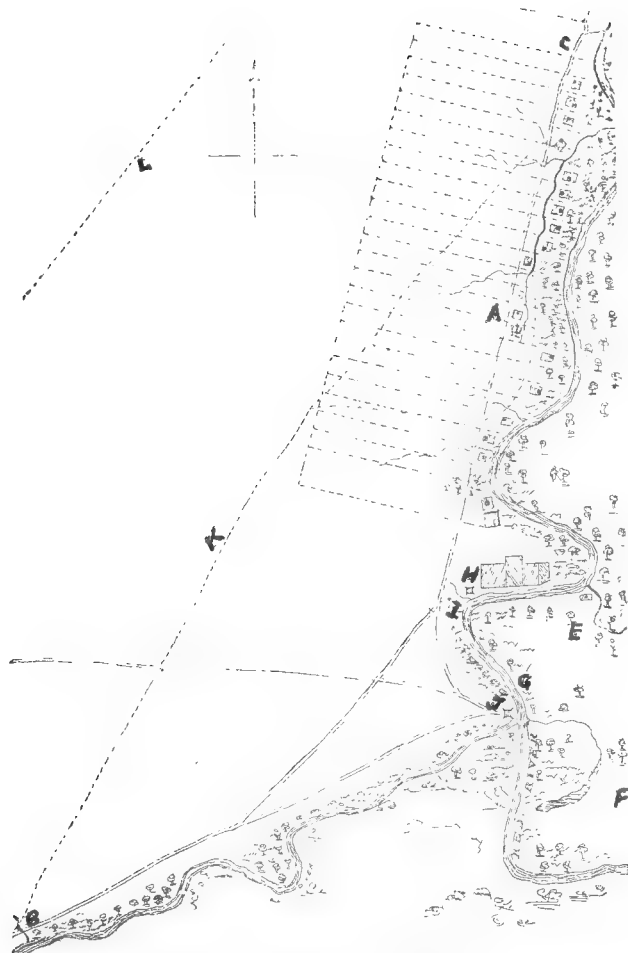
On the 13th of March, 1816, Alexander McDonell wrote to a friend at Sault Ste. Marie, "I am at my post at River Qu'Appelle, putting on airs with my sword and golden epaulets, directing and doing your business. Sir William Shaw is gathering together all the Bois-Brulés (half-breeds) of the neighboring departments. He has sent orders to his friends in these quarters to hold themselves ready for the war-path. He has already collected all the Half-Breeds as far as Fort La Prairie. God alone knows what the result is going to be."

On the same day he wrote to Duncan Cameron at Fort Gibraltar, "I received your letter from River Souris. I see with pleasure the hostile movements of our neighbors. A storm is brewing in the North; it is ready to burst on the heads of the miserable people who deserve it. They do not know of the precipice that yawns at their feet. What we did last year was mere child's play. The new nation is advancing under its chiefs to clear out from their country the assassins that have no right thereto."

Other leaders of the movement against the colony were writing letters. On May 13, Cuthbert Grant wrote to Alexander Fraser, a half-breed clerk employed by the North-West Company, "I take the liberty of sending you a few lines to give you news about our fellow-countrymen, the half-breeds of Fort la Prairie and of the Rivière aux Anglais. I am very pleased to tell you that the half-breeds are all agreed and ready to execute our order. They sent one of their number here to learn about the state of affairs and to know if it is necessary for them all to come. I sent them word to be all here about the middle of May. I recommend you to tell Bostonnais to keep all the half-breeds well together, as to those here I will answer for them all except Antoine Houle, whom I beat this morning and dismissed from the service."

On the same day, Grant wrote to J. Dougald Cameron at Sault Ste. Marie, "The Bois-Brulés of Fort la Prairie and of the Rivière aux Anglais will be here in the spring; and I hope that we will carry all with a high hand and that we will never again see the people of the colony at Red River. The traders will also have to get out for having disobeyed our orders last spring. We will spend the summer at the Forks for fear they might play us the same game as last year and come back; but if they do they will be received in a proper manner."

Once more the unwise, if not illegal, actions of their opponents gave the North-Westerners and the Metis the opportunity which they sought. As the half-breeds repeated in 1816 the plan of campaign adopted the year before, so Governor Semple and Colin Robertson repeated the unfortunate moves which Miles Macdonell had made in 1814. Food was scarce. Orders were sent to Fort Daer in March that the men there were to seize a supply of provisions stored in the North-West fort at Pembina. That fort was entered in the evening by A. McDonell, John Pritchard, John McLeod, and others; and Bostonnais Pangman, who was in charge, was made prisoner, together with Fraser, Hesse, Catonaba, and three half-breeds. The keys of the store were seized, and



### RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

(Facsimile of section of map, 1818)

A—Seven Oaks, where Semple fell  
 B—Creek where Metis left Assiniboine  
 C—Frog Plain, since Kildonan church.  
 E to F—De Meuron Settlers on Seine  
 G—Half-breeds (St. Boniface)

H—Fort Douglas (1815)  
 I—Colony Gardens  
 J—Fort Gibraltar (N. W. Co.)  
 K—Road followed by Metis  
 L—Dry cart trail west of settlers' lots



all the arms and ammunition found there were carried away. The prisoners were sent to Fort Douglas and seem to have been released soon after they arrived. The goods seized were forwarded to the fort a little later in consequence of a letter sent to Pritchard by Governor Semple, stating that the North-West Company had recently taken some of the property of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Peace River country and that they "must try to have a few things to balance the account." John McLeod has left the following note on the affair at Pembina in his journal:

"On the 20th of that month (March) by the joint action of the colony and H. B. C'y authorities, the N. W. C'y establishment there (at Pembina), then under charge of Pangman with two clerks and about a dozen men, was captured without firing a shot or injury to any man. I took part in it, and three days afterwards took the prisoners to the Forks, where it was understood that Mr. Robertson was to make a like capture, which on March 17 he did."

The capture of Fort Gibraltar has been mentioned, and we are told that Semple made an attempt to seize the North-West Company's fort on the Qu'Appelle River, but was foiled by Alexander McDonell. The North-Westerns soon found an opportunity for retaliation, for early in May Governor Semple sent a clerk of the Hudson's Bay Company named Pambrun to bring to the Forks a quantity of provisions and furs stored in the company's own fort on the Qu'Appelle. Pambrun loaded five boats with six hundred bags of pemmican and twenty packages of furs and, with Mr. Sutherland, a clerk of the post, and twenty servants, started down the river. All went well until May 12, when they were near the mouth of the Souris. Here they were attacked by a party twice as large as their own, led by Cuthbert Grant, Roderick McKenzie, Pangman, and Brisbois, and made prisoners. The furs and provisions were sent to the North-West fort near by, and Pambrun's men were allowed to go back to their own posts, but Pambrun himself was kept a prisoner.

John McLeod had orders to construct a new post at Neil Lake, subsequently called Oxford House, in the spring of 1816, and when he started north from Fort Douglas on May 18, Duncan Cameron was sent with him as a prisoner. He took Cameron as far as Norway House and then handed him over to some other agent of the company who conducted him to a port on the bay from which he was to be sent to England. On May 31, the furs taken from the North-West posts were sent to Hudson Bay in charge of James Sutherland.

The lack of harmony in the small fort on Point Douglas was as striking as the unanimity of the North-Westerns and their allies, the Metis. Governor Semple and Colin Robertson could not agree. The latter wished to assemble the settlers around the fort so they could be protected by the guns which the half-breeds feared so much, but the governor did not think such a measure necessary. When Chief Peguis came up to warn him of the danger and to offer the services of his Indians in defence of the colony, Semple declined the offer. As it seemed impossible to convince the governor of the imminence of the danger which threatened the colony, Robertson threw up his position; and on June 11 he started north for Hudson Bay, intending to return to England by the company's ship which was expected to arrive during the summer. Perhaps the quarrel with Robertson opened the governor's eyes to the gravity of the situation which he had to face and roused him to action, for the day before Robert-

son hoisted a pemmican bag on his canoe as a flag and started down the river, Semple gave orders that Fort Gibraltar should be dismantled. A gang of men was set to work upon it at once, and in a week the task was completed. The best of the timber in the buildings and the stockade was rafted down to Fort Douglas and used to enlarge the buildings and complete the defences there; the rest of the material in the North-West fort was burned, and scarcely any parts of it except the chimneys were left standing. The fort was never rebuilt, and its loss proved a serious blow to the North-West Company.

But the North-Westerners had not been idle while their fort was being demolished. In the latter part of May Alexander McDonell and his band of half-breeds left the post on the Qu'Appelle River and started eastward. An advance party of about twenty-five men was sent forward to seize the provisions in Brandon House, the Hudson's Bay Company's post near the mouth of the Souris. Cuthbert Grant, Alexander Fraser, Louis Lecerte, Bonhomme Montour, Thomas McKay, and Antoine Houle are said to have been in this party. They reached the post on June 1 and captured it without difficulty. When the remainder of the party came down to Brandon House, the supplies which had been taken were loaded into canoes, and a part of the force was detailed to paddle them down the river to Portage la Prairie; the other part followed the trail along the stream on horseback. When Portage la Prairie was reached on June 15, the provisions were unloaded, and a portion was piled in the form of a barricade behind which two small cannon were mounted. McDonell's force now consisted of about 125 men, and he divided it into five companies led by Grant, Lecerte, Houle, Fraser, and Lamarre. Other leading half-breeds in the party were Primeau, Bourassa, and McKay. McDonell himself stayed at Portage la Prairie with fifty men to guard the supplies; the others, mounting their ponies, went down the river under the command of Cuthbert Grant and reached White Horse Plains on June 18. They had all donned the dress and war-paint of Indians, but there were only five or six Indians in the party.

We are told that Moustouche and Courte Oreille, two of the Indians who had started with the party, deserted and hurried forward to warn the white men in Fort Douglas. Perhaps they told Peguis of the approach of the hostile Metis, perhaps he received information about it before they came by some of the ingenious methods of conveying news which Indians use; be that as it may, the kindly chief sent a message to Madame Lajimoniere that death threatened the people in the fort and that she should leave it at once and come to him for protection. She understood, for years of life among the Indians of the plains had given her wisdom; so she took her four little ones, slipped quietly out of the fort, and made her way to the bank of the river where she found an old canoe. She placed her children in it, and although it was upset in their haste, she rescued them, and all reached the eastern bank in safety. There a friendly Indian met them and took them to his tepee until the danger was past.

On June 19 Grant sent his men forward in two divisions, instructing them to keep some distance to the west of Fort Douglas. The first seems to have passed without attracting attention and to have halted in a small grove on the Frog Plain north of the settlement. A few of the settlers were made prisoners, and some horses were seized, but otherwise no depredations were committed. Grant did not think he had a sufficient force to compel the surrender of Fort

Douglas, defended as it was by some thirty men and several pieces of artillery, and his immediate purpose was to effect a junction with the detachment coming from Fort William. That would have given him about two hundred well armed men and several cannon—a force against which the fort could not be defended. Once more the blunders of their opponents gave the Metis an unexpected opportunity, and they were not slow to take advantage of it.

Some of the frightened colonists had left their farms and hurried into Fort Douglas with news of the arrival of the half-breeds. About five o'clock in the afternoon a man on the lookout in the fort saw what appeared to be a party of mounted Indians crossing the prairie some distance away. They were the second division of Cuthbert Grant's band. They had left the river trail three or four miles above the site of Fort Gibraltar and were heading for Frog Plain about the same distance below Fort Douglas on the Red River. The governor was notified, and he, in company with Captain Rogers and Mr. Bourke, went into the watch-house and observed the party for some time through a field-glass. They soon decided that the horsemen were not Indians but half-breeds.

"They are making for the settlers," some one exclaimed.

"We must go out and meet these people," said the governor. "Let twenty men follow me."

The governor's staff gathered about him—Dr. Wilkinson, Dr. White, Lieutenant Holte, and Captain Rogers; several clerks of the company joined them; other servants and several of the settlers were added to it later; and finally it numbered twenty-eight men. John Pritchard, once of the North-West fort on the Souris, went; so did Michael Heden, the smith, and Alexander McLean, the settler whom Duncan Cameron could not buy and whose hand was still crippled by the wound received in the skirmish with the half-breeds a year earlier. Duncan McDonald, wounded in the same skirmish, went too. The members of the party were warned not to go without weapons, and they picked up muskets, pistols and swords, although it is not certain that all the firearms were loaded. After they had gone down the road about a mile, Governor Semple noticed that the party of half-breeds was larger than he had supposed and that a few of the advance party were to be seen in the woods ahead. So he sent back an order that John Bourke, the store-keeper, and Allen McDonell, the sheriff, were to harness horses to one of the cannon and bring it out. The gun and the additional men did not arrive promptly, and Governor Semple, whose criminal lack of ordinary precaution seemed to court disaster, ordered his party to move forward again.

The Metis had halted some distance above Frog Plain, and when they saw the party from the fort advancing again, they came back to meet it. Mindful of the fighting tactics learned from their Indian ancestors, they extended their line about the governor's party in the form of a half-circle as soon as it halted. Grant noticed that it was utterly unprepared to defend itself and sent a Canadian named Boucher forward to demand its surrender.

"What do you want?" asked Boucher, addressing the governor.

"What do you want yourselves?" asked the governor by way of reply.

"We want our fort," was the answer.

"Well, go to your fort."

"You old scoundrel, you have destroyed it."

Indignant at being addressed thus, Governor Semple put out his hand to seize Boucher's bridle or his gun; but the man slipped off his horse to the ground, and the frightened animal dragged him back towards his own line. At once a shot was fired, from which side and whether by accident or design we cannot be certain. Two shots from the half-breed ranks followed in quick succession, one killing Lieutenant Holte, and the other breaking the governor's thigh. Raising himself on his arm, he shouted to his men,

"Do all you can to save yourselves."

Instead of scattering, they gathered about the governor, hoping to rescue him, and the half-breeds poured a volley into the group with deadly effect. Twenty of the men fell in a few minutes, some killed outright, some merely wounded. The infuriated half-breeds fell upon the wounded with guns, clubs, and knives and soon put them to death. Many of the bodies were stripped, and some were mutilated.

Cuthbert Grant seems to have done his best to restrain the murderous fury of his followers. Governor Semple recognized him as he approached and asked if he were not Mr. Grant. On receiving an affirmative answer, the governor said,

"I am not mortally wounded, and if you will have me conveyed to the fort, I think I shall live."

Grant promised to do this and placed the wounded man in charge of a half-breed named Vasseur to be carried to Fort Douglas; but the half-breed robbed him of his watch, pistol, and sash, and a few minutes later a rascally Indian or half-breed called Deschamps came up and killed him. Dr. Wilkinson and Dr. White seem to have been killed outright; Captain Rogers fell wounded, but when he rose and went forward to surrender, he was shot dead by a half-breed named McKay. John Pritchard surrendered, but his life would not have been spared, had it not been for the intercession of a Canadian named Lavigne whom the Metis had captured in Brandon House. Hugh McLean, who drove the team attached to the cannon, John Bourke, who was slightly wounded, and one or two more managed to escape and make their way back to the fort. In the confusion Michael Heden and D. McKay slipped down to the river, crossed it in a canoe, and recrossed to Fort Douglas after dark. Mr. Sutherland and Michael Killenny swam across the stream and escaped.

The Metis spent most of the night in an orgy to celebrate what they called their victory; and their poet, an ignorant versifier named Pierre Falcon, composed for them a song of triumph which has been preserved. A horseman was sent off to carry news of the fight to Alexander McDonell.

Inside Fort Douglas all was terror and confusion. Most of the officials, several of the company's clerks, and some of the settlers had been killed; several more were prisoners in the hands of the half-breeds; and Grant had threatened to kill all within the fort, unless it were given up. John Pritchard acted as intermediary between the Metis captain and the people within the fort. At first Sheriff McDonell, who had assumed the leadership of the colonists, refused to listen to any proposal for the surrender of the fort; but the people who were with him urged that no other course was open to him, and in the morning, after Pritchard had made his third visit, he agreed to the terms offered by Grant. The latter took possession of all the property of the Hudson's Bay Company



SEVEN OAKS MONUMENT





found in the fort, an inventory of it being made. A copy of this inventory was given to Sheriff McDonell as a receipt, each sheet being signed: "Received on account of the North-West Company by me, Cuthbert Grant, Clerk of the N-West Co." The people living in the fort as well as all the inhabitants of the settlement below, were ordered to be taken out of the country to Hudson Bay, but they might carry away as much of their movable property as they could.

On June 21 the despondent settlers and the clerks of the Hudson's Bay Company were placed in boats and sent down the river under a guard. Just before the lake was reached, they met the North-West brigade from Fort William in charge of Alexander Norman McLeod. It had been delayed two days and so did not meet the half-breeds at Frog Plain, as was expected. When McLeod heard of the skirmish, now known as the battle of Seven Oaks, the surrender of Fort Douglas, and the removal of all the people of the settlement, he was pleased to find that the result, for which they had made such careful and extensive preparation had been attained almost by accident. He detained the expelled people until their few belongings could be examined and took all documents which could possibly be used against the North-Westerners or the Metis. He even ransacked the boxes containing Governor Semple's personal property, which was being forwarded to his relatives. After he had held the dejected party nearly two days, he allowed it to proceed down the river; but Sheriff Allen McDonell, John Pritchard, John Bourke, N. Corcoran, Michael Heden, and D. McKay were detained as prisoners, and after a time they were sent to Fort William.

In the meantime Cuthbert Grant and forty-five of his men had occupied Fort Douglas. In the skirmish at Seven Oaks only one of his men had been killed and one wounded. The mutilated bodies of their opponents lay where they had fallen, except such as were disturbed by wolves; but after the settlers had departed, the remains were buried by Peguis' friendly Indians. Accounts differ about the place of interment; but it seems probable that it was on the edge of a little ravine close to Fort Douglas and that some of the bodies, including that of Governor Semple, were afterwards re-interred in St. John's churchyard.

When McLeod arrived at Fort Douglas, he rewarded the half-breeds as far as he could with the goods at his disposal and sent them back west well pleased. He put North-West clerks in charge of the store of the Hudson's Bay Company in Fort Douglas, and brought Alexander McDonell down to act as governor there. Then, taking his prisoners, he returned to Fort William, which he reached in July. In a few days he started for the west again, for it was necessary to meet the Athabasca brigade and warn the members that Lord Selkirk was on his way to Red River with a strong party and that they must intercept any one carrying messages between his lordship and persons in the west.

On August 10th McLeod met the brigade coming up the Winnipeg River. One of the North-West agents named McLellen reported that his party had met Owen Keveny, an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, on Lac du Bonnet and that some of his attendants had complained of ill treatment at Keveny's hands. McLeod at once issued a warrant for the arrest of Keveny and sent six half-breeds to take him. He was robbed of his papers, placed in irons, and taken to McLeod's camp. McLeod ordered him to be sent up the river as a prisoner; but at McLellen's instigation, Reinhart and Mainville, two of the de Meuron

ruffians in the service of the North-West Company, took the captive back a little way and killed him. Bishop Provencher tells us that when he came to Red River two years later, Keveny's skeleton was to be seen on the island where the murder took place.

The expelled settlers, hungry, weary, penniless, and hopeless, made their way to Jack River as best they could. They petitioned Mr. Bird, the factor of the Hudson's Bay Company who had charge of the post there, to send them home to Scotland. They were completely discouraged and wished to leave Rupert's Land forever. Mr. Bird pointed out that the company had no ship which could carry so many people and that it was not wise for them to go down to the bay, as ice might prevent any ship from reaching York or Churchill. As it turned out, none of the company's ships reached Britain from the bay that season, and neither Colin Robertson nor Duncan Cameron reached England. The former tramped through the woods to Montreal; the latter spent the fall and winter at Moose Fort. In spite of Mr. Bird's advice, a few of the colonists went on to York Factory and passed a hard winter there. The others remained at Jack River, and Mr. Bird supplied them with food and shelter, employing them as far as was possible in fishing and other occupations.

Lord Selkirk's colony had been destroyed a second time; and this time the destruction seemed so complete that the colonists themselves lost all hope for its future.

## CHAPTER XVII

### LORD SELKIRK'S VISIT

When the Earl of Selkirk left Toronto in June, 1816, with his voyageurs and his military settlers, he intended to take a southerly route across Lake Superior, so as to avoid any clash with the North-West Company in the vicinity of Fort William, cross Minnesota to the Red River, and follow it down to his settlement. It was late in July when he completed the transfer of his supplies across the portage at Sault Ste. Marie; and almost as soon as his canoes were launched on Lake Superior, he met Miles Macdonell, hurrying back with news of the disaster which had befallen his colony. It was so evident that the loss of life at Seven Oaks and the expulsion of the settlers were results of the plotting of the North-West partners and clerks that Lord Selkirk felt justified in trying to bring some of the culprits to justice. He waited long enough to lay information against the North-West partners at Fort William before Mr. Askin and Mr. Ermatinger, two justices of the peace stationed near Sault Ste. Marie, and to ask that they be placed under arrest. But the two magistrates, believing the matter to be a quarrel between the fur companies, refused to take any action, and Selkirk felt compelled to act himself. So he changed his plans and went to Fort William, arriving on August 12. There he arrested several of the partners and clerks of the North-West Company and sent them to Toronto for trial. He also seized some of the company's books and papers containing damaging evidence against it, and he released a few prisoners, who had been captured and held by the North-Westerns because they had given active support to the Hudson's Bay Company in the conflicts at Red River. J. B. Lajimoniere was among those set free, but he was too useful to be allowed to return home at once.

The proceedings against the North-West agents at Fort William delayed Lord Selkirk until the latter part of August. Then it was necessary to secure additional supplies, and when that was done, the season was so far advanced that the expedition could not be taken through the woods to Fort Douglas before winter set in. So the party went into camp for the winter at a place a few miles west of Fort William, since known as Point de Meuron. The autumn was not passed in complete inaction, however. A party of Selkirk's soldiers took possession of a North-West post at Michipicoten; another took the post at Fond du Lac and brought in the North-West agent as a prisoner; and a third pushed through the forest to the foot of Rainy Lake, seized Fort St. Pierre on October 9, and captured the murderer Reinhart who was lurking there.

In the early part of the winter Lajimoniere was sent to his home in the Red River Settlement and reached it a few days before Christmas. While a prisoner at Fort William, he had been told that his wife and children had been killed, and

so he was overjoyed to find them alive, although housed in a rude hut on the banks of the river. Neither to them nor to his old companions did the faithful scout give any hint of the earl's plans, and so the North-Westerners took no steps to make their position in Fort Douglas more secure.

In the first days of January, 1817, Captain d'Orsonnens, Miles Macdonell, and a detachment of the de Meuron soldiers were sent forward to Red River. They went by way of Fond du Lac and Red Lake to the Red River, and followed the stream until they were a few miles above the Forks; then they struck across the country until they reached the Assiniboine near St. James. There they remained a day or two to make scaling ladders; but no whisper of their presence seems to have got abroad. The night of the 10th came, and a heavy snowstorm intensified the darkness. Leaving their place of concealment, the soldiers marched silently down the river to Fort Douglas, placed their scaling ladders against its palisades, climbed over, and had possession of the place before the North-Westerners suspected that they were near. Alexander McDonell retired from the settlement, his clerks scattered to other posts of the North-West Company, and the de Meuron soldiers took up their quarters in the fort to await the coming of Lord Selkirk.

As soon as possible Captain d'Orsonnens sent some of his men to the refugees at Jack River to tell them that the earl would arrive in the spring to reorganize his unfortunate colony, that he would reimburse them for their losses, and that they would have adequate protection, if they returned to their farms. Finally they were induced to go back and reached the ruined settlement in the early part of June. Captain d'Orsonnens reinstated them on their farms, gave them some grain and potatoes for seed, and supplied them with provisions to tide them over the summer.

Lord Selkirk, with the remainder of his men, left Point de Meuron on May 1, 1817, and followed his advance party to Fort Douglas where he arrived about the end of June. Early in the following month the settlers were called together to meet him. The meeting was held out of doors on the ground now occupied by St. John's cathedral, Winnipeg. It was a dramatic moment in the history of Manitoba, and some day an artist will reproduce the scene in a worthy painting. In front of the gathering the river flowed, undisturbed by the struggles and sufferings of the people on its banks; beyond it on the east side the thick woods seemed to shut the settlement from the rest of the world; behind the quiet people the open prairie, stretching westward for nearly a thousand miles, seemed to invite them to occupy it; the few buildings of Fort Douglas on their right and the scattered dwellings of the settlement on their left stood as monuments of their long struggle with adverse circumstances; over them was the sunlit July sky of the west.

Nearly every resident of the district must have been present that day. The French and Metis would come out of neighborly feeling; the time-expired servants of the fur companies, who had decided to remain in the country, would be present; a few Indians would come out of curiosity; a hundred of the de Meurons would attend; and the two hundred settlers—men of the Highlands, the Orkneys and Hebrides, natives of England and Ireland—would be in the foreground. It was no gaily dressed party, rejoicing in a summer holiday, but a group of battered men, weary women, and ragged children, disheartened by the harsh recep-

tion accorded them by the land of their adoption but not quite ready to abandon it because they still had confidence in its future. Some had endured its hardships for two years, others for six; but they were united in the bond of sympathy formed by sharing common hopes and common dangers. They had endured the weariness of the long voyage to Hudson Bay, the winter cold in the rude huts at Churchill and York, the toil of the boat trip to the prairies, and the misery of Fort Daer; they had been driven from their poor homes to suffer unrecorded privations at Jack River; some of their friends had died, others had been killed, and many had moved away; and yet the survivors, destitute of everything except courage, hope, and a capacity for patient endurance, were still determined to make homes for themselves on the western prairies. The future of Manitoba was in their keeping.

Before the people, whom fate had treated so harshly, stood the man who had seen the vision and whose enthusiasm had led them to the lonely land. Tall and spare, with kindly face and affable manner, his personal magnetism and genuine interest in their welfare still had power to renew their hope and courage. The Earl of Selkirk had many of the qualities of a leader of men—high ideals, sympathy, determination. He may have lacked foresight, perhaps he insisted too strongly on what he considered his rights, and he may have been too impetuous in dealing with opponents; but he was kind to the poor people who had entrusted their future to his guidance. He spent his resources freely to aid them, and his estate must have been greatly impaired by his efforts at colonization.

What were the thoughts of this man as he stood on the banks of the muddy river and looked over the fair land which had been in his mind so much of the time for fifteen years? If he felt disappointment as he remembered the circumstances which had baffled his best plans up to that time, or if he felt anxiety as he looked forward to the future of his colony, he did not show either to the waiting people. To them he spoke only of hope and of ultimate success. They were to reoccupy their land along the river, and twenty-four of the men, having improved their farms previous to their expulsion by the Metis, would receive titles absolutely free. The farms were to be laid out on the west bank of the river in accordance with the original plan of Captain Miles Macdonell; and Peter Fidler, the surveyor of the Hudson's Bay Company, would make the surveys. Each owner of a farm was to have the privilege of cutting wood on ten acres of land on the east bank of the river, and until these wood-lots were surveyed, he might cut wood on any portion of his lordship's land which was most convenient. When the land on the east bank of the river was surveyed into farms, the settlers on the other bank were to have the first chance to purchase them. For a time the settlers were to receive provisions on his lordship's credit.

The earl's plans for the welfare of his colony did not stop here. He wished to provide for their intellectual improvement and their spiritual needs. "Here," said he, pointing to the lot on which they stood (No. 4), "you shall build your church; that lot (No. 3) is for your school." When some of the settlers, assured by his kindness, ventured to remind him that Rev. Mr. Sage, the Presbyterian clergyman for whom they had waited several years, had not arrived and that Elder James Sutherland had gone away, the earl renewed his promise

to send them a minister. "A Selkirk never forfeits his word," he added. Finally his lordship gave the new settlement the name of Kildonan, the name of the parish in far-away Scotland which had been the home of many of the people before him.

It appears that a number of French people, who had been drawn to the country by the fur trade, had built homes on the east bank of the Red River almost opposite to the site of Fort Douglas, and that many of the Metis made their homes in the same locality, when not absent on buffalo hunts. The total French and half-breed population of the district may have been two hundred. Naturally many of the de Meuron and de Wattville soldiers wished to settle among these people, and so farms were allotted to them along the Seine River. As some of them were Germans, the stream took the name of German Creek. It was out of compliment to these German settlers that the name of their patron saint, St. Boniface, was given to the little village which grew up there. Lord Selkirk was as anxious to provide a priest for the Roman Catholics in his colony as to obtain a minister for the Presbyterians. Father Bourke was a member of the very first party sent out from Stornoway; but Miles Macdonell did not find him adapted for the work to be done in the new settlement, and so he was allowed to return to Ireland from York Factory.

Almost as soon as Captain Macdonell arrived with his first party of settlers, Lord Selkirk began to urge him to quiet the Indian title to the lands which they would occupy; but, although he frequently referred to the matter in subsequent letters, Macdonell did nothing except to ask detailed instructions as to the method of procedure. Perhaps he was really at a loss to know what steps to take; perhaps he thought the matter of little importance, especially as the Indians in the neighborhood of the settlement had seemed so well disposed towards the colonists. But the earl was convinced that it was very important to secure from the Indians a formal surrender of their title to the lands which his settlers would take up, and he thought such a step doubly necessary in view of the notions which the North-Westerners had tried to instil into the minds of the Indians and half-breeds. So on July 18 he called the chiefs and warriors of the Ojibway and Cree tribes together and concluded a formal treaty with them. It was embodied in the following document:

"This Indenture, made on the 18th day of July, in the fifty-seventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King George the Third, and in the year of our Lord 1817, between the undersigned Chiefs and Warriors of the Chippeway or Saulteaux Nation, and of the Killistino or Cree Nation, on the one part, and the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Selkirk on the other part. Witnesseth, that for and in consideration of the annual present or quit-rent hereinafter mentioned, the said Chiefs have given, granted, and confirmed, and do by these presents give, grant, and confirm, unto our Sovereign Lord the King, all that tract of land, adjacent to Red River and Assiniboine River, beginning at the mouth of the Red River, and extending along the same as far as the Great Forks at the mouth of Red Lake River, and along Assiniboine River as far as Muskrat River, otherwise called Rivière des Champignons, and extending to the distance of six miles from Fort Douglas (the first colony fort) on every side, and likewise from Fort Daer (at Pembina), and also from the Great Forks, and

in other parts extending in breadth to the distance of two English statute miles back from the banks of the said rivers, on each side, together with all the appurtenances whatsoever of the said tract of land, to have and to hold forever the said tract of land, and appurtenances, to the use of the said Earl of Selkirk, and of the settlers being established thereon, with the consent and permission of our Sovereign Lord the King, or of the said Earl of Selkirk. Provided always, and these presents are under the express condition, that the said Earl, his heirs and successors, or their agents, shall annually pay to the Chiefs and Warriors of the Chippeway or Saulteaux Nation the present, or quit-rent, consisting of one hundred pounds weight of good merchantable tobacco, to be delivered on or before the tenth day of October at the Forks of Assiniboine River; and to the Chiefs and Warriors of the Kinistineaux or Cree Nation a like present, or quit-rent, of one hundred pounds of tobacco, to be delivered to them on or before the said tenth day of October, at Portage de la Prairie, on the banks of Assiniboine River. Provided always that the traders hitherto established upon any part of the above-mentioned land, shall not be molested in the possession of the lands which they have already cultivated and improved, till His Majesty's pleasure shall be known.

"In witness whereof, the Chiefs aforesaid have set their marks at the Forks of Red River, on the day aforesaid.

"(Signed)

"SELKIRK,  
 "MOCHE W. KEOCAB (Le Sonent),  
 "OUCKIDOAT (Premier, alias Grande Oreilles),  
 "MECHUDEWIKONAIE (La Robe Noire),  
 "KAYAJIEKEBINOA (L'Homme Noir),  
 "PEGOWIS.

"Signed in the presence of Thomas Thomas, James Bird, F. Matthey, Captain, P. d'Orsennens, Captain, Miles Macdonell, J. Bte. Chr. de Lorimier, Louis Nolin, interpreter."

Each of the chiefs made his mark in the form of an outline of some animal, his totem. The Chippeway or Saulteaux Indians were mentioned first in this treaty, and the fact gave offence to the Crees, for the Chippewas had not reached the Red River country much before the white men arrived there and were consequently regarded as interlopers by the Crees, who had been in the country for centuries. The anger of the Crees showed itself in threats to drive the Saulteaux back to their own district about Lake Superior and to reclaim the lands on which the whites had settled, unless the mention of the Saulteaux was deleted from the treaty.

The disorder and lawlessness which had prevailed in the west for years and which had culminated in the arrests, robberies, and bloodshed of 1815 and 1816, finally roused the home government to interfere, and a somewhat peremptory request was sent to the government of Canada to put an end to the disgraceful state of affairs. In the dispatch sent to the governor-general the following paragraph occurs:

"You will also require, under similar penalties, the restitution of all forts, buildings, or trading stations, with the property which they contain, which may have been seized or taken possession of by either party, to the party who orig-



inally established or constructed the same, and who were in possession of them previous to the recent disputes between the two companies. You will also require the removal of any blockade or impediment, by which any party may have attempted to prevent the free passage of traders, or others of His Majesty's subjects, or the natives of the country, with their merchandise, furs, provisions and other effects throughout the lakes, rivers, roads and every other usual route or communication heretofore used for the purpose of the fur trade in the interior of North America, and the full and free permission of all persons to pursue their usual and accustomed trade without hindrance or molestation."

The governor-general appointed Lieutenant-Colonel W. B. Coltman and Major Fletcher as a commission to inquire into the troubles and existing conditions in the Red River Settlement. These gentlemen left Montreal in May, 1817, en route for the field of their inquiry. At Fort William they learned that the sheriff of Upper Canada, by virtue of a writ of restitution, had taken possession of the fort and its contents and restored them to the North-West Company. Proceeding westward, the commissioners compelled the restoration of all seized property as far as was possible. They reached Red River about the first of July and found Fort Douglas already in the hands of the original owners. Fort Gibraltar, having been completely destroyed, could not be restored, but the North-West Company was allowed to construct new buildings for its trade. The members of the commission met Lord Selkirk during their stay in the colony and seem to have been impressed with his fairmindedness and sincerity. Major Fletcher appears to have taken little active interest in the work of the commission; but Colonel Coltman, notwithstanding his former connection with the Hudson's Bay Company, seems to have done his work in an impartial and thorough manner, and his report did much to bring peace to the troubled colony. The mandate of the government against further acts of violence on the part of the two fur companies was obeyed in Assiniboia; but in the far west and the north depredations and counter-depredations continued for three years longer. Colin Robertson was to be kept a prisoner by the North-Westerns for months at Ile à la Crosse, half a dozen North-Westerns were to be captured by the Hudson's Bay Company's men at Grand Rapids on the Saskatchewan, Benjamin Frobisher was to perish from cold and hunger in his desperate attempt to escape from his captors, many another stout-hearted partizan was to suffer or die, and much property of both companies was to be destroyed before the long struggle between the companies was terminated by their amalgamation.

Having done all that lay in his power to promote the welfare of his colonists, Lord Selkirk left Red River and went back to New York, intending to return to Scotland; but he was compelled to go north to Canada to answer to criminal charges in the courts of Montreal and Toronto. Wearisome and expensive trials, Selkirk being defendant in some and plaintiff in others, kept him in Canada for nearly a year. He returned to England in 1818, broken in health and spirits. Shortly afterwards he went to southern France, hoping for restoration to health. But his hopes were not realized. He died at Pau on April 8, 1820, and his body was buried in the Protestant cemetery at Orthes. Lord Selkirk's great opponent, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, had passed away only twenty-seven days earlier.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### UNCERTAIN YEARS

The seed sown by the settlers on their return to Red River in the spring of 1817 yielded abundantly, but so little could be sown that the crop was wholly unequal to the needs of the people for the following winter. So there was no recourse for them but to go to Fort Daer once more and join in the winter hunt for buffaloes. Many of them set out on the journey in the latter part of October, some securing passage in the boats of the Hudson's Bay Company as they took the winter's supply of goods to the posts on the upper river. They repaired the shanties built there in former winters and hoped to find shelter in them until spring; but that season the buffalo herds were far off on the Missouri side of the plains and the trip thither was a hard one for the settlers, as they had few horses. Buffaloes were plentiful there, however, and so the colonists were able to supply themselves with food.

The winter was mild, and signs of spring appeared in February. The hunters turned eastward to the upper part of the Red River, constructed canoes and dugouts for themselves, and floated down to the settlement, finding plenty of wild fowl on the way. To supplement the small supply of seed obtained from the crops of the previous year the settlers applied to the North-West Company. In the neighborhood of its fort at Bas de la Rivière this company has a small area of cultivated land on which wheat, barley, and vegetables were grown, and from this source as much seed as possible was supplied to the settlers. The assurance that they would not be driven from their humble homes again and their determination not to endure the hardship of another winter at Fort Daer or on the plains lay behind the anxiety of the settlers to sow and plant more extensively than ever before.

A few settlers, who had been induced by Lord Selkirk to leave Canada for his colony on the prairie, reached Fort Douglas on August 12; but when they saw the colonists' farms, they went on south to Pembina. The fields, which the farmers had planted so hopefully in the spring and which had promised such good crops in the early summer, were bare and brown in August. The grasshoppers, more relentless than Cuthbert Grant's half-breeds, had appeared on July 18, and in a few days they had destroyed nearly all the crops. So the new arrivals from Canada could do nothing but go on to Pembina. The Metis of St. Boniface followed them a little later, and when winter approached the people of Kildonan had to take the trail to Fort Daer once more. They had harvested a little grain from patches which had not been completely destroyed by the grasshoppers, but all of it was needed as seed for the coming spring. The experience of the colonists at Fort Daer and on the plains during that winter of 1818-19 were

very like those of the preceding winter, except that the buffalo herds were not far from Pembina. The colony could scarcely have escaped starvation in those early years of its history, had it not been for the buffalo; and the presence of the animal on Manitoba's coat of arms has a deeper significance than appears at the first glance.

When spring came, the settlers returned to their farms and, hopeful still, sowed their fields again; but the newly arrived Canadians decided to settle at Pembina. Midsummer brought the grasshoppers a second time, more numerous than before, and this year they left nothing to be reaped; so the winter drove the Scotch and the French to the banks of the Pembina River once more. The settlers, having spent parts of several winters on the plains, were gradually acquiring some skill as hunters and found it more and more easy to kill enough buffaloes to supply themselves and their families with food. This fact and the uncertainty which had attended all their attempts at farming tended to draw them away from the life of the farmer to that of the hunter and was a source of danger to the success of the colony.

As there was no seed left in the colony, Mr. Laidlaw took a number of men and went to Prairie du Chien, a town on the Mississippi River, to purchase wheat. They started in February, 1820, and made the trip on snowshoes. When spring arrived they purchased 250 bushels at 10 shillings per bushel, loaded the grain into boats, and brought it up the Mississippi to a point not far from the Red River; then boats and cargo were transported to the latter and rowed down to Fort Douglas. It was June when the settlers received their wheat, and although they sowed some of it, only a small quantity had time to ripen. The grasshoppers did not destroy it, so there was plenty of seed for the following year; and although their crops were sometimes injured by grasshoppers and frosts, it was many years before the settlers were obliged to import grain for seed. Indeed they could hardly afford to import it, for that brought from Prairie du Chien cost the Selkirk estate £1,040, or about £4 per bushel.

During the early years of its history the progress, perhaps the very existence, of Lord Selkirk's colony depended in a great measure upon the Hudson's Bay Company. The settlers came to the shores of the bay in its ships, they were cared for at its posts, they came south in company with its brigades, it brought them such supplies as were imported from the Old Country, it bought the products of their labor when they had any for sale, and it often gave them employment when they had no crops and food was hard to get. Thus their success was closely connected with its prosperity, and whatever threatened it was a menace to them. The opposition and hostility of the North-West Company continued to harass the Hudson's Bay Company; and in spite of the proclamation of the governor-general of Canada, there were occasional outbreaks of violence between the two companies.

In the autumn of 1819 Colin Robertson and John Clark took one hundred and thirty voyageurs to Lake Athabasca. At Ile à la Crosse and elsewhere in the far west the North-Westerners were in the ascendant, and the Indians had been kept in ignorance of the reverses of the company in the Red River district. The advent of this strong party at Fort Chippewyan opened their eyes to the changed conditions, and they soon began to bring their trade to the Hudson's Bay Company's post. Clark was sent to the Peace River with thirty men,

and Robertson remained with the others. Occasional encounters took place between them and the men of the neighboring North-West post, and finally Robertson himself was captured. For eight months the North-Westerns kept him a close prisoner, although he managed to keep up communication with his own men by means of a cipher code, the messages being conveyed in whiskey kegs. But the North-Westerns discovered the trick in May, and decided to ship Robertson out of the country, threatening him with death if he ever returned. But it was too late, for even then some of his own men were close to Red River, carrying to the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company information regarding the movements of the North-Westerns and directions for checkmating these moves.

William Williams had come out from England in 1818 as superintendent for the Hudson's Bay Company in the Northern Department of Rupert's Land. He remained some days at York Factory and then went on to Cumberland House, where he spent the winter. In the spring he proceeded to Red River, arriving in May. As soon as Lake Winnipeg was free of ice, he manned the armed vessel, which had been placed on the lake, and a number of river boats, and with a guard of the de Meuron soldiers, went north to the Grand Rapids of the Saskatchewan to wait for the coming of the North-West brigade from Athabasca. There were forty men in the brigade, five of them being partners in the company. Robertson was brought down as a prisoner by the brigade as far as Cumberland House, but there he escaped to the post of his own company. His captors were forced to go on without him, but he followed close behind them, eager to see them made captives in turn. As Robertson tramped along the sandy trail through the pine woods, which marks the portage at Grand Rapids, he came upon a sight which must have given him keen satisfaction. Governor Williams' men had done their work thoroughly, and the whole North-West brigade had been captured. The entire output of furs from the North-West Company's posts had been taken; the voyageurs, with no spirit for fighting or even boasting left, were gathered in a disconsolate group; and in a poor cabin guarded by the armed de Meurons, were the five captured partners of the North-West Company—Shaw, McIntosh, McTavish, Campbell, and Frobisher.

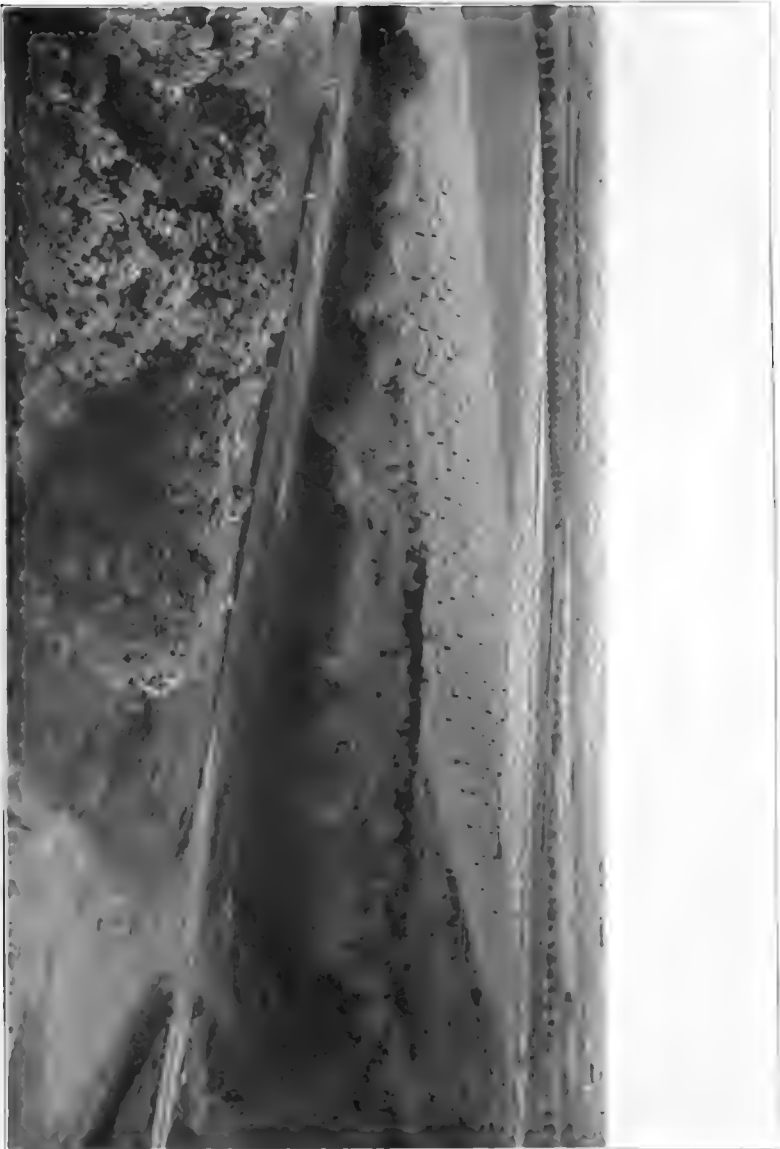
Williams allowed the clerks and voyageurs to reload their furs and proceed to Montreal, but he took the captive partners down to York Factory. About the end of August Sir John Franklin came to the fort with letters of introduction to the principal agents of both the fur companies. He advised that the North-West prisoners should be sent to England by the ship in which he had come out. This was done in the case of McTavish and Shaw, but Campbell was allowed to go down to James Bay and find his way overland to Canada. Frobisher was ill and partially insane, and it was not thought wise to release him. Perhaps he would not have been set free, had he been perfectly well and sane, for no North-Westerner had been more relentless in his hatred of the Hudson's Bay Company or more cruel in his treatment of its employees. He was confined in an old building, and two of his men, Turcotte and Lépine, were allowed to care for him. After a time his health seemed to improve and he planned to escape. By saving a small quantity of food from their rations for some days and some extra food, which a servant of the Hudson's Bay Company smuggled into their prison, they acquired a little stock of provision for the

journey which Frobisher contemplated. His men urged that such a trip meant death, but he resolved to attempt it. On the night of September 30th the three men broke out of their prison, induced a Hudson's Bay employee to give them a few pairs of socks and mittens, picked up a piece of deerskin and a net, climbed the palisades, and swam across the icy Hayes River. Securing an old canoe, they made their way stealthily up the river, finding shelter in old cabins and catching a few fish for food. In twenty days they reached Oxford House. Thereafter there were no cabins, and the old canoe and the piece of deerskin furnished little protection from the bitter cold at night. The few provisions with which they had started were almost exhausted, and fish were hard to get. In another week the ground was covered with snow and the streams and lakes were frozen. The canoe had to be abandoned, but the journey was continued on foot. When the three despairing men reached Lake Winnipeg, they found it open and were forced to tramp along its north shore, hoping to fall in with some of the North-West Company's men. By the middle of November Frobisher was too weak to walk, but the two half-breeds would not desert him. They carried him by turns, and on the 20th of the month they reached a point only two days' travel from a North-West post. Frobisher ordered them to leave him and go to the post for help. They were so weak that it was four days before they arrived, and it took rescuers three days more to reach the spot where Frobisher had been left. They were too late, for they found only his dead body by the ashes of his camp-fire.

Acts of violence continued during the year at various points in the vast country over which the fur companies plied their trade, and in the spring of 1820 the North-Westers captured Robertson at Grand Rapids by a plan very similar to that which he had devised for their capture a year earlier. He was given the option of going to Montreal as a prisoner or taking an oath never to enter the Athabasca district again. He elected to go to Montreal, but escaped on the way and reached that city a free man only to learn that negotiations for the union of the two fur companies had been opened.

The story of their reverses in the far west brought consternation to the North-West partners. Some of them hastened from Fort William to Montreal, and the heads of the company there appealed to the government of Canada to enforce the proclamation of 1817, which required the two companies to keep the peace. An agent of the government was sent to the west to warn the men in charge of posts that acts of violence must cease. The representatives of the North-West Company in London brought the conditions existing in Rupert's Land to the attention of the home government, urging that steps be taken to preserve the peace in that remote region. It is said that Lord Bathurst, the colonial secretary, intimated to the representatives of the two companies in an unofficial way that, if they could find a basis of union, the government would pass the necessary legislation.

The North-West Company seems to have made the first advances towards amalgamation. Strictly speaking, the North-West Company was not a company at all and never had been; it was merely a partnership for a term of twenty-one years, and that term would expire in 1821. For some time its reverses had been so severe that the partners had received no profits on the capital which they had invested. When the annual meeting was held at Fort



EXPERIMENTAL FARM, BRANDON

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William in July, 1820, and the question of union with their adversary was broached, the partners present were far from being unanimous about it. The majority seems to have favored a union, however, and delegates were sent to London to assist in bringing it about. Strangely enough, some of them sailed on the very ship which carried Colin Robertson to England, when he hurried thither to advise the Hudson's Bay Company against making any terms with its rival, inasmuch as that rival was hopelessly beaten and ready to quit the field in which it had waged such a persistent warfare for nearly forty years.

But in London events had moved faster than Robertson and the North-West delegates had anticipated. The Right Honorable Edward Ellice, a prominent partner in the North-West Company and a man who had had considerable experience in the management of its affairs in Rupert's Land, seems to have taken the lead in arranging a basis of union between the two companies. The terms were embodied in a document called the "Deed Poll," which was signed on March 26, 1821, by the proper officers of the Hudson's Bay Company and by Messrs. Edward Ellice, William McGillivray, and Simon McGillivray, as representatives of the North-West Company. So the delegates found that they had nothing to do except to return to Canada and assist in the reorganization of the staff and methods of the new company.

Perhaps because of the charter granted to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670 by Charles II, the new company retained the old name. It seems that the total stock of the new company was fixed at £250,000, of which £150,000 was to be allotted to former shareholders in the Hudson's Bay Company in proportion to their previous holdings and £100,000 to the partners of the North-West Company. All expenses of the business either at London or in America were to be paid out of the profits of the business, but no funds of the new company were to be expended for colonization. After all expenses had been paid, sixty per cent. of the net profits was to be divided among the shareholders, while the remaining forty per cent. was to be divided among the chief factors and chief traders in lieu of salaries. There were to be twenty-five chief factors and twenty-eight chief traders; and the portion of the company's net profits set apart for the payment of their salaries was to be divided into eighty-five parts, each chief factor drawing two of these parts and each chief trader one, while the remaining seven parts were to be devoted to allowances to retired servants. Factors and traders who wintered in the interior were to have certain necessities free of charge; and after spending three years in the interior, a factor or a trader could obtain leave of absence for a year. Regulations were also made in regard to their retirement from the service. The agreement between the two companies was to last for twenty-one years, and it seems to have received immediate sanction from the British government. A royal license was issued to it on December 5, 1821, giving it permission to trade with Indians in various parts of North America not covered by the original charter granted by Charles II. This virtually extended the company's monopoly over British Columbia for a period of twenty-one years. The license was renewed for twenty-one years on May 30, 1838; but Messrs. Ellice, W. McGillivray, and McGillivray were not included in this renewal.

The business of the Hudson's Bay Company was no longer managed directly by a committee in London through governors of districts in Rupert's Land,



but through a governor-in-chief who had sole charge of the business and government of the company's vast domain in America. He had an advisory council composed of the chief factors and some of the chief traders, which met at Norway House once a year. For the regulation of trade, the company's territory was divided into four departments—the Northern, including the country between Hudson Bay and the Rocky Mountains; the Southern, extending from James Bay to Canada; the Montreal, including Canada; and the Western, extending from the Rockies to the Pacific Ocean.

George Simpson, who had seen service as a clerk of the Hudson's Bay Company, was appointed to the important position of governor-in-chief. Nicholas Garry, one of the directors of the company, came out with him to assist in the necessary reorganization, and they were accompanied by one or two of the former partners of the North-West Company. There was much work to be done which required good judgment and tact. Employment could not be given to all the old employees of both companies and some men had to be dismissed. There were chief factors and chief traders to be appointed, and the old factors of the Hudson's Bay Company declared that the best positions were given to erstwhile North-Westerners. Many posts of one or other of the companies had to be abandoned, being no longer needed. Finally the Indians had to be apprised of the new order of things, and treaties made where necessary.

But one trading post was necessary at the junction of the Red River and the Assiniboine; and as the site of the North-Westerners' post, Fort Gibraltar, was considered more convenient for trade than Fort Douglas, a new fort was constructed thereon. It was commenced in 1821, and when completed was named Fort Garry. The governor of the settlement continued to reside at Fort Douglas, however, for some years. Shortly after Governor Semple's death, the Earl of Selkirk had appointed Alexander McDonnell as his successor, and this man held the position until 1822.

By the amalgamation of the two companies the relentless conflict between them, which had kept the whole western country in a turmoil for a generation, was terminated, and thus the greatest menace to the prosperity of Lord Selkirk's little colony beside the Red River was removed. Thenceforward it was to have a chance to develop as the character of the country and the character of its people would determine.

## CHAPTER XIX

### PROGRESS AND REVERSES

For some time previous to the death of the Earl of Selkirk his agents had been at work in Switzerland, seeking colonists for his settlement in Red River; and in 1821 quite a large party of Swiss people, led by Count d'Eusser, left their native land for that distant colony. They went over to Great Britain, and then they were taken to York Factory in the ships of the Hudson's Bay Company. They reached that port about the end of August, and it was late in the fall before they arrived at Fort Douglas. They did not receive a very warm welcome from the earlier settlers, for most of them were mechanics, watchmakers, cooks, or musicians—men of the towns who had no practical knowledge of farming and were not prepared for pioneer life. A few of their countrymen were among the de Meuron soldiers who had settled along the Seine River, and these people gave the Swiss immigrants a more kindly reception. The most cordial welcome was given to Swiss families in which there were marriageable daughters, for many of the ex-soldiers were unmarried and anxious to secure helpmates in their homes. It may have been the advent of these ill-provided and rather helpless people which led many of the French and Scotch to migrate to the Pembina River once more when winter came; for, although the harvest had been plentiful that season and the grasshoppers had spared it, there was not enough surplus food in the settlement to provide for so many new-comers. It proved a trying winter for all the people, and the Swiss suffered severely. The settlers went back to their farms in the spring, but food was scarce until the new crops matured. Many of the Swiss were so discouraged by the experiences of the winter and spring that they went south into Minnesota. Some of those who remained moved away from the Seine River and settled along the Red.

Up to this time the colonists had very little live stock besides the ponies obtained from the Metis and the Indians; but during the summer of 1822 some drovers brought about three hundred head of horned cattle from the United States and found a ready sale for them. Good oxen brought £18 each and good cows as much as £30 each. A few years later another drove of cattle was brought into the settlement from the United States; but in the meantime the stock of the settlers had increased so fast that the imported cattle were sold at half the prices of the first drove.

As the returns from farming had proved rather uncertain for the years during which the colony had been in existence, it was thought wise to promote other industries, and the "Buffalo Wool Company" was organized in 1822. This company was to collect the wool of the wild buffalo in great quantities and

manufacture it into cloth for the use of the settlers and for export, and it was to tan the buffalo hides and manufacture all kinds of leather goods from them. The stock of the company was fixed at £2,000, and when it had been taken up, the money received was placed with the Hudson's Bay Company. The expense of collecting buffalo hides and wool and the cost of making them into leather and cloth proved so much greater than was anticipated that the money received for the new company's stock was soon exhausted. Then the Hudson's Bay Company advanced it about £4,500 to enable it to continue operations. By the time this sum had been spent it was found that a yard of cloth made from buffalo wool by the methods of the new company would cost £2 10s, while the cloth actually sold brought only about 4½ shillings per yard. So the company ceased operations about a year after it was organized. The stock-holders lost all the money which they had put into the venture, and they owed the Hudson's Bay Company the sum which it had advanced. As they could not pay this debt, the Hudson's Bay Company cancelled it after a few years.

One detail of Lord Selkirk's scheme was the establishment of a model farm to promote good methods of farming among his colonists. His plan was carried out after his death, and a large farm was laid out not far from Fort Douglas. It was called Hay-Field Farm, and Mr. Laidlaw, a farmer with practical experience in Scotland, was brought out to manage it. A residence for the manager was erected at a cost of £600; houses for the employees, barns, and other outbuildings were put up; implements were brought from Britain; and a large staff of farm hands and dairy maids was engaged. But the enterprise was not managed wisely, and in a few years it was abandoned. The experiment cost the Selkirk estate £2,000.

For some years after Lord Selkirk's colony was first founded his agents purchased supplies of food, clothing, tools, etc. for the use of the settlers and sent these goods to the colony store at Fort Douglas. The management of this store was one of the duties of the governor of the colony. It was the practice for the settler to make out a list of the articles he wished to procure from the store and submit it to the governor for approval. When approved, it was taken to the storekeeper, who handed it to an assistant to have it entered on the books. In this way there was often a long delay before the settler could get the provisions which he needed, and sometimes there were serious discrepancies between the order and the account for the goods, as well as discrepancies between the account and the list of goods received. Of course there was little or no ready money in the settlement, and all supplies were bought on credit; and it is almost inevitable in such circumstances that, when the bills have to be paid many people will believe that they have been charged with goods which they never received and overcharged for some which they did receive. So there was much dissatisfaction among the settlers over the methods followed at the colony store.

When Lord Selkirk visited his colony in 1817 he appointed Mr. Alexander McDonell as governor. This man seems to have been poorly qualified for the position. He showed little consideration for the settlers, keeping the store open only on certain days of the week and putting them to inconvenience in many ways. The prices charged for goods were often extortionate and the accounts very incorrect. The settlers made frequent complaints of the way in which they



ALEXANDER ROSS  
 Sheriff of the Red River Set-  
 tlement and historian



ADAM THOM  
 First Recorder of the Red  
 River Settlement



RT. REV. DAVID ANDER-  
 SON, D. D.  
 First Bishop of Rupert's  
 Land



SIR GEORGE SIMPSON  
 Governor, Hudson's Bay  
 Company, 1821-61



MGR. JOSEPH-NORBERT  
 PROVENCHER  
 First Bishop of St. Boniface,  
 1787-1853



SIR JOHN SCHULTZ, M. D.  
 Prominent in the early his-  
 tory of Manitoba, after-  
 ward Lieutenant-Governor  
 of the Province



were treated by the "grasshopper governor," as they nicknamed him; and when Mr. Halkett, Lord Selkirk's brother-in-law and executor, came out to the colony in 1822, he found it necessary to make a thorough investigation into the methods of doing business at the store. Convinced that there had been grave irregularities, he recommended that the interest charged on the settlers' overdue accounts be dropped, that the accounts themselves be reduced by twenty per cent., that the store be closed, and that arrangements be made whereby the settlers would purchase their supplies at the store of the Hudson's Bay Company. This was done, and Governor McDonell was removed in June, 1822. His successor was Captain Bulger.

Major Long, an officer of the United States government, made an accurate survey of the international boundary about this time, and it showed that the little settlement at Pembina was in the territory of the United States. Mr. Halkett had advised the people living there to move north, and Bishop Provencher gave them the same advice. So in 1823 most of them moved away, some settling at St. Boniface and others at White Horse Plains about twenty miles up the Assiniboine. After the troubles between the rival fur companies came to an end, Cuthbert Grant took up land at White Horse Plains, and for many years he was the recognized leader of the French and Metis living in the district.

The total population of Assiniboia at this time was about 1,500. Of the French and Metis people about 350 had lived near St. Boniface up to 1823 and about 450 in the neighborhood of Pembina; but after the migration from the latter place in 1823, the population of the district around St. Boniface was nearly doubled. The half-breed population seems to have been divided into two classes. In one were the people who had settled homes and regular occupations, either as farmers, hunters, or employees of the Hudson's Bay Company; in the other were those who had no fixed place of abode and no settled occupation. On some of the latter class the removal from Pembina had a good effect, inasmuch as they became fairly permanent residents of one of the districts of Assiniboia occupied by people of French and mixed blood; but on others the effect was bad, because it made them more unsettled than before. During the hunting season these people liked to follow the buffalo hunters to the plains; for although they were seldom able to procure a hunting outfit for themselves and could rarely bring home any supply of meat for future use, they could generally secure employment in some capacity from the regular hunters, and so they and their families lived in comparative plenty as long as the hunting season lasted. When the season was over, they returned to the outskirts of some settlement, finding shelter in tents or temporary dwellings and picking up a precarious living by occasional jobs or by begging from their more thrifty neighbors. These people found it more and more difficult to make a living as the settlement grew, and they naturally felt more and more resentment toward the farming section of the community which they held responsible for the changed order of things. They became less and less tolerant of such regulations as must be made from time to time in any growing community, and their increasing discontent became a source of real danger to the colony, until the menace was removed some years later by the withdrawal of the most restless of the half-breeds to the United States.

During the first decade of its history the government of the Red River Settlement was practically in the hands of the governor. Miles Macdonell had received his appointment to the position from Lord Selkirk, Robert Semple seems to have been appointed by the Hudson's Bay Company, and Alexander McDonell was appointed by the earl and removed at the suggestion of his executor; but whether the governor owed his appointment to the earl or to the company, his powers and duties were much the same. He was to direct the affairs of the colony, make and enforce such regulations as the welfare of the small community required, and perform the duties of a magistrate. When Mr. George Simpson, afterward Sir George, was made governor-in-chief of Rupert's Land by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, the governor of Assiniboia became his deputy. Governor Simpson held a meeting of his chief factors at Norway House during June, 1823, and, among other matters discussed, introduced a plan whereby the Hudson's Bay Company would take back the lands sold to the Earl of Selkirk in 1811. The plan seems to have been approved by the directors of the company and by Mr. Halkett, who acted for the earl's heirs. From that time forward these heirs exercised no control over the colony, although it was twelve years before the earl's great land grant was formally restored to the company.

At another meeting held at Norway House on September 5 of the same year, Governor Simpson and his factors decided to adopt a less primitive form of government for the colony than it had previously known. A Council of Assiniboia was appointed to manage public affairs, make regulations, and administer justice. This council consisted of Captain Robert Pelly, who had been appointed governor of Assiniboia a few months earlier, Rev. John West, Rev. T. D. Jones, and Mr. Robert Logan. The first three members were salaried officials of the Hudson's Bay Company; but Mr. Logan was one of the settlers, and his appointment seemed a tacit acknowledgment of their right to have a voice in the management of the affairs of the community. Of course Governor Simpson was the head of this council, but in his absence Governor Pelly acted as its presiding officer. The minutes recording the appointment of the council add the facts: "Jacob Corrigan, chief trader, appointed sheriff, vice Andrew Stewart, deceased. Rev. Mr. Jones appointed chaplain at a salary of £100 during absence of Mr. West. He will officiate at Red River."

As the quiet years went by, the people prospered and life in the isolated colony became more comfortable. The population seems to have increased steadily, for in 1825 no less than forty-two new houses were built, and these were far more commodious and more warmly constructed than the dwellings erected by the first settlers. The people soon recognized the wonderful productiveness of the soil. They found that wheat sown on land which had been previously cropped would return from twenty to thirty fold, and even when sown on newly broken land would yield seven fold, and that barley, when sown on well-tilled land, yielded even more abundantly than wheat. This encouraged them to sow larger areas each successive spring. The lack of plows had greatly retarded cultivation in the early years of the colony's history, but several good crops encouraged the colonists to make plows for themselves during 1823 and 1824. The iron used had to be brought down from York Factory and cost over a shilling a pound by the time it reached Fort Douglas, and the

blacksmith charged £4 for ironing a plow; nevertheless a number of new plows were ready for use in the spring of 1825, and nearly twice as much land was seeded that season as in any previous spring. The crop grew luxuriantly, matured well, and was safely harvested, although a plague of mice threatened it in the fall.

The increase in the amount of grain raised in the colony made flour mills a necessity. Most of those in use were windmills. Lord Selkirk had sent out a movable windmill in 1815 to serve as a model for the construction of others; but no one in the settlement was able to set it up properly, and so it was shipped back to Britain. Sent out once more, it was finally set up and put in working order in 1825; but by that time it had cost the Selkirk estate £1,500. Shortly afterward Mr. Robert Logan bought it for one fifth of that sum and set it up on his farm near Fort Douglas, where it ground the settlers' grain for many years. About the same time Mr. Cuthbert Grant erected a water-mill at the mouth of Sturgeon Creek; but a freshet swept away his dam and wrecked the mill, causing him a loss of £800. He was more successful in a later and less ambitious scheme, however.

It was well that the farmers had good crops of grain in the year 1825 and that little of it was destroyed by the hordes of mice, for in the early history of the Red River Settlement disaster was apt to follow prosperity very closely. September and the early part of October were unusually cold and rainy. Snow began to fall on the 20th of the latter month, and heavy falls were frequent throughout the winter, until it was three feet deep on the prairies and even deeper in the woods. The winter was excessively cold, and ice formed on the rivers and lakes to a thickness unknown before.

The buffalo hunters and their families set out for their winter hunting grounds at the usual time, but early in January reports came to the settlement that they were perishing from cold and hunger. It was not an uncommon thing for such rumors to reach the settlers during the time of the winter hunt, and so little serious attention was paid to them for some time. But about the middle of February official business took Mr. Alexander Ross, afterward sheriff of the colony, to Pembina, and he learned there that the reports of the distress of the hunters were only too true. Mr. Donald McKenzie, who had become governor of the colony in June of the preceding year, immediately organized an expedition for the relief of the sufferers, and in this he was generously assisted by the Hudson's Bay Company, Mr. Andrew McDermott, the leading merchant of the settlement, and other private citizens. Mr. Ross was put in charge of it, and finally succeeded in carrying relief to the snow-beleaguered hunters. The task was a hard one, for the hunters were nearly 200 miles beyond Pembina, and the snow was so deep that horses could not be used. The only practicable method of conveyance was by dog-sleds, and by using them help reached the sufferers before it was too late. Sheriff Ross has told us the story of their distress in these words:

"The disaster began in December. About the 20th of the month there was a fearful snow-storm, such as had not been witnessed for years. This storm, which lasted several days, drove the buffalo beyond the hunters' reach, and killed most of their horses; but what greatly increased the evil, was the suddenness of the visitation. As the animals disappeared almost instantaneously, no



one was prepared for the inevitable famine which followed; the hunters, at the same time, were so scattered that they could render each other no assistance, nor could they so much as discover each other's whereabouts. Some were never found. Families here and families there, despairing of life, huddled themselves together for warmth, and, in too many cases, their shelter proved their grave. At first the heat of their bodies melted the snow; they became wet, and being without food or fuel, the cold soon penetrated, and in several instances froze the whole into a body of solid ice. Some, again, were found in a state of wild delirium, frantic, mad; while others were picked up, one here, and one there, frozen to death in their fruitless attempts to reach Pembina—some half way, some more, some less; one woman was found with an infant on her back, within a quarter of a mile of Pembina. This poor creature must have travelled, at the least, 125 miles in three days and nights, till she sank at last in the too unequal struggle for life.

“Those that were found alive had devoured their horses, their dogs, raw hides, leather, and their very shoes. So great were their sufferings, that some died on their road to the colony, after being relieved at Pembina; the writer passed two who were scarcely yet cold, and saw forty-two others, in seven or eight parties, crawling along with great difficulty, to the most reduced of whom he was, by good fortune, able to give a mouthful of bread. At last, with much labour and anxiety, the survivors were conveyed to the settlement, to be there supplied with the comforts they so much needed, and which, but a few weeks before, they affected to despise. But the sufferings of some, who can tell? One man, with his wife and three children, was dug out of the snow, where they had been buried for five days and five nights—without food, fire or the light of the sun. The woman and two of the children recovered. In this disastrous affair, and under circumstances peculiarly distressing, the distance, the depth of the snows, and severity of the weather, the saving of so many was almost a miracle. Thirty-three lives were lost.”

Misfortune followed misfortune that year. The spring was late in coming, and snow remained on the ground until May. When it began to melt, the immense quantity of water running into the Red River from the prairies on either side of it was augmented by a quantity even greater from its upper tributaries. The ice on its lower course was so thick that it did not break up before the flood came down; and when it did break, it formed in great jams which forced the enormous body of water over the banks and the surrounding prairie. On the 2d of May, the day before the ice started, the water rose nine feet in twenty-four hours. On the 4th it overflowed the banks of the river, and almost before the people were aware of it, their dwellings were surrounded. The next day most of them abandoned their homes and took refuge on higher ground.

“At this crisis,” says Sheriff Ross, “every description of property became of secondary consideration, and was involved in one common wreck or abandoned in despair. The people had to fly from their homes for the dear life, some of them saving only the clothes they had on their backs. The shrieks of children, the lowing of cattle, and the howling of dogs added terror to the scene. The Company's servants exerted themselves to the utmost, and did good service with their boats. The generous and humane governor of the colony, Mr. D. McKenzie, sent his own boat to the assistance of the settlers, though himself and family

depended on it for their safety, as they were in an upper story, with ten feet of water rushing through the house. By exertions of this kind and much self-sacrifice, the families were all conveyed to places of safety, after which the first consideration was to secure the cattle by driving them many miles off to the pine hills and rocky heights. The grain, furniture, and utensils came next in order of importance; but by this time the country presented the appearance of a vast lake, and the people in the boats had no resource but to break through the roofs of their dwellings, and thus save what they could. The ice now drifted in a straight course from point to point, carrying destruction before it; and the trees were bent like willows by the force of the current.

“While the frightened inhabitants were collected in groups on any dry spot that remained visible above the waste of waters, their houses, barns, carriages, furniture, fencing, and every description of property might be seen floating along over the wide extended plain to be engulfed in Lake Winnipeg. Hardly a house or building of any kind was left standing in the colony. Many of the buildings drifted along whole and entire; and in some were seen dogs, howling dismally, and cats that jumped from side to side of their precarious abodes. The most singular spectacle was a house in flames, drifting along in the night, its one half immersed in water, and the remainder furiously burning. The accident was caused by the hasty retreat of the occupiers. The water continued rising till the 21st and extended far over the plains; where cattle used to graze, boats were now plying under full sail.”

The unfortunate inhabitants feared that they could not remain in the colony and began to discuss the best locality to which they could migrate; but on May 22nd the waters ceased to rise, and in a few days they commenced to recede. Only one life had been lost, but there was a very serious loss of stock, grain, buildings, implements, and furniture. Provisions of all kinds were very scarce and very high; but the Hudson's Bay Company, the missions, and the more fortunate settlers did all in their power to help those who had suffered most and so tided them over the hard summer. It was so late before the land became dry enough to be worked that only a small crop could be put in. A little barley was sown and some potatoes were planted, and fortunately these ripened well; otherwise there would have been much suffering for want of food during the winter which followed.

The severe experiences of the winter and spring completely discouraged the Swiss who had not gone south with their fellow-countrymen in 1822; so they, many of the de Meurons, and a few others—243 in all—forsook the settlement on June 24th and moved south to a district beside the Mississippi River. But the best element of the population remained, convinced that ultimately they would achieve success in the country where they had met so many reverses. In the early winter about 150 people came south from Hudson Bay to settle at Red River. Some of them were retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, others were immigrants who had just come from Britain; and their arrival seemed to compensate the colony for the loss of the Swiss and the de Meurons.



## CHAPTER XX

### PROGRESS IN ORGANIZATION

A census of the Red River Settlement was taken in 1831, and it showed the total population—whites and half-breeds—to be 2,390. There were 262 Roman Catholic families and 198 Protestant families. In the preceding four years no less than 204 new houses had been erected to replace those swept away by the flood of 1826 and to provide for the increasing population. The seasons which followed that disastrous spring were very favorable for agricultural operations, and the growing prosperity of the colony was shown in the larger size and better appearance of the new houses. The people were learning to use the limestone, which was so abundant in the lower part of the settlement. The powder magazine at Fort Garry, constructed in 1830, was the first stone building erected in the colony; but in a short time one or two churches and several private houses were built of this material. When the census was taken there were several churches built of timber; there were schools for boys at St. Boniface, St. John's, and elsewhere; and there was a school for girls in St. Boniface, which the Misses Nolin had opened in 1829 at the request of Bishop Provencher, and another at St. John's, which Mrs. Jones had opened about 1830.

In the early history of the colony the settlers had to depend upon the Hudson's Bay Company for much of their food; but now they had produce to sell, and the company's store was their principal market. Governor Simpson's promise to purchase all the company's supplies from the colonists roused them to greater efforts, with the result that the small market was soon overstocked and the prices of produce fell, while the prices of goods which the farmers were obliged to buy remained the same. There was considerable dissatisfaction, but after a time a scale of prices was arranged which met the approval of the settlers. The company had reasons for dissatisfaction too, for the quality of the butter, cheese, flour, etc. which the settlers brought to its store ranged through all grades from very good to very bad. The quality of the grain differed with the methods of the farmers, some of it being well ripened and clean, and some being poorly matured and dirty; and as there were a dozen mills in the settlement, some doing good work and some bad, the grades of flour produced were almost numberless. Hoping to remedy this, Governor Simpson arranged to have all the wheat grown in the settlement ground at the company's mill; but this proved no more than a temporary remedy.

It has sometimes been maintained that the Hudson's Bay Company looked with disfavor upon all attempts to establish an agricultural community in the valley of the Red River, but the facts do not sustain such a theory. Even before any attempt had been made to establish a colony of farmers in the country, the

Hudson's Bay Company had found in its climate and its soil conclusive evidence that it was destined to be a great agricultural country. It pointed this out very explicitly in the petition which it presented to the British government in 1809, when asking for some measure of relief from the adverse conditions in which it found itself at that time; and for many years after the colony had been established it made frequent attempts to encourage the settlers to farm on a larger scale and to follow better methods. Governor Simpson was tireless in his efforts to improve conditions in the colony; and we must give him credit for the best of intentions, even if some of his schemes were scarcely wise.

About 1831 the governor established another experimental farm. A fertile tract of land was selected beside the Assiniboine, and a fine dwelling and large stables and granaries were built. Well-bred cattle were bought, thorough-bred mares were imported from the United States, and a fine stallion was brought from England at a cost of £300 with the commendable purpose of improving the stock of the farmers. The best agricultural implements were procured, regardless of expense. A large staff of servants was hired, although many of them had little knowledge of farm or dairy work. Mr. McMillan, a retired chief factor, was engaged as manager; but as he had no practical knowledge of agriculture, the well-equipped farm was doomed to failure. After the experiment had been tried for six years, the farm, stock, and implements were sold, the company's loss being not less than £3,500. The governor had recognized the adaptability of the soil and climate for the production of flax and hemp and did all in his power to promote the cultivation of these plants; but, while the farmers responded to his encouragement for a short time, his efforts failed in the end.

Governor Simpson also tried to encourage sheep-raising, and on his advice the colonists formed the "Assiniboine Wool Company." This company was a very ambitious project, for its capital was fixed at £6,000, divided into 1,200 shares of £5 each. The capital was to be expended in the purchase of sheep, either in England or the United States, which were to be brought to Red River and allowed to multiply until the flocks would bring great wealth to the shareholders. Trouble began when the shareholders were asked to pay for their stock in the company, for the total amount of cash in the whole colony at that time did not amount to more than one third of the sum which the settlers had agreed to contribute to the treasury of the wool company; and the collapse of the company followed its organization very closely.

In the autumn several of the settlers were induced to form a joint-stock company for the purpose of importing sheep from the United States, and a capital of £1,200 was secured. The governor encouraged them and sent Mr. Rae, an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, to assist Mr. Bourke, the agent of the settlers, in making the purchase. Late in the fall these two gentlemen, with four men to help them, went south to St. Peter's and thence to various points in the state of Missouri, where they had planned to secure the sheep. But news of their coming had preceded them, and the sheep-raisers of the state immediately raised the price from six or seven shillings per head to ten shillings. Mr. Rae, angered at this evident attempt at extortion, refused to deal with the people of Missouri and determined to go on to Kentucky in spite of all that Mr. Bourke could urge in regard to the increased difficulty and expense of transporting the sheep to Red River. After some time the party reached Kentucky

and purchased about 1,475 sheep at prices ranging from 5s to 7s per head. When Messrs. Rae and Bourke started north with their drove in the spring, they found that they had to pay for feed in nearly all the districts through which they passed. On their way up the Mississippi they halted to shear the sheep, and when the purchasers of the wool could not pay the full price at the very time agreed on, the whole quantity was burned. During the hot weather of the summer the journey across the grass-grown, trackless prairie proved very trying for the sheep, yet they were driven forward with relentless haste. Many died, and those which became too weary to keep up with the drove were killed by the drivers. Only 251 reached the Red River Settlement, and some of these were too far spent with the long trip to recover; while 1,200 carcasses marked the route across the plains. The farmers who had subscribed the money for the purchase of the sheep had good reason for their bitter complaints, and the governor brought the matter to a close by returning the people's money. He kept the sheep, which thrived and multiplied; and when they were sold at auction a few years later, the farmers were eager to buy them at £2 per head.

Another joint-stock concern, called the "Tallow Company" was organized about the same time. Its capital was £1,000, divided into shares of £5 each. Most of the shares were paid up in cattle and a herd of 473 head was obtained in this way. About the end of April the herd was sent to its pasture grounds some miles away in charge of two herdsmen; but a week later a severe snow-storm killed a number of the cattle. They did fairly well during the summer, but during the following winter the wolves and the severe cold carried off nearly a third of the survivors. Finally the herd was sold and the scheme given up. The net loss to the shareholders was £137, and once more the Hudson's Bay Company came to the rescue of the settlers and made good the loss.

Governor Simpson also planned extensive works for the Hudson's Bay Company, which must have given employment to a good many people in the colony. One of these was a winter road between the settlement and York Factory. It was intended to use the lakes and rivers as far as possible and to cut roads along the most direct and convenient routes where goods would have to be transported by land carriage. Work on a section of this road lying between Oxford House and Fox River was commenced as early as 1827, and several stables were built along it at intervals of eleven miles. Oxen were sent down from the settlement to be used on the road, also a quantity of hay for fodder; but the experiment was not a success. The work was continued from time to time on other sections of the proposed road, but the scheme was finally given up.

In October, 1831, the governor began the construction of a strong fort, with walls, bastions, and inclosed buildings of stone, at the foot of the rapids on Red River and about twenty miles below the Forks. It was an extensive structure, and eight or nine years were required to complete it. The governor seems to have intended it for the head offices of the Hudson's Bay Company and as the seat of government, and he resided there during his visits to Red River; but his attempts to make Lower Fort Garry, as the stronghold was called, the capital of Assiniboia failed, because the fort at the Forks was more conveniently situated for business and was nearer to the Scotch and French settlements. The lower fort stands to-day almost as it was when first completed, the strongest post built by the Hudson's Bay Company in the interior of the country.

In 1835 Mr. Alexander Christie, the governor of Assiniboia, received instructions from Governor Simpson to construct a new Fort Garry at the forks of the Red River and the Assiniboine. The fort of the same name, which had been built in 1821, stood on low ground close to the junction of the two rivers, but a more elevated site about 400 yards up the Assiniboine and on its north side was chosen for the new fort. It was rectangular in form, being about 280 feet from east to west and 240 feet from north to south. The walls were 15 feet high and were strengthened at the corners by bastions and block-houses, the gates being in the north and south sides. A gallery ran around the wall on the inside, affording a pleasant walk and quite an extensive view of the surrounding country. Inside the wall were the house of the governor, dwellings for the officers and clerks of the company, together with stores, granaries, a court-house, and a jail. A part of the wall was demolished about thirty years ago, and the remainder, as well as the buildings inclosed, was taken down more recently. Only the northern gateway remains to mark the site of Upper Fort Garry.

From the time the Red River colony was established until the death of its founder it was under his control; then his executors directed its affairs until 1823, when they found it advisable to transfer its government to the Hudson's Bay Company, with the understanding that the company would re-acquire the title to the land which it had granted to the earl. The executors were most anxious to be free of all responsibility in connection with the colony, but it was not until 1835 that the company repurchased the land, paying the executors £84,111 in full for all their claims. First and last the earl's colony must have cost his estate nearly a million dollars. The transfer of the land to the company made it possible to clear up some of the titles to the farms which the settlers occupied, for they had been transferred in a very loose way from one holder to another, often without any deed being given or the transfer being registered. The matter had been complicated by a change made in the plan of survey a few years after the first farms were allotted to settlers.

For more than twenty years the colony had existed almost without laws, rulers, or protectors; but when the earl's title to the lands of Assiniboia had been extinguished, and with it all possible right of his executors to control the colony, the Hudson's Bay Company thought it time to adopt some system whereby law and order could be more effectually maintained. Its first step towards this end was to appoint a new Council of Assiniboia in which the people of the colony would have a larger representation and to empower this council to make a simple code of laws, to establish courts of justice, and to appoint a constabulary force for the maintenance of order. In doing this the company was simply exercising the powers conferred on it by its charter. Accordingly new councillors, selected from the most influential citizens were nominated and commissioned by the company's executive committee in London; and these, with the councillors chosen from the company's officials, were to constitute the council of the governor-in-chief. It was a legislative body, having power to make laws in criminal as well as civil matters; and it was also a judicial body, inasmuch as it might sit as a court of appeal from decisions made in the magistrates' courts.

The new council met for the first time on February 12, 1835, and was composed of the following members: Mr. George Simpson, governor of Rupert's



INTERIOR OF FORT GARRY, 1854





Land; Mr. Alexander Christie, governor of Assiniboia; the Right Reverend Bishop of Juliopolis (Bishop Provencher); Rev. T. D. Jones, chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company; Rev. William Cochran, assistant chaplain; James Bird, Esq., formerly chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company; James Sutherland, Esq.; W. H. Cook, Esq.; John Pritchard, Esq.; Robert Logan, Esq.; Alexander Ross, sheriff of Assiniboia; John McCallum, Esq., coroner; John Bunn, Esq., medical adviser; Andrew McDermott, Esq., merchant; and Cuthbert Grant, Esq., warden of the plains. In his opening address, Governor Simpson, the president of the council, said:

"Gentlemen,—In order to guard as much as possible against misapprehension within doors, or misrepresentation out of doors, on the subjects which I am now about to bring under your consideration, I shall thus briefly notice them. From their importance they cannot fail of calling forth due attention, and from the deep and lively interest you all feel in the welfare and prosperity of the colony, I am satisfied you will afford me the benefit of your assistance and support towards carrying into effect such measures as may appear to you best calculated, under existing circumstances, to answer every desirable object.

"The population of this colony is become so great, amounting to about 5,000 souls, that the personal influence of the governor, and the little more than nominal support afforded by the police, which, together with the good feeling of the people, have hitherto been its principal safeguard, are no longer sufficient to maintain the tranquillity and good government of the settlement; so that although rights of property have of late been frequently invaded, and other serious offences have been committed, I am concerned to say, we have been under the necessity of allowing them to pass unnoticed, because we have not the means at command of enforcing obedience and due respect, according to the existing order of things.

"Under such circumstances, it must be evident to one and all of you that it is quite impossible society can hold together; that the time has at length arrived when it becomes necessary to put the administration of justice on a more firm and regular footing than heretofore, and that immediate steps ought to be taken to guard against dangers from abroad, or difficulties at home, for the maintenance of good order and tranquillity, and for the security and protection of lives and property."

The council then passed a number of enactments, which became laws of the colony. The following are among the more important:

"1. That an efficient and disposable police force be embodied, to be styled a volunteer corps, to consist of sixty officers and privates, to be at all times ready to act when called upon, and to be paid as follows: commanding officer, £20 per annum; sergeants, £10; and privates, £6, besides extra pay for serving writs. When not so employed, their time to be their own.

"2. That the settlement be divided into four districts: the first to extend from the Image Plain downwards; the second from the Image Plain to the Forks; the third from the Forks upwards, on the main river; and the fourth the White Horse Plains, or Assiniboine River; and that for each of the said districts a magistrate be appointed. That James Bird, Esq., be justice of the peace for the first district; James Sutherland, Esq., for the second; Robert Logan, Esq., for the third; and Cuthbert Grant, Esq., for the fourth. These

magistrates to hold quarterly courts of summary jurisdiction on four successive Mondays; to be appointed according to the existing order of precedence in the four sections, beginning with the third Monday of January, of April, of July, and of October.

"3. That the said courts have power to pronounce final judgment in all civil cases, where the debt or damage claimed may not exceed five pounds; and in all trespasses and misdemeanors, which, by the rules and regulations of the district of Assiniboine, not being repugnant to the laws of England, may be punished by a fine not exceeding the aforesaid sum of five pounds.

"4. That the said courts be empowered to refer any case of doubt or difficulty to the supreme tribunal of the colony, the Court of Governor and Council of Assiniboine, at its next ensuing quarterly session, giving a *viva voce* intimation of the reference in open court, and a written intimation of the same under the hands of a majority of the three sitting magistrates, at least one whole week before the commencement of the said quarterly session, and this without being compelled to state any reasons for so doing.

"5. That the Court of the Governor and Council, in its judicial capacity, sit on the third Thursday of February, of May, of August, and November; and at such other times as the Governor-in-Chief of Rupert's Land, or, in his absence, the Governor of Assiniboine, may deem fit.

"6. That in all contested civil cases, which may involve claims of more than ten pounds, and in all criminal cases, the verdict of a jury shall determine the fact or facts in dispute.

"7. That a public building, intended to answer the double purpose of a court-house and gaol, be erected as early as possible at the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. That in order to raise funds for defraying such expenses as it may be found necessary to incur, towards the maintenance of order, and the erecting of public works, an import duty shall be levied on all goods and merchandise of foreign manufacture imported into Red River, either for sale or for private use, at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the amount of the invoice; and further that an export duty of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. be levied on all goods and stores, or supplies, the growth, produce, or manufacture of Red River."

Sheriff Ross was appointed commanding officer of the volunteer corps. It was to take the place of the constabulary force recommended by Colonel Coltman about eighteen years earlier and was to defend the colony, if it should be attacked by hostile Indians or others. The Hudson's Bay Company immediately made a grant of £300 towards the erection of public works for the settlement and received the thanks of the council for its generous donation.

The establishment of trial by jury pleased the people and helped to create a better feeling between them and the Hudson's Bay Company; but some of them were disappointed because their representatives were appointed by the governor instead of being elected by popular vote. A number were suspicious of the volunteer force, fearing that it might be made an instrument of oppression; and many of them objected to the import duty, because it increased the cost of goods brought from Britain or the United States. Owing to the great cost of transportation, the prices of English goods had always been nearly twice as high in the Red River Settlement as in the Old Country. There was also dissatisfaction with the export duty, although it was confined to fewer

people. The Metis had found a market for the products of the buffalo hunt in some of the small towns which were springing up along the Mississippi River. They carried hides, etc. thither in their carts and brought back goods of various kinds, finding it more advantageous to do this than to trade with the Hudson's Bay Company. The duty of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. seemed to be specially hard on them, and in the spring they made a demonstration before the gates of Fort Garry, asking for the abolition of the duty on goods imported from the United States, a change in the export duty on tallow, robes, and other products of the chase, and for higher prices for these products when sold to the Hudson's Bay Company. They did not obtain the concessions asked; but their discontent seems to have led the company to reduce the cost of land from 12s per acre, the price which had been put upon it shortly before, to 7s per acre and to promise 25 acres free to each young man settling upon a farm. Some years afterward the duty was reduced to 5 per cent. and later still to 4 per cent.

The Scotch people in the colony had some special grievances. The Presbyterian minister, whom they had been led to expect, was never sent to the settlement; and although Rev. Mr. Jones had modified the service of the Church of England to bring it more in harmony with their ideas, it was never quite satisfactory to them. They were also dissatisfied with the educational facilities of the settlement. There were about a dozen primary schools in the country but they were not very efficient, as they do not appear to have received any special grants from the company for their maintenance. The school at St. John's, to which most of the children of officers of the company were sent, received a grant of £100 annually, and was a good school; but few of the settlers could send their children to it. These and other causes of discontent combined to send 114 people, mostly Presbyterians, to the United States. As they took all their cattle, implements, etc., this exodus was quite a serious loss to the community.

In spite of defections and drawbacks of various kinds, the population of the colony increased. The census of 1840 showed the total population to be 4,704, the number of Protestant families being 257 and the number of Catholic families 488. In 1843 the population had increased to 5,143, and in that year it received a desirable addition, as twenty families of Lincolnshire farmers arrived. The next year was one of misfortune, for epidemics of influenza and measles in the early part of the year were followed by a disease resembling cholera, and the settlement lost 321 people by death. According to the census of 1847 there were 4,871 people in the colony, the Catholic families numbering 503 and the Protestant families 444. Two years later the population had risen to 5,391, although 1,511 of the people were listed as "transient." This represents the number of half-breeds who spent a part of their time in the colony and a part of it in the United States. They were a source of weakness to the community for several years; but in 1849, 636 of them decided to locate permanently in Minnesota, and the others soon settled down in various parts of the Red River colony. The census of 1849 shows that there were 745 dwelling houses in the colony, 7 churches, 12 schools, 2 water-mills, and 12 windmills. The settlers owned 1,095 horses, 990 mares, 2,097 oxen, 155 bulls, 2,147 cows, 1,565 pigs, and 3,096 sheep, and they had 6,329 acres of land under cultivation.

The governor had established another experimental farm in 1837, and had

placed Captain Marcus Cary, a half-pay officer, in charge of it. It was equipped with the best implements and machinery obtainable in England. But mismanagement prevented the farm from benefiting the community; and when Captain Cary retired in June, 1847, and the stock and implements of the farm were sold, it had caused the Hudson's Bay Company a net loss of £5,500. "When the company deals in furs, it works for money; when it farms, it works for fame," became a saying among the Red River people.

## CHAPTER XXI

### THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE SETTLERS

To the student the early history of Manitoba presents many unique features. Few newly founded colonies have been so remote and so isolated as the Red River Settlement was for forty years after its establishment. Seven hundred miles of muskeg and forest, broken by numberless lakes and rivers, lay between the settlement and the sea on the north; and after the traveller had reached that sea, many more hundred miles of ocean must be crossed to reach a settled country. On the east the settlement was separated from the other settled portions of Canada by more than a thousand miles of fresh-water sea or by wild, forest-clothed wilderness. On the south the pioneers of the Mississippi valley were steadily pushing the frontier northward, and yet it was some hundreds of miles away from the Red River Settlement when the first settlers there had become old men. On the west lay half a continent, unoccupied save by wild Indian tribes and a few employees of the fur companies. In the summer there was no better means of communication and transport to the north and the east than the York boat and the birch-bark canoe; while the Indian pony and the Red River cart served the same purpose over the vast plains to the south and west. But in the winter all communication with the outside world was shut off, and the people lived in complete isolation. In this way they were thrown almost entirely upon themselves, and their home life and social customs, being peculiarly their own, become matters of more than passing interest to the people of our time. They also demonstrate in a striking way the sterling qualities of the early pioneers of Manitoba.

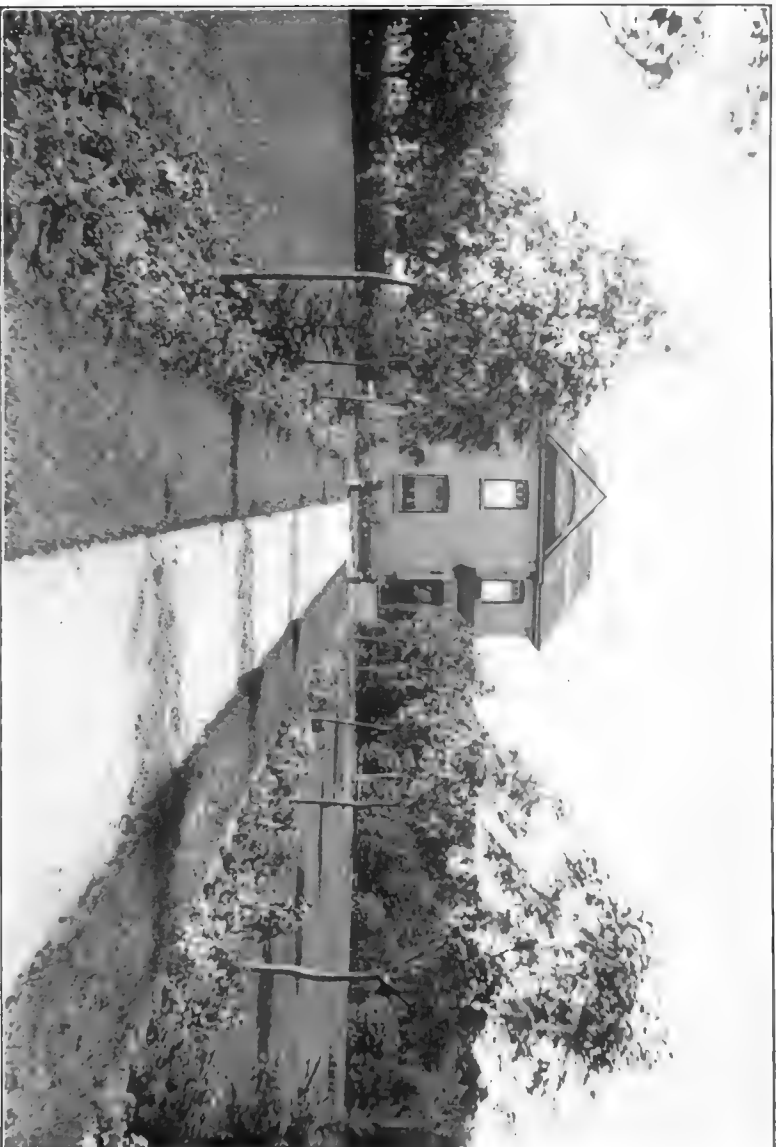
The population of Manitoba is not, and never has been, homogeneous. From the earliest history of the country its people have differed in race, language, and religion. Leaving the aborigines out of the list, the earliest inhabitants of the country were the men connected with the fur trade. In the northern part of the province these were islesmen from the Orkneys and the Hebrides and natives of Scotland, England, and Ireland; in the southern part they were French, with a few Scotchmen, who had come from Canada. In both the north and the south some of the whites took Indian wives, and in a short time the country had a half-breed population which outnumbered its white inhabitants. The half-breeds may be divided into two classes, for the French half-breeds, or Metis, differed from the English and Scotch half-breeds as much as the French differed from the British. The de Meuron soldiers and the Swiss immigrants represented other races and other languages; but most of them left the country a short time after coming to it, and those who became permanent residents were too few to exert any noticeable influence upon the history of the

colony. But each of the other elements of the population has left a distinct impress upon the life and character of the community and has helped to determine its development and its history.

The Frenchmen who retired from the fur trade and settled in Manitoba seldom became agriculturists, nor did the humdrum life of a farm appeal to the Metis. The latter were excitable, fond of adventure, easy-going, and improvident—a product of life on the frontier of a country which was passing out of the hunting-ground stage but had hardly reached the condition where the people depend on agriculture for a livelihood. The Metis were capable of great exertion when necessity for it arose, but they showed aversion to steady, plodding toil. The roving life of traders, boatmen, or hunters suited them; and while they filled a very necessary place in the early development of the country, they would have been slow to develop those agricultural resources upon which its progress really depended. For the most part they led a comfortable life. Hunting, trapping, fishing, or work for the fur traders generally gave them plenty of food and supplied the other simple necessities which they required. If his supply of provision ran low the Metis harnessed his pony to his creaking Red River cart, put his family and few belongings into it, and started out across the plains in search of buffaloes or made his way to a lake or river in which fish were plentiful. If all the ordinary sources of supply failed, he could bear hunger and cold with the silent stoicism of the Indian. The Metis was open-hearted and hospitable, a very generous friend, and a somewhat implacable enemy. Most of the men were well made, and many of the women were decidedly handsome.

The Scotch and English servants of the Hudson's Bay Company were far more ready to settle upon the land as farmers than were the French employees of the Montreal traders, for the freedom of a roving life in the wilds seldom attracted them after they became middle-aged men. They preferred the comfort of a home, even if it were humble and poorly furnished. Thus it happened that after the Earl of Selkirk established his little colony of farmers, it was reinforced year after year by time-expired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company; and even though most of these men had no practical knowledge of farming, their character and training made them most useful members of the community. Lord Selkirk had high ideals of home life, education, and religion, which he hoped his people would carry out; and eventually these ideals were realized. In spite of privation and suffering, the frequent failure of crops, the loss of their homes, expulsion by hostile half-breeds, the ravages of grasshoppers, and destructive floods, most of the colonists stayed in the country, unwilling to give up the struggle because they foresaw their ultimate success. Progress was slow; but year after year they struggled on, adding to their cultivated land, their stock, and their buildings. Little by little their social life grew and took form, and in their isolated world on the vast prairies all the essential elements of contentment and happiness could be found.

The French half-breeds were inclined to follow the roving lives of their mothers' people; but the English-speaking half-breeds have generally shown a disposition to follow the occupations and adopt the customs of the whites. For this reason they became an important part of the settled population of the country from an early period in its history. In all departments of the life of



FARM RESIDENCE OF JAMES DUNCAN, GLENBORO, MANITOBA





the province—as farmers, merchants, professional men, ministers of the gospel, and legislators—they have played their part.

In a small community, composed of people so diverse in race and temperament, some disagreements and disturbances were almost inevitable. Perhaps they would have been more serious and more frequent, had not the total population been so small in comparison with the vastness of the country that no one element could entirely disregard the help which the others might give. The vastness itself may have fostered in the people a spirit of tolerance, and the very isolation of the colony may have promoted that spirit of neighborly helpfulness which characterizes the frontier. The readiness of the French and Metis to help the newly-arrived Scotch settlers was shown again and again during the hard winters which followed the coming of the first parties; and the Scotch settlers showed an equal kindness toward those who came after them.

Gradually most of the people in the country, including the less restless of the Metis, settled on the land. They built their homes along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and began to cultivate the narrow farms allotted to them. The rivers served as highways for canoes and boats in the summer, and their frozen surfaces made good roads for sleds in winter. They also furnished water for the farmer's stock and for use in his home. The narrowness of the farms was a hindrance to cultivation, but it brought neighbors closer together. The difficulty of procuring implements retarded farming for several years; but the soil was so fertile that abundant crops of grain and vegetables rewarded the farmer's efforts. At first the hoe and the spade had to be used to prepare the soil for seed, and the sickle was the only implement for harvesting the grain; but in time the hoe gave place to the crude plow, and the cradle took the place of the sickle, to be succeeded later by a clumsy reaper. For many years flails were used for threshing, and when the two-horse threshing-machine was introduced, it was a remarkable advance. In the early days the grain was separated from the chaff by the very method followed in the Orient since farming began, and it was many years before fanning-mills were brought into use. When the clean grain had been obtained the next task was to convert it into flour. At first this was probably done after the manner of the Indian tribes with a crude mortar and pestle; then the stone hand-mill, almost identical with that used in India, was employed; and when the first grist-mill was set up, there was great rejoicing among the people, who felt that its establishment was a long stride in civilization.

The French half-breeds had depended on the herds of buffaloes for food from the time they first reached the prairie country, and the British settlers learned the value of these animals almost as soon as they reached the colony. The skins of these wild cattle provided the half-breeds with robes which took the place of blankets, and when dressed, they supplied coverings for tents. The dressed skins and the sinews afforded material for moccasins or Indian shoes. The flesh supplied meat and pemmican, and the tongue and the hump, along with the nose of the moose and the tongue of the reindeer, constituted the characteristic table delicacies of Rupert's Land. For many years after the white man came to the prairies, they were the grazing grounds of herds of buffaloes, whose numbers almost pass belief. With such an accessible and inexhaustible supply of food and other necessities, it is not strange that the

Metis were slow to abandon the hunter's life and adopt the more laborious and monotonous calling of the farmer; and we can understand their feelings of resentment toward "les jardiniers," whose settlements on the plains drove the buffaloes further and further from their old haunts and made it more and more difficult for the hunters to obtain a livelihood in the old way. Nor is it strange that the farmers themselves took part in the buffalo hunts year after year, seeing that the hunts gave them a few weeks of exciting recreation and a plentiful supply of meat.

It is not easy for people living in Manitoba to-day to understand how large a place the buffalo hunt filled in the life of the community seventy years ago. The preparations for the hunt, the systematic way in which it was conducted, and the number of people engaged in it made it seem like a military campaign against some foreign foe. Sheriff Ross has left us a very graphic account of the summer hunt of 1840. On the 15th of June in that year, men, women, and children with horses, carts, tents, and other equipment, started from every part of the Red River Settlement and took the road for the hunters' rendezvous at Pembina. When the whole party had assembled there, it comprised 620 hunters, 650 women, and 360 boys and girls—a total of 1,630 souls. They had 403 buffalo horses, 655 cart horses, and 586 draft oxen; and the total number of carts in the cavalcade which set out from Pembina was 1,210. Dogs seem to have been a necessary adjunct to every half-breed encampment, and on this occasion no less than 542 of these noisy animals accompanied the hunting party. Before starting for the distant hunting ground the party adopted a code of rules for the regulation of the hunt, the government and protection of the camp, and the punishment of offenders. Ten captains were chosen, one of whom acted as head of the camp; each captain had ten men under him to assist in maintaining discipline, and ten guides were appointed, each taking his turn as guide of the expedition for a day while the hunt lasted. When all arrangements had been completed, a priest celebrated mass, and the expedition started. A journey of two hundred and fifty miles had to be made that year before the buffaloes were sighted; but they were plentiful, as will be shown by the fact that in the evening following one day's successful hunting no less than 1,375 buffalo tongues were brought into camp. On another occasion 2,500 animals were killed in two days' hunting. The party returned to Pembina about the middle of August, having been absent eight weeks; and it brought nearly five hundred tons of buffalo meat in various forms, besides a large quantity of hides. It was estimated that this hunt would have supplied every individual in the settlement with two hundred pounds of meat. Of course a good part of the proceeds of the hunt was sold to the Hudson's Bay Company and brought the hunters about £1,200—quite as much as the farmers realized for all the produce which they sold that year.

The settlers had raised horses and cattle as soon as it was possible to secure a few of these animals; but it was some time before they began to rear sheep to any great extent, for they feared that wolves would destroy the herds. But when the attempt was made, it proved successful, and as soon as the farmers' wives began to spin, there was a great stir in the settlement and domestic life was greatly improved. Angus Polson, who was a worker in wood, was the chief maker of spinning-wheels for the colony. In 1837 Governor Simpson told

Bishop Provencher that the Hudson's Bay Company would bring out two women to teach the art of weaving to the daughters of the settlers and would pay their salaries for two years, if the mission would provide the teachers with food and lodging and a building in which to give instruction. The offer was accepted, and the weavers arrived in 1838. The bishop furnished a house and some looms, and in a short time a number of girls had learned to weave. This school was the forerunner of technical schools in the west. It was recognized as a great benefit to the community; but misfortune soon overtook it, for in March, 1839, the building and most of its contents were burned. The company made a grant to help the bishop, and he was able to reopen the school after a short time. Soon the weaver's loom was a familiar sight in the houses of the community; and while the processes from the shearing of the sheep to the completion of the home-made suit were primitive, the garments, when completed, were good and durable. Some progress was also made in growing flax, and cloth of a fairly good quality was made from its fibre.

In the summer time the farm stock ran wild on the prairies; but during the long, cold winters it had to be fed, and so haymaking was a very important part of farm work. The cutting was usually done about the third week in July, and for the most part on the open prairie which was free to all. The men camped out near the good hay meadows, and each made a line around the spot he wished to mow. There was rarely any trouble over the claims, and the tent villages proved sources of invigorating and helpful experience. All combined in mutual defence when the hay was threatened by the destructive prairie fires; and we are told that in one case, when a settler's stacks had been destroyed by fire, his neighbors joined together and put a hundred cart-loads of hay into his farmyard.

The Red River cart was a unique vehicle. It was constructed entirely of wood, the axles and rims being no exception to the rule. Originally the wheels were about eighteen inches in diameter, being composed of solid blocks of wood nearly a foot thick which had been rounded with an axe; but after some years they were constructed with hubs, spokes, and felloes, although iron tires were not considered necessary. The only tools needed to construct or mend a cart were an axe, a saw, an auger, and a draw-knife. The lack of iron in these carts was not regarded as a disadvantage, and in the country traversed by them there was generally plenty of wood with which to repair breakages. The price of a cart in the settlement was about two pounds sterling. It was drawn by an ox, harnessed between a pair of enormous shafts, except when speed was an object; then a horse was substituted for the ox, the horses used being the wiry little Indian ponies. The harness was made of dressed ox-hide and was rude but serviceable. When a train of a hundred carts passed by, the creaking of the ungreased wooden axles made a noise as unpleasant as it was loud.

The farm-houses of the settlers were not built on the open prairie but followed the courses of the rivers. The material used in the majority of buildings was wood. The houses of the very first settlers were probably constructed of round timbers, and the roofs were thatched; but after a few years squared timbers were used, and in many cases the roofs were shingled. Among the poorer classes the houses had only two rooms each. The better houses were more commodious and comfortable, being about thirty feet in length and about twenty feet

wide. The average cost was about £60. A few were two stories high, and some were ornamented with verandas. It was a long time before glass windows became general, parchment being used instead. The houses were usually white-washed both inside and outside, and this gave them a neat appearance. They were often enclosed by fences made of poplar poles laid between two upright stakes; but we are told that it was common for some of the less provident settlers to cut poplar rails for their fences in the spring and burn the dried rails in the following winter for fuel. After several years the people began to use the native limestone in their buildings, the cathedral of St. Boniface being one of the first made of this material. The depth of the soil made it difficult to lay a foundation which would prevent stone buildings from settling, for pile-driving was not known.

The nearness of the houses was conducive to the frequent exchange of social visits on the long winter evenings, and hospitality was unbounded. Entertainments of various kinds, long talks about the dangers and hardships which they had passed through, tales of their ancestors in the far-away homeland, and the recital of the old Celtic legends and folk-stories filled many a long evening in a pleasant manner. There were no "days at home" or card parties in the old time. A lady went to visit her friend when it was most convenient, and she was sure of receiving a welcome, if the neighbor was at home. For many years the musical art of the settlement was confined to playing the violin, probably because the instrument was so easily carried; and although much time was spent in practice, the class of music produced was not very high. The monotonous jig was the most admired of the player's exhibitions of skill. The instrument was in such common use that violin strings were forwarded as a part of the consignments of goods for the northern districts.

During the summer months the people were too busy for much amusement; but the gun and the fishing rod furnished sport for the holidays, and "bat," a game of ball in which leagues and professional players had no part, gave recreation during the long evenings. Driving parties were very popular in the winter. Processions of perhaps twenty cutters and carriages would set out for a long drive over the snow to the home of some friend, where all the party went in for an informal dance, concluding the visit by singing in a hearty way some of the old and well known songs. The gayly painted carriage, the fine horse, the bells and ribbons, and the swift dash across the snow made carrying a favorite pastime among the French and Metis. One of the occasions which brought out carriages in large numbers was the celebration of midnight mass at the cathedral of St. Boniface on Christmas eve; and the congregation gathering from all quarters, with the bells on the carriages ringing clearly in the frosty air, created an excitement in the midst of what was really a solemn occasion. The young Scotchmen were quick to see the fun to be had in driving the carriage of the Canadian and the half-breed and could be seen gliding over the ice on a Sabbath morning with a fine horse and gay sleigh, not driving moderately as befitted a devout church-goer, but striving spiritedly with his fellows for the honor of arriving first at the church.

There was no telegraphic communication with the outside world, the solitary post office was far away, and newspapers from the east were few and far between; consequently the churchyard grew to be a place for the interchange

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of news. The settlers would gather there some time before service, and "What's the latest news?" was an oft-repeated question, in answer to which each gave an item from a letter or a paper received during the week. Only one or two mails could be expected from Great Britain during the summer months, and none during the winter; nor were those from Canada much more frequent. The mails came at no stated times, but only when a brigade of boats or canoes arrived from Montreal or from Hudson Bay. After people began to come into the country by the Mississippi route, a third avenue of mail communication was opened, but for a long time it was not much better than the others. In 1853 a monthly mail service was established between Fort Garry and Fort Ripley in Minnesota, and people thought this a great convenience. In a short time the service became fortnightly, and in 1863 a weekly mail service between Fort Garry and Pembina was inaugurated. The Canadian government had tried to carry on a regular postal service to Red River by the Dawson Route in 1858, but the attempt was not successful. Only two mails a year were sent into the far interior. Letters were kept down to the minimum weight, but even then they made no trifling burden. Divided into toboggan loads, each drawn by a team of "huskies" or Esquimaux dogs, gaily caparisoned, the mails were hurried northward and westward under the direction of half-breed drivers. It took eight days to traverse the four hundred miles between Fort Garry and Norway House. Newspapers, being more bulky than letters, were more rarely received. We are told that Sheriff Ross received a year's supply of the *London Times* at the end of the year, and that he read the news regularly, week by week, but always a year late.

The people soon began to set aside special days for holidays which were appropriately celebrated. Christmas was not very generally observed, but New Year's Day was the day of days for one and all. The celebration opened with volley after volley from the settlers' guns, without which no celebration was quite complete. Early in the forenoon the men dressed in their best clothes and started on a round of calls upon their neighbors, which occupied a good part of the day. There was always a liberal supply of refreshments for callers, including those liquid refreshments which were an essential element in the hospitality of the colony at the time. Even the Indians made calls from house to house, always expecting something to eat at every stop; and they carefully stowed away in a convenient receptacle what could not be eaten and carried it off for future use. The squaws took kindly to one custom of their pale-faced sisters and insisted upon kissing everybody whom they met; and many a hasty exit was made from the rear door, as the dusky ladies entered that at the front of the house.

The officers at the forts always joined with the settlers in their pleasures and amusements; and in their turn, they entertained at the forts in a royal manner when occasion demanded it. They generally gave a dinner and a ball on New Year's Day; and to the latter all the employees of the company were invited, and the best of good fellowship prevailed. The custom of giving this annual ball was kept up at all the factories from York to the Labrador coast, and was observed even at remote posts on the Yukon and within the Arctic Circle.

The arrival of the ship of the Hudson's Bay Company about the 20th of August was another great event of the year at posts on the bay. Guns were fired to announce her arrival, and the packet of letters which she brought from the outside world was opened amid great rejoicing. Letters, giving news of joy or sorrow from dear ones over the sea, were read with eager interest; and men, not engaged in unloading and storing goods from the ship, interchanged news with their friends. No less welcome were the brigades of canoes, bringing their precious cargoes of furs. The returning traders and tripmen brought many tales of adventure, and added their quota to the general rejoicing, although in a rather boisterous manner. The fiddle occupied a prominent place in the evening's entertainment which followed. It may have been noisy, but it was sincere celebration of a safe return from a long, perilous voyage.

The 24th of May was always celebrated, and people came to Fort Garry from points as far away as Lake Manitoba and Portage la Prairie, sometimes even from Pembina and St. Joe. Horse races were the principal events of the day, and many a horse was ridden from Fort Garry down what is called Main Street to-day. Competition was keen, but a race was run on its merits, the best horse invariably being declared the winner. Dominion Day was not known then; but the 4th of July was celebrated by friends from the United States with the proper salute, sports, and horse races.

A wedding and a funeral were important occasions, which were observed with all due respect. A marriage of the old times was not like the social function of to-day. The wedding breakfast was not lacking, and there were numerous dinners and suppers in connection with the celebration, which lasted several days; but other features would seem unusual now. A sure way of inviting the guests was adopted, the postal facilities being very uncertain, and the father of the bride went from house to house, giving a personal invitation to each of his friends and neighbors. The wedding generally took place on Thursday, and the procession of guests, driving to the church in cutters and carriages bedecked with ribbons and flowers, made a gay picture. The return trip gave the party an opportunity to exhibit the speed of their fine horses, and many a "gallant" gave his partner an exciting ride, although the rule that no one should pass the bridal party in the race was strictly observed. After the return to the home of the bride there was dancing. It was not the languid waltz nor the lazy cotillion of to-day, but a lively "Red River jig," which required some endurance as well as skill. The old "Scotch reel" or "reel of four" and the popular "eight-hand reel" also served to keep the fiddler busy most of the evening. The Sunday following the marriage was quite important, being the day of the "kirking," when the bride and bridegroom, accompanied by their bridesmaids and groomsmen, drove to the church in which the marriage had been performed. After the service, which the minister tried to make very impressive, the party returned to dine together at the bride's house. Tuesday was the day fixed for taking the bride to the home of her husband. Then his parents did their part towards the festivities, and feasting, dancing, and merry-making continued until sunrise the following morning. Then all departed to their homes, put off the wedding garments, and settled down to the daily routine of work, as if there had been no celebration the previous night.

There were some peculiar local customs, and the services for the dead were



FORT SMITH IN 1862

Showing ox carts loaded with furs ready for the 16-mile portage to avoid  
the rapids on Slave river





among them. Invitations to a funeral, like those for a wedding, were given by some relative of the deceased person, who went from house to house giving personal invitations. Refreshments in the form of bread, cake, cheese, and sometimes liquors were served on the day of the funeral, and their absence would have been considered a breach of hospitality and a mark of indifference to the memory of the departed. Hearses were unknown in those days, and to put the coffin into any conveyance to be taken to the churchyard would have been looked upon as a mark of disrespect; so it was borne on a bier by four men, relieved by four others at intervals, when the presiding elder in front gave the word, "Relief." The men seldom had to serve twice, unless the walk to the church was a very long one.

What has been said about the schools of the colony will show that its educational facilities were rather meagre for many years, and so it often happened that the men who kept the shops could not read or write. One of these, having seen a newspaper advertisement of a steamship company which showed a ship sailing away, hit upon what he considered a very clever method of keeping his accounts with the settlers. He drew a rough picture of a horse, cart, or other article purchased by the settler opposite his name on the account book; and a story is told that in closing the account of one of the settlers after the season's work, a cheese was named among the things which had been furnished to him. The settler denied having received a cheese, but the storekeeper produced his book and showed the drawing. The settler still denied the purchase, but said that he had received a grindstone for which he had not been charged. Then the merchant remembered the transaction, and coolly remarked that he had intended the drawing for a grindstone, but "had forgotten to put the hole in it."

Literary clubs were formed at a later date. Bishop Anderson and his sister, who arrived at Red River Settlement in 1849, formed a reading club for mutual improvement, to which Rev. John Black, pastor of Kildonan, belonged and to which he gave his hearty support. At St. Andrew's there was a literary club, for which modern books were imported; and three lectures were given before this club during the winter and an entertainment in the spring to defray the expense incurred.

The libraries at the posts of the Hudson's Bay Company were a source of keenest pleasure to many a man during the long winter months spent at isolated points. They were formed by the officers of the company and were increased from year to year. In the autumn of each year new books were sent to the officer in charge of the post, and they proved a great boon to the men. Peter Fidler had a library of five hundred books, which was divided into two parts, one being kept at Upper Fort Garry and the other at the Lower Fort. It formed the nucleus of the "Red River Library," many volumes of which were afterwards absorbed by the provincial library and the library of the Historical Society. The "Red River Library" had its headquarters in St. Andrew's parish, and was circulated in the whole Red River district. It was maintained largely by donations from retired officers of the Hudson's Bay Company and other citizens. The council of Assiniboia once granted £50 for the purchase of books for this library.

The people of the Red River Settlement enjoyed some singular advantages,

because they had no landlords, no rent-days, no land-tax, nor dues of other kinds to either church or state, and all they earned was their own. They erected homes which were more and more comfortable, and their tables held a bountiful fare. The faith and patience of the pioneers had been sorely tried, but they were beginning to reap the reward of their perseverance. With their increased prosperity came greater ambition to have good schools and good churches; but of these something will be said in subsequent chapters.

## CHAPTER XXII

### THE DEMAND FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT AND FREE TRADE

The Hudson's Bay Company was organized as a trading corporation, not as a governing body; and while its charter gave it the power to govern its great territory, this function was somewhat incidental and secondary to its primary purpose, which was strictly commercial. The primitive form of government which it established, although sufficient for the Red River Settlement in the early stages of its history, was quite sure to be outgrown as the colony developed. For twenty-three years Assiniboia was under the autocratic rule of its governor; and while his rule was wise and just for the most part, the speech of Sir George Simpson at the first meeting of the new Council of Assiniboia in 1835 shows us that the needs of the community could no longer be met by a form of government in which all the functions of legislation and administration were vested in one man. The changes made in that year were intended to give the settlers some part in the management of public affairs; but the measure of self-government introduced was more apparent than real, inasmuch as the members of the council, who were supposed to represent the people, were not selected by them, but were appointed by the governor. Men who had known the very full measure of self-government which Great Britain afforded to her citizens could hardly be content with a government in which they had little or no voice. All classes of the community seem to have been dissatisfied with some features of the company's rule; and certain classes had special grievances.

Either because the people had lived in the country so long almost without laws and courts, or because the new laws were too drastic and the decisions of the courts established by the new council were too severe, these courts did not always meet with popular approval. The first criminal case to be tried in them came up on April 28, 1836. A man named Louis St. Denis was convicted of theft and sentenced to be flogged; but the punishment roused so much indignation among the people that they would have rescued the prisoner, had he not been guarded by a strong force of constables; and the German ex-soldier who administered the flogging narrowly escaped very rough treatment at the hands of the angry crowd.

In 1838 the British government renewed the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company for twenty-one years, and it seems more than probable that the improved methods of maintaining law and order in its colony which the company had adopted made the government more ready to grant this extension. In the same year the company took what it considered another step in advance. Up to that date the men entrusted with the administration of laws in the Red

River Settlement had had no special knowledge of law; but in 1838 the Hudson's Bay Company sent Mr. Adam Thom, a lawyer who had been practicing in Montreal, to act as recorder for the colony at Red River. Although Mr. Thom had been living in Montreal for some time, he was a native of Scotland and had received his education and training in that country. He was dogmatic and prone to make long dissertations on the law as he understood it—facts which did not commend him to the practical British-born colonists; and he did not speak French—a serious disability in the eyes of more than half the people in the settlement. He had been appointed by the company at a large salary, and so public confidence in his impartiality was not perfect, especially in cases in which the company was one of the parties to the suit. To the colonists Mr. Thom sometimes appeared to act both as lawyer and judge, and this did not meet with their approval.

The charter of the Hudson's Bay Company appeared to give it the exclusive right to trade in Rupert's Land; but it does not seem to have attempted to enforce its monopoly except in the matter of the fur trade. Indeed it seems to have tacitly encouraged independent traders, who were doing business in a small way, by bringing out consignments of their goods from England and by sometimes carrying their few exports in its ships. A number of the Metis had established a small but increasing trade between the Red River Settlement and towns of Minnesota. It was almost inevitable that the independent traders would occasionally barter goods for furs; and to check the growth of this illicit trade, as it was termed, the company sometimes took measures which seemed harsh and unreasonable. In 1844 the governor of Assiniboia issued a proclamation which required all letters sent by importers to their agents in England, and forwarded by the Hudson's Bay Company's packets, to be sent to Fort Garry unsealed that they might be inspected by the company's officials before being dispatched. If importers would sign a declaration that they were not trading in furs, they were not obliged to comply with this regulation. The merchants objected strongly when the company's officers tried to enforce this rule; and although Judge Thom held that the company was justified in making it, the committee in London thought best to rescind it. Another rule, made about the same time, required all settlers, who had goods sent out from England by the company's ships, to make a declaration that they had not engaged in the fur trade. These rules must have caused much vexation, for in 1847 no less than 102 people in the colony had imported goods from Great Britain or the United States, the aggregate value being £11,000.

The duties levied by the company were regarded as burdensome by the settlers. On June 10, 1845, the council met at Fort Garry and passed the following regulation dealing with the matter of imports and duties:

“Resolved—That, once in every year, any British subject, if an actual resident and not a fur trafficker, may import, whether from London or from St. Peters (in the United States), stores free of any duty now about to be imposed, on declaring truly that he has imported them at his own risk.

“That, once in every year, any British subject, if qualified as before, may exempt from duty as before, imports of the local value of ten pounds, on declaring truly that they are intended exclusively to be used by himself within Red River Settlement, and have been purchased with certain specified produc-

tions or manufactures of the aforesaid settlement, exported in the same season, or by the latest vessel at his own risk.

"That, once in every year, any British subject, if qualified as before, who may have personally accompanied both his exports and his imports, as defined in the preceding resolution, may exempt from duty, as before, imports of the local value of £50, on declaring truly that they are either to be consumed by himself, or to be sold by himself to actual consumers within the aforesaid settlement, and have been purchased with certain specified productions or manufactures of the settlement, carried away by himself in the same season, or by the latest vessel, at his own risk.

"That all other imports from the United Kingdom for the aforesaid settlement, shall, before delivery, pay at York Factory a duty of 20 per cent. on their prime cost; provided, however, that the Governor of the settlement be hereby authorized to exempt from the same, all such importers as may, from year to year, be reasonably believed by him to have neither trafficked in furs themselves since the 8th day of December, 1844, nor enabled others to do so, by illegally or improperly supplying them with trading articles of any description.

"That all other imports, from any part of the United States, shall pay all duties payable under the provisions of 5 and 6 Vict., cap. 49, the Imperial Statute for regulating the foreign trade of the British possessions in North America; provided, however, that the Governor-in-Chief, or, in his absence, the President of the Council, may so modify the machinery of the said Act of Parliament, as to adapt the same to the circumstances of the country.

"That, henceforward, no goods shall be delivered at York Factory to any but persons duly licensed to freight the same; such licenses being given only in those cases in which no fur trafficker may have any interest, direct or indirect.

"That any intoxicating drink, if found in a fur trafficker's possession, beyond the limits of the aforesaid settlement, may be seized and destroyed by any person on the spot.

"Whereas, the intervention of middlemen is alike injurious to the Honorable Company and to the people; be it resolved—

"That, henceforward, furs shall be purchased from none but the actual hunters of the same."

The license referred to in the above resolution read as follows:

"On behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, I hereby license A. B. to trade, and also ratify his having traded in English goods, within the limit of the Red River Settlement. This ratification and this license to be null and void, from the beginning, in the event of his hereafter trafficking in furs, or generally of his usurping any whatever of all the privileges of the Hudson's Bay Company."

These regulations respecting the trade in furs affected the Metis more than they did the other people of the colony, and the former protested against them at once. The Metis had always claimed the right to buy and sell furs, and as early as 1835 we find them demanding the recognition of this right and a reduction of the duties on articles in which they traded. But the company had never ceded these rights and privileges, and from time to time its officials had charged traders with buying furs or having them in their possession unlawfully. If convicted, the offenders would be fined and their furs would be confiscated.

Such men were generally poor, and sometimes the sentences imposed on them seemed very harsh. In 1840 it was alleged that a Canadian named Regis Laurent had infringed the company's rights, and his house was broken open and the furs it contained were seized by the company's officers. Another Canadian was treated in the same way for a similar offence, and a third seizure was made on the shores of Lake Manitoba, the owner of the furs being sent to York Factory as a prisoner and threatened with deportation to England. A few of the Metis, having been sufferers in the same way, made common cause with the Canadians, and after a short time the English-speaking half-breeds joined them in their opposition to the trade regulations of the Hudson's Bay Company. Oddly enough, it was a love affair, in which a half-breed suitor named Hallet was rejected because of his mixed lineage, that turned the sympathy of the English-speaking half-breeds to the Metis in their struggle for free trade in furs.

The publication of the regulations adopted by the council in July, 1845, led to concerted action on the part of English and French half-breeds; and on August 29 an address, signed by James Sinclair, Baptiste la Roche, Thomas Logan, John Dease, Alexis Goulet, and fifteen more of their leading men, was presented to Mr. Alexander Christie, who had lately come back to serve a second term in the governor's chair. The address consisted of fourteen clauses, twelve of which were questions in regard to the rights of half-breeds to hunt for furs or engage others to hunt for them; their rights to buy furs, receive them as presents, or sell them; the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to fix the prices of fur; and the extent of the territory over which the restrictions, if any, prevailed. The last clause asked what peculiar privileges the Hudson's Bay Company had over British subjects, natives, and half-breeds resident in the settlement. The governor's reply was written a week later, and could not have given the petitioners much satisfaction. He told them that their first nine queries were based on the assumption that half-breeds possessed certain rights and privileges over their fellow citizens who had not been born in the country, assured them that all British subjects had equal rights in Rupert's Land, showed them that the restrictions of the fur trade grew out of the laws of the country rather than out of any restrictive clauses in the titles to the lands which they had purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company, and referred them to the company's charter and the enactments of the Council of Rupert's Land for information regarding the peculiar rights of the company. In conclusion the governor courteously added, "If, however, any individual among you, or among your fellow citizens, should at any time feel himself embarrassed in any honest pursuit, by legal doubts, I shall have much pleasure in affording him a personal interview."

The governor's suave reply did little to allay the discontent of the half-breeds, and it was soon aggravated by the frequent attempts of the company to enforce its monopoly. At last they decided to appeal to the imperial authorities. A petition, embodying their complaints against the government of the Hudson's Bay Company and its restrictions on trade, was drawn up and signed by five of the leading half-breeds of the colony and forwarded to Mr. A. K. Isbister, who was in England at the time. He presented it to the colonial secretary on February 17, 1847. In reply Earl Grey, the secretary of state for the colonies, proposed that a commission should be sent to Rupert's Land to



MASONIC HALL, BRANDON. BUILT IN 1883; BURNT DOWN IN 1886



ROSSER AVENUE, BRANDON, 1911, LOOKING WEST



ROSSER AVENUE, BRANDON, 1889, LOOKING EAST FROM ELEVENTH STREET



ROSSER AVENUE, BRANDON, 1900, LOOKING WEST FROM EIGHTH STREET



ROSSER AVENUE, BRANDON, 1911, LOOKING EAST FROM ELEVENTH STREET





investigate the grievances of the people, but Mr. Isbister objected that such a commission would be unduly influenced by the company's officials at Fort Garry. Afterwards the earl asked him for a more detailed statement of the settler's grievances and finally suggested that they might test the matter in the courts. He intimated very plainly, however, that the validity of the company's charter was not to be attacked, and that the petitioners must pay the costs of the judicial inquiry. This prohibited Mr. Isbister and his friends from taking any action in the courts, but he continued to agitate for the cancellation of the company's monopoly and succeeded in interesting a number of members of parliament in the matter.

The Hudson's Bay Company seemed inclined to treat the leaders of the movement against its rule in a vindictive spirit; and James Sinclair, who had taken an active part in preparing the address to Governor Christie in 1845 and the petition to the colonial secretary in 1847, was notified by the governor that the company ships would bring no more consignments of goods for him to York Factory. This of course was a great injury to his business. But the harsh measures of the company only served to rouse the people to more earnest efforts to overthrow its monopoly, and in 1848 a petition, signed by nine hundred and seventy-seven half-breeds was sent to the queen, asking for a form of government more in harmony with the principles of the British constitution, for freedom of trade, and for the application of some of the money received by the company from the sale of land to the improvement of transportation facilities.

The agitation which Mr. Isbister had started in England and the petitions sent to the government by the people of the Red River Settlement were not wholly ineffectual; for when Major Caldwell was sent out as governor of the colony in June, 1848, he received the following letter of instructions from Downing Street, dated June 10, 1848:

"Sir—I am directed by Earl Grey to acquaint you that so soon as circumstances will admit, after your arrival at Assiniboine, Her Majesty's Government will expect to receive from you a full and complete account of the condition of affairs at the Red River Settlement, and particularly of the mixed and Indian population living there; charges of maladministration and harsh conduct towards the natives having been preferred against the Hudson's Bay Company, which it is of the utmost importance, should be either established or disproved. Her Majesty's Government expect from you, as an officer holding the Queen's commission, a candid and detailed report of the state in which you find the settlement you have been selected to preside over.

"I would particularly direct your attention to the allegations which have been made of an insufficient and partial administration of justice; of the embarrassments occasioned by want of a circulating medium, except promissory notes payable in London; the insufficient supply of goods for ordinary consumption, by the company; and the hardships said to follow from an interference, which is reported to be exercised in preventing half-breed inhabitants from dealing in furs with each other, on the ground that the privileges of the native Indians of the country do not extend to them. These are only mentioned as instances, and your own judgment is relied on for enquiry into other points.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) B. HAWES."

Major Caldwell's training and temperament did not qualify him for the task of making a thorough investigation into the troubles of the Red river colony, and his position prevented him from making an impartial inquiry. His investigations were most perfunctory and superficial, little evidence being recorded which was adverse to the company; and the general tenor of his lightly-considered report was that the people had little cause for their complaints against the company.

Events soon contradicted Major Caldwell's report. Early in 1849 the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company arrested a man named William Sayer for trading in furs near Lake Manitoba. He was put in prison, but was soon released on bail. Three other half-breed traders, McGillis, Laronde, and Goulet, were arrested about the same time and for a similar offence; but they were released on giving bail to appear when the case against them was called in court. The Metis determined to make the trial of these four men a test case and organized for that purpose. The leading spirit in this movement against the company's monopoly was Louis Riel, the miller of St. Boniface whose son Louis was prominent in Red River troubles twenty years later. The elder Riel was assisted by a committee composed of Benjamin Lajimoniere, d'Urbain Delorme, Pascal Breland, and François Bruneau.

The trial was fixed for May 17th, which happened to be Ascension Day, a holy day for Roman Catholics. However morning mass was celebrated in the cathedral of St. Boniface at eight o'clock, an hour earlier than usual, and many people attended, most of them partaking of the holy communion. After the service was over the men gathered in the churchyard, and Riel, mounting the steps of the church, made an impassioned address to them, pointing out the injustice of the restrictions surrounding the trade in furs, urging united action against the company, and advising implicit obedience to the orders of their leaders. Then about three hundred of them, mostly armed, took boats and canoes and crossed the Red River to Point Douglas. They marched in good order up to Fort Garry, which was reached shortly before the court opened at eleven o'clock. Some of their leaders went to the sheriff and told him quite frankly what they meant to do, but he seems to have contented himself with warning them against committing any acts of violence.

At eleven o'clock Major Caldwell, Judge Thom, the other magistrates, and the officials entered the court-house, the court was opened, and the case of the Hudson's Bay Company vs. Sayer was called. But the defendant was detained outside by his friends and could not appear to answer the charge against him, and so the court went on with other business for two hours. At one o'clock the case against Sayer was called again, and again he was not permitted to appear. Then the magistrates sent word to the half-breeds that they might send a deputation to watch the case on behalf of Sayer, and the offer was promptly accepted, a committee of twelve being chosen. This committee under the leadership of Riel then accompanied Sayer into the court-room, while twenty more of his friends took up a position just outside the door, and fifty others acted as a guard at the court-yard gate. A man named Sinclair had been chosen to conduct the defence of Sayer, but Riel seems to have made one or more addresses to the court, saying that the arrest of Sayer was unjust and that the whole population demanded his acquittal. Finally the fiery miller told the

judges that he would give them an hour in which to make a decision and that his friends outside would see that justice was done, if the court failed to do so.

When quiet had been restored, a jury was chosen; but when the charge against Sayer was read, he promptly pleaded guilty, and even urged his son to tell all the facts which proved the purchase of furs from an Indian. The jury could do nothing but bring in a verdict of guilty, but before sentence was pronounced Sayer's advocate proved that his client had obtained permission to deal in fur from an official of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the magistrates discharged Sayer without pronouncing any sentence. The cases against Goulet, Laronde, and McGillis were dropped; and the four men left the court-room, believing that they had been honorably acquitted and that the trade in fur would be unrestricted thereafter. At the door some one shouted, "*Le commerce est libre!*" The crowd took up the cry, and amid cheers and the firing of guns the Metis returned to St. Boniface.

The result of this trial showed the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company that the people would no longer submit to its monopoly of the fur trade. The courts, even if they gave decisions in favor of the claims of the company, had no means of enforcing them against adverse popular opinion. From that time forward, although the company did not formally renounce any of its special privileges, trade was practically free.

The trial had another result. Judge Thom realized that his usefulness as judge had ceased, and resigned his position as recorder soon after the trial. He acted as clerk of the court until he left the country to return to Scotland in 1854; and Major Caldwell seems to have acted as recorder until Judge F. G. Johnson came from Montreal in 1854 to fill the position.



## CHAPTER XXIII

### THE NEED OF MILITARY PROTECTION

The incidents connected with the Sayer trial showed that the courts of Assiniboia were powerless to enforce any decision which did not meet with popular approval, and they gave occasion for a renewal of the request that a military force, strong enough to keep the peace in times of excitement, should be sent to the settlement. At such times the local constabulary force was wholly inadequate.

Other circumstances had indicated, from time to time, the necessity of some military protection. When the first white settlers arrived in the colony, most of the Indian tribes showed themselves friendly, the genuine friendship and helpfulness of Chief Peguis and his band being manifested on many occasions. From the first Lord Selkirk recognized that the goodwill of the Indians was necessary to the prosperity of his colony, and the treaty which he made with the Ojibways and the Crees in 1817 was a measure intended to perpetuate their friendship. The friendly attitude of Peguis' Indians was always maintained, but there were occasional manifestations of hostility on the part of other bands which caused the settlers much alarm. Sometimes the enmity seemed confined to individual Indians, and may be explained by the uncertain moods of the savage; but at other times entire bands of Indians seemed animated by hostility toward the whites. In some cases the desire of plunder may have been at the bottom of their unfriendly acts; in other cases they had persuaded themselves, or had been persuaded by others, that the whites had wronged them. The enmity between the North-West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company and the depredations and bloodshed which resulted from it must have exercised a mischievous influence upon the savages. Another source of danger lay in the number of Indian races found in the country, for their intertribal quarrels often threatened the peace and safety of the settlement.

Colonel W. B. Coltman wrote from his camp at the mouth of the Winnipeg River on July 2, 1817, as follows:

"I regret to have to state that early last month (June) ten persons in the service of Lord Selkirk or the Hudson's Bay Company, who had wintered on the upper part of the main branch of the Red River, were attacked, it is supposed, either by Sioux or Assiniboine Indians on their return, and five of the number killed and three wounded; each party wishes to represent it as the result of the intrigues of the other with the Indians; this appears to be the only instance of bloodshed which has occurred in the Indian territories since the appointment of the commissioners."

Colonel Coltman seems to have considered military protection one of the

colony's greatest needs, although the difficulty of maintaining a body of soldiers in such a remote locality and the small number of people in the settlement were obstacles in the way of securing it. He therefore "recommended the appointment of constables, with the addition of a defensive force, under the name, and recognized in our old law books, of 'Watch and Ward,' to act under the chief constable, as being the best and perhaps the only legitimate mode that can be devised of providing for the security of the inhabitants, so long as they cannot participate in the direct protection of His Majesty's regular forces."

In the long struggle between the North-West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company for the control of the fur trade in Rupert's Land intoxicating liquor of the vilest quality was given and sold to the Indians more and more freely, and this practice led to many acts of violence on their part. Sir George Simpson said:

"During the baneful contest between the Hudson's Bay and the North-West Companies spirits were bartered on both sides, the Indians were demoralized, and there were continual riots and breaches of the peace."

Sir John Richardson noticed the same deplorable state of affairs. He said:

"In 1819, when I accompanied Sir John Franklin out on his first expedition, the two companies were at war. \* \* \* The Indians were spending days in drunkenness at the different posts, and a contest altogether shocking to humanity was carried on. When we went out on the second occasion, the Hudson's Bay Company, having the sole trade of the country and the sole management of the Indians, there was an improvement; spirits were no longer carried to the north, or only in small quantities."

Finally the company ceased to give or sell liquor to the natives and prohibited its importation into the country by private parties. The beneficial results of this policy were apparent at once. In his evidence before a parliamentary commission J. H. Lefroy said:

"The best preservative for the peace of the country was taken by the Hudson's Bay Company about 1832, when they stopped sending spirits into it, almost entirely."

The Crees claimed the Red River country as their own and regarded the Saulteaux, who came to the country much later, as interlopers; but Lord Selkirk, by including the Saulteaux in the treaty which he made, seemed to recognize their title to the lands which his settlers had occupied. This angered the Crees, and for some years after the treaty had been signed they threatened at intervals to expel the Saulteaux from the country, unless the names of these new-comers were expunged from the treaty and all the payments of tobacco were made to themselves. If the Crees had attempted to carry out these threats, the settlers would have suffered, and so they were alarmed every time the Crees resurrected their old grievance.

Another cause of alarm lay in the enmity which existed between the Saulteaux and the Sioux. During the summer of 1834 a party of Sioux, led by a chief called Burning Earth, came to Fort Garry ostensibly on a visit. As Mr. Thomas Simpson says in his account of the affair, "All went on pleasantly till the evening, when a large party of Saulteaux galloped suddenly into the court. They were completely armed, and breathed fury and revenge, having lost forty of their relatives by an attack of the Sioux a year or two before. We instantly



KILLARNEY LAKE





stationed a strong guard for the defence of the strangers who had thrown themselves on our hospitality. The great difficulty was now to get the strangers safely home again. We supplied them with provisions, some tobacco, clothing, and ammunition. \* \* \* Parisien and his half-breeds undertook to conduct the Sioux safely out into the open plains, where they might set their bush-fighting foes at defiance." Parisien and his fifty-three Metis got the Sioux safely across the Assiniboine River; but when some of the excited Saulteaux attempted to follow, Mr. Simpson and one or two other whites ordered them to return, threatening to shoot them if they did not obey. This action was misunderstood by both parties of Indians, and a murderous affray was narrowly averted. "If you are so fond of shooting," said one Indian to the whites, "come on, and we will fight it out."

Two years later a larger party of Sioux came north to Fort Garry. The leader, a chief named Ulaneta or Wannatah, had two hundred and fifty men with him; but when he came near to the fort, he left one hundred and eighty of his followers in ambush and entered with seventy only. They were received kindly and dismissed as soon as possible, and as none of the Saulteaux appeared, there was no trouble. Incidents of this kind, showing that hostilities between Indian tribes might break out at any time, fully justified the governor and his council in deciding to organize a volunteer force in 1835.

The Metis buffalo hunters were obliged to cross the country occupied by the Sioux in making the journey to and from their hunting-grounds, and so it was important that their relations with that fierce tribe should be as friendly as possible. This friendship between the half-breeds and the Sioux helped to prevent outbreaks between the latter and the Saulteaux. But in 1840 the Sioux became less friendly, and year after year some of the hunters were killed by them. At last the Metis began to retaliate, killing some of the Indians and plundering others. This went on for four years, but in 1844 the Sioux asked for peace. The correspondence over the matter, which has been preserved, was conducted by four chiefs—The Earth Which Burns, The Thunder That Rings, The Black Bull, and The Sun—on behalf of their tribesmen, and by Cuthbert Grant on behalf of the Metis. It resulted in an agreement between both parties to forget the past and to keep the peace in future.

To celebrate the conclusion of this treaty a party of Sioux came to Fort Garry early in the summer of 1844. The Saulteaux seem to have been a party to the treaty and did not molest their old enemies during their visit.

A second party of Sioux came down to the fort on August 31. The visitors were well entertained, and after a time they crossed the river to St. Boniface to view the new cathedral. While they were absent, the Saulteaux gathered at Fort Garry; but they showed no signs of hostility, and whites and Indians mingled in the crowd which gathered on the bank of the river to await the return of the Sioux. No sooner, however, had the Sioux landed than a shot was fired. The bullet killed the Sioux against whom it was aimed, passed through his body and killed a Saulteau grazing a white man in its passage. There was much confusion; but the Saulteaux dispersed at once, and the Sioux were lodged inside the fort. When an inquiry was instituted, the murderer was found to be a Saulteau. He had not sought safety in flight with the others and was soon found and committed to prison. He coolly admitted that he had fired the shot, saying, "The Sioux killed my brother and wounded myself last year; from

that moment I vowed revenge; that revenge I have now taken and am satisfied. Do with me what you like."

Doubtless the action of this Indian was justified by the ethical standards of his people, but the authorities in the Red River Settlement felt the necessity of making the natives understand that they must conform to the law of the white man. So the Indian was tried before a jury, and as there was no question as to his guilt, he was condemned to be hung. The sentence was carried out on September 6, 1845, the first case of capital punishment in the history of the colony. It was feared that the Indians and their sympathizers might make a disturbance, and five hundred armed horsemen were called together to act as a guard. There was no disorder, however, and the lesson does not seem to have been lost upon the Indians.

It is possible that this affair had something to do with the sending of a small body of regular troops to Red River, although they were sent out with sealed orders and no one seems to know the purpose of the war office. Some have supposed that the British government feared that the attitude of the people of the United States in regard to the "Oregon Boundary" might lead to some overt act against the Red River colony, but there is little reason for this supposition beyond a line in the journal of the officer who commanded the force. This force consisted of three hundred and five men of the Sixth Royal Regiment of Foot, twenty-six artillerymen, and twelve sappers; and it was accompanied by seventeen women and nineteen children. Colonel John Crofton was in command. The expedition was embarked on the *Blenheim* and the *Crocodile* at Cork on June 25, 1846, and sailed the next day. The *Blenheim* reached York Factory on August 8, and her sister ship arrived five days later. The force was sent up the Hayes River in four brigades, the first starting on August 16, and by September 19 all had reached Lower Fort Garry. The sappers and one hundred and fifty men of the Sixth were left there under command of Captain Sullivan, and the remainder of the force was stationed at Upper Fort Garry.

There does not seem to have been any occasion for employing these men in active service during their stay in the country; but their time was occupied with drills and amusements as far as possible. The colonel organized classes for instructing them in reading and writing during the winter months. He also aided Judge Thom in an attempt to establish a "Colonial Library." The winter seems to have been unusually long and severe, and some of the poorer people of the colony required assistance. The colonel's journal shows that he found the weather, the country, and its inhabitants very little to his liking, and that he looked forward anxiously to the coming of spring when he could be relieved of his command and return to England. Major Griffiths arrived and took over the command of the troops on June 15, 1847; and two weeks later Colonel Crofton left the Red River Settlement for Canada, going by the old route of the fur traders. During his stay in the colony Colonel Crofton acted as its governor and occupied a seat in the Council of Assiniboia, and Major Griffiths succeeded to both these positions as well as to the command of the troops.

The soldiers of the Sixth Royals seem to have conducted themselves so as to win the respect of the settlers, and their presence in the colony brought a sense of security to its people. When the force was recalled in 1848 about a

dozen of its members elected to remain in the settlement. At least three of these—Charles Lant, Richard Salter, and James Irwin—lived to be old men, the last having passed away in Winnipeg only a few years ago.

Before leaving Fort Garry Colonel Crofton wrote:

“It is obvious that veterans would, in a country like this, be the best force, and, by permitting them to settle in the colony, a loyal and martial feeling would grow up, and the colony would be able to resist any hostile attack.”

Still later the colonel made the following suggestion:

“The officers and men of a regiment of the line, I am convinced, are less suited for Red River than colonial companies would be.”

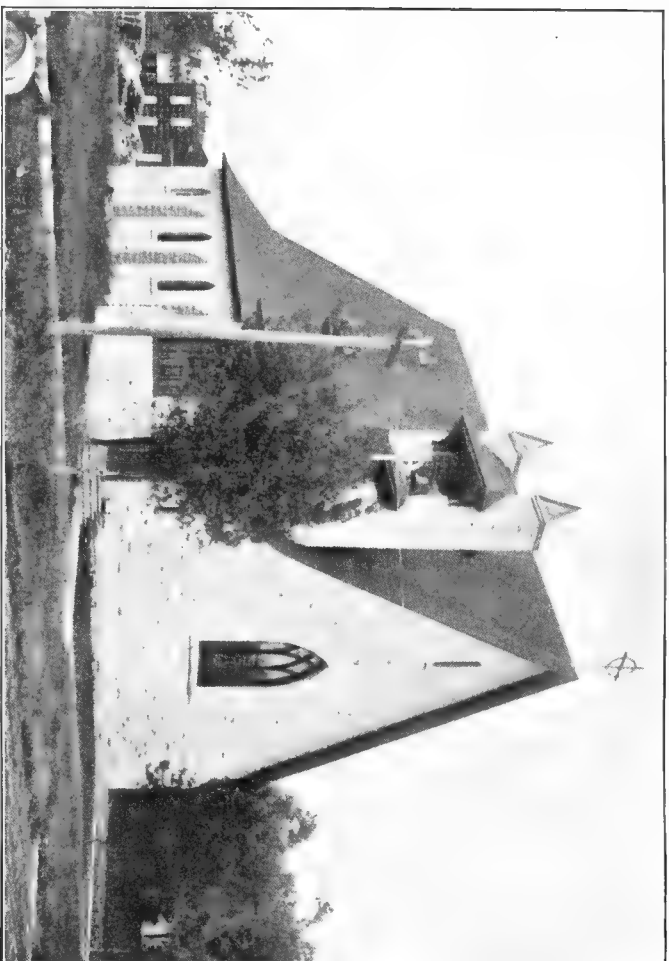
Both of Colonel Crofton's suggestions seem to have been adopted in turn. The Royals were succeeded by seventy pensioners under the command of Major Caldwell, who acted as governor for seven years. This force was wholly inadequate, even for suppressing local disturbances, as was shown in the Sayer affair a year after the old soldiers arrived at Fort Garry. Moreover the conduct of many of them was too much like that of the de Meuron soldiers, who came to the settlement thirty years earlier, to make them a desirable element in the community. After the Sayer trial nothing seems to have seriously disturbed the peace of the settlement until 1851, when Governor Ramsey of Minnesota visited Pembina and concluded a treaty with the Indians for the purchase of a large tract of land on the upper Red River. This treaty caused considerable excitement among the Metis of the Red River Settlement, who considered themselves the rightful owners of the disputed lands at Pembina because of their efforts to make a settlement there. The excitement seems to have spent itself in talk, however. The pensioners' term of service expired in 1855, and for the next two years there were no troops in the colony; but in 1857 the second of Colonel Crofton's suggestions was tried, and several companies of Canadian Rifles were sent to Fort Garry, where they remained for about four years. In August, 1861, these men were sent down to York Factory, where they took ship for a port in Canada.

In 1862 the peace of the Red River Settlement was again disturbed by the hostility of Indians, although on this occasion the Indians were living in the United States. The Sioux resident in Minnesota had ceded their lands to the government by a treaty and were entitled to certain annual payments of money in return. Several thousands of the natives gathered at the usual places for receiving their “treaty money” a little in advance of the regular time for its payment; but for some reason the agents did not arrive at the appointed time. Weeks passed, the Indians consumed the small quantity of provisions which they had brought with them, and having no means of securing more, they were on the verge of starvation. This was the culmination of a long list of grievances, and having waited six weeks, a band of Sioux under their chief, Little Crow, made an attack upon Fort Ridgeley and the neighboring town of New Ulm. The town was destroyed, and this outbreak was followed by a general rising of the tribe and the massacre of the white settlers along the Minnesota and Sauk Rivers. It is estimated that one thousand five hundred settlers were killed. Houses were burned, crops were destroyed, and the whole country was devastated. Of course the surviving settlers retaliated, and their acts were scarcely less barbarous than those of the savages.

The stage route which led from Fort Garry to the towns of the upper Mississippi passed through the district in which the enraged Sioux were committing their depredations. One of the stage coaches was attacked by them, and the passengers were killed; so communication by stage was suspended at once. Fort Abercrombie was besieged by a large body of Indians, although it held out successfully against them; and it was thought that they would capture Georgetown, where the Hudson's Bay Company had a post. Messrs. Murray and Kittson, the men in charge of the post, decided to put all their portable goods on a river steamer and leave the buildings to their fate. But the water in the river was so low that the steamer grounded, and then a part of her cargo was transferred to a barge, and the rest was sent north in carts. The barge reached Fort Garry safely in due time, but the train of carts was not so fortunate. At the junction of Red Lake River and the Red River about seven hundred and fifty Chippewa Indians were waiting for the arrival of Mr. Dole, a commissioner sent by the United States government to make a treaty with them for the surrender of some of their lands. The goods which he had intended to distribute among them were in Fort Abercrombie, which was surrounded by the Sioux, and so were not available. When the disappointed Chippewas saw the train of carts loaded with the goods which Messrs. Murray and Kittson were taking to the Hudson's Bay Company's store at Fort Garry, they demanded from these gentlemen the supplies which Commissioner Dole was unable to give them. When their request was not granted, they pillaged the train and carried off goods worth about £2,000.

Fortunately these disturbances in Minnesota did not occur until quite late in the summer, and most of the season's freighting had been done; but nevertheless the interruption to trade and to communication with the outside world was quite a serious matter for the Red River Settlement. There was also danger that the Indians living north of the international boundary would be incited to acts of violence by the hostile movements of their friends south of it. The feeling of uneasiness was intensified by a rumor that the Sioux of Minnesota intended to pay a friendly visit to Fort Garry. So real did the danger appear to the people of Red River that Governor Dallas called his council together on October 30, 1862, to discuss the matter. It was decided to send a petition from the settlers to the colonial secretary, pointing out the danger of a disturbance by the Indians and asking that troops be sent for the protection of the colony. Meetings were held in different places throughout the settlement, and the petition was signed by one thousand one hundred and eighty-three persons, more than half of them being French and half-breeds. Some of the more outspoken opponents of the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company took advantage of the occasion to aim a blow at that corporation by sending an independent petition for troops, with which they coupled a complaint in regard to the company's government of the colony. Both petitions were sent to the colonial secretary by mail, and both were disregarded, the colony being left to its own resources for protection against enemies to its peace, either within or without its borders.

The threatened visit of the Sioux was made in December. There were eighty-six in the party. They were housed in the court-house and treated well by the officials of Fort Garry, and after three days they returned to the neighborhood of Devil's Lake. This visit renewed the alarm of the colonists, and in the spring four hundred and fifty of them signed a petition to the Governor and



ST. MARY'S CHURCH (ANGELICAN), PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE



Council of Assiniboia, asking that a local militia be established. Some preliminary steps toward the organization of such a force were taken, but the plan was not carried to completion. In August another band of Sioux, numbering eighty, came north under the leadership of their chief, Little Crow, and demanded food and ammunition from the authorities at Fort Garry. They received the former only, and after a few days they departed with the buffalo hunters for the plains. Father André, the priest who accompanied the hunters that summer, had considerable influence with the Sioux, and he tried to persuade them to submit to General Sibley, the officer in command of the force sent to subdue them; but he was not successful. Later in the year Senator Ramsay of Minnesota concluded a treaty with many of the bands of Chippewas, by which they relinquished their claims to a large area of land in consideration of receiving a sum of money mounting into the millions; and this simplified the problem of dealing with the Sioux.

Late in 1863 the United States government placed a garrison at Pembina, Major Hatch being in command. Its presence scared the Sioux away from the vicinity, and some six hundred of them came north and camped at Sturgeon Creek, a few miles west of Fort Garry. They were most unwelcome visitors, for the crops of the summer had been very light and the winter was unusually severe, and the settlers could ill afford to feed six hundred starving Indians. There was talk of driving them away by force, and negotiations for their removal were opened with Major Hatch. Some of their chiefs were kidnapped and taken south; but Major Hatch's force was not strong enough to compel the others to follow their chiefs, even if international difficulties had not stood in the way of such a proceeding. The officials at Fort Garry gave the Indians some food, and they consented to go to Minnesota without compulsion and started away early in the new year. They went no further than White Horse Plains, however; and after enduring great privation there for a time, they scattered over the country in search of food, some going to Lake Manitoba to fish. The gifts of food made to the Sioux had roused the enmity of the Saulteaux, who were also on the verge of starvation, and it led to a collision between the two races at Lake Winnipeg. The Sioux killed a Saulteau, and in retaliation the Saulteaux attacked their enemies, killing six of them and fatally wounding fourteen more. The Sioux realized that they were not in a friendly country, and most of them went south with the buffalo hunters during the summer.

The departure of this band did not mean a cessation of Sioux visits by any means, for in August four bands of these savages, led by chiefs Standing Buffalo, Turning Thunder, Charger, and Leaf, came north to Red River Settlement. There were about 3,000 people in the four bands, and their presence in the country was a serious matter. Governor Mactavish met them at Portage la Prairie and endeavored to dissuade them from coming to Fort Garry; but in this he was only partially successful, for some persisted in making the journey. It was found that many of them were willing to follow the advice which Governor Dallas had given to a large number of their fellow tribesmen along the Missouri the year before, which was to make their peace with the government of the United States. They were given supplies of food, and finally they withdrew from the country, but not without committing some depredations. Their visit revived the agitation in favor of establishing a local militia, but nothing



practical was done in the matter.

In June, 1866, Standing Buffalo came to Portage la Prairie on another visit. After he went back to the plains, some of his people who remained went to Fort Garry. They had started on the return journey when they were set upon by a band of Red Lake Indians and four of their number were killed and horribly mutilated. More of the Sioux would probably have been killed, if some of the settlers had not interfered. As it seemed likely that the Sioux would seek revenge, a special meeting of the Council of Assiniboia was called, and the governor was authorized to enroll an armed and mounted force of about a hundred men among the settlers, which would either escort the Sioux across the boundary or compel them to keep the peace if they remained in the country. It was not necessary for this force to take any action, for the Sioux did not attempt to revenge themselves upon the Saulteaux.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### THE COMPANY AND THE PEOPLE

The dissatisfaction of the people of the Red River Settlement with the form of government under which they lived, their sense of the injustice of some of the laws of the Hudson's Bay Company, and their lack of respect for the courts which it had established had been shown again and again, notably in the Sayer trial. While the demonstration against the company on that occasion was confined to the French and Metis, these had the sympathy of nearly all the inhabitants of the colony in their efforts to break the company's monopoly.

The results of that trial were soon apparent. There was an immediate increase in the number of independent traders doing business in all parts of the settlement. Furs were soon included in the articles bought and sold by these traders, and expeditions were fitted out by them and sent to distant parts of the country to trade with the Indians. In 1861 Mr. Andrew McDermott sent two boats laden with goods into the distant interior, and three other private merchants sent out one boat-load each. The Hudson's Bay Company no longer invoked the aid of the law against these competitors, but it tried to compel them to quit the field by employing all the advantages which a great corporation has over rivals possessing small means. Nevertheless the independent traders prospered and multiplied.

Perhaps the trade which showed the most remarkable growth was that between the Red River Settlement and the towns of Minnesota. It had been inaugurated by the half-breeds, who found in these towns a market for the surplus products of the buffalo hunt after the small demand at Fort Garry had been supplied. A large part of this business remained in their hands for many years; and even when the goods exchanged were bought and sold by whites, the work of freighting them north and south was done almost entirely by half-breeds. For years the transportation over this route was done by carts drawn by oxen or ponies, and after a time the same method of transportation was adopted in sending goods to distant points west of Fort Garry. Thus freighting became an important industry in the colony. At one time no less than 1,500 carts were employed between Fort Garry and St. Paul, and on this route and the western routes nearly 700 men were employed.

As facilities for transporting merchandise from the Atlantic seaboard to Minnesota improved, a larger percentage of the goods used by the people of Red River was brought into the colony by the Minnesota route; and in time the Hudson's Bay Company itself imported a good deal of its merchandise by this route rather than by the way of York Factory. Soon the volume of trade had increased to such an extent that better means of transportation than

the Red river cart became necessary, and steamers of light draft were built and launched upon the Red River. The Hudson's Bay Company seems to have been the leading promoter of this new enterprise. The first of these steamers, the *Anson Northrup*, was launched upon the Red River in 1859, and started on her initial trip to Fort Garry on June 3rd. A larger steamer, the *International*, was built in 1861. She was one hundred and fifty feet long, drew only forty-two inches of water, and her registered tonnage was one hundred and thirty-three tons. She made her first trip from Georgetown to Fort Garry in seven days and arrived at the latter place on May 26, 1862. Among her passengers were the family and servants of Governor Dallas, Mr. John Black who was to act as recorder of the colony, the bishop of St. Boniface and a number of his clergy, and about one hundred and sixty people from Canada, most of whom intended to take the overland route to the Cariboo gold-fields. But the length of the *International* made her less useful than her builders hoped she would be, and in dry seasons the water in the river often became too low for any steamer to make the trip up or down; so the building of river steamers did not entirely deprive the half-breed freighters of their occupation.

The energy of the people of the Red River Settlement was bringing the colony into closer touch with the rest of the world, and at the same time explorers were traversing the country and carrying to other lands information in regard to its wonderful resources. Lieut. Franklin, afterwards Sir John Franklin, with Dr. Richardson and a party of assistants, explored the northern part of what is now Manitoba during the summer of 1819 and spent the following winter on the Saskatchewan. Then he went down the Coppermine and spent nearly two years exploring the Arctic coast. He passed through Red River again in 1825. The expedition sent by the United States government in 1823 under Major Stephen Long and Mr. Wm. H. Keating, a geologist, to determine the exact position of the international boundary from the Lake of the Woods westward, furnished much exact information about the district which it traversed, and the two volumes from Mr. Keating's pen which embody it are full of interest. An expedition sent out by the British government in 1834 under Capt. George Back passed through Red River on its way north to search for Capt. John Ross and his party.

In 1836 the Hudson's Bay Company fitted out an exploring expedition, putting Mr. Thomas Simpson and Mr. Peter W. Dease in charge of it, and sent it north and west from Fort Garry. In 1842 Lieut. Henry Lefroy was sent out from England to make a scientific survey of Rupert's Land. He landed at Montreal, travelled to Fort Garry by the old canoe route of the fur traders, and after a careful examination of the Red River valley and the shore of Lake Winnipeg, went down to York Factory. Having explored a part of the coast of the bay, he returned to Norway House and passed up the Saskatchewan. He wintered at Fort Chippewayan and afterward went on to the west and north. The British government sent several expeditions north by way of Red River in the long search for the lost Franklin party, which sailed from England in 1845 and never returned. The expedition, which was sent out under Capt. John Palliser in 1857 for the exploration of Rupert's Land, spent some time in Red River Settlement on its way west. In the same year the Canadian government sent a party under Mr. George Gladman, with Prof. Henry Hind and

Mr. S. J. Dawson as assistants, to make a careful survey of the country around the Red River Settlement. Its work occupied nearly two years. In the year 1859 Mr. Robert Kennicott of the Smithsonian Institute went to the Yukon in search of scientific information and returned by the way of Red River in 1862. In the same year Viscount Milton and Dr. Cheadle passed through the settlement on their adventurous journey through the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific.

The reports of these explorers and other visitors from the outside world, who carried information about the Red River country to their homes, helped to bring new settlers to the colony, and by 1866 its population must have been nearly ten thousand. The growing population, the increased trade, the greater ease of communication with the outside world by a route to the south, all tended to render the colony less dependent on the Hudson's Bay Company and to make the people more eager for self-government. And yet events happened occasionally which showed that the colony must still rely on the company for help in times of stress.

The fair treatment which the Indians all over the country had received at the hands of the company and their dependence upon it must have helped to secure for the settlers immunity from the depredations of the savages; and the frequent visits of parties of Sioux from Minnesota might have had calamitous results for the colony, if these restless and excitable red men had been treated less kindly and less wisely by the company's officials at Fort Garry. It spent many hundreds of pounds in feeding these unwelcome visitors from the south and prevented complications which might have made serious trouble for both Great Britain and the United States; and yet, in several cases, neither government reimbursed it for the outlay.

When misfortune overtook the settlement, the Hudson's Bay Company stood ready to aid the suffering people; and such occasions were not infrequent. There was a bad flood in the spring of 1852. On May 7th the water in the Red River rose eight feet above the high water mark of ordinary years. The first rise took place in the night, and the houses of the settlement were surrounded by water before the occupants were aware of the danger which threatened them. Soon the country for three miles on either side of the river was inundated. At first the people took refuge in the upper rooms of their houses and on stages hastily constructed; but as the water continued to rise, they were forced to abandon these places of refuge for the few points in the neighborhood whose elevation kept them above the flood. By the 12th of the month half the settlement along the river was under water, and for twenty-two miles along the stream every house was submerged, and all fences and loose material had been swept away. By the 22nd the flood was at its highest, being only one and a half feet lower than the bad inundation of 1826. About 3,500 people had to leave their homes and flee to the open country, where they had few tents, a small quantity of fuel, and an insufficient supply of food. Fortunately only one person was drowned. But many horses, cattle, and pigs were drowned before they could be conveyed to places of safety, and some dwellings, barns, and outbuildings were swept away, as well as most of the farmers' carts and lighter implements. The total loss was estimated at £25,000. It was June 12th before the people could return to their homes, and then it was too late to sow wheat,

although some barley was sown and some potatoes were planted. Mr. Colville, the governor, did everything in his power to alleviate the sufferings of the people, and in this he was cordially assisted by the clergymen of the settlement.

The colony recovered from this disaster more quickly than might have been expected. Bishop Anderson, writing of this flood and comparing it with that of 1826, says:

“Though there is greater suffering and loss, there is greater elasticity and power to bear, as also larger means to meet it. In 1826, the settlement was then in its infancy, there were but few cattle; a single boat is said to have transported all in the middle district in one forenoon; now each settler of the better stamp has a large stock. The one whose record of the first flood we had read at home, who had then but one cow, has now, after all his losses, fifty or sixty head. Then, too, there was but little grain, and the pressure of want was felt even when the waters were rising. Their dependence throughout was on the scanty supply of fish or what might be procured by the gun. Now there is a large amount of grain in private hands, and, even with the deduction of the land which is this year rendered useless, a far larger number of acres under cultivation. In this light it is comparatively less severe; the whole of the cultivated land was then under water, and nearly all of the houses carried off by it. It was, as many have called it, a cleaner sweep. But there were then few houses or farms below the middle church or on the Assiniboine above the upper fort; the rapids and the Indian settlement were still in the wildness of nature. In 1826, a larger number of those who were unattached to the soil and without ties in the country left the settlement. Since that a large population has sprung up who are bound by birth to the land and look to it as their home, whose family ties and branches are spread over and root themselves in its very soil, making a happy and contented population proud of the land of their birth. Compared with the flood of 1826, the flood of 1852 will occupy a larger space in the public mind. Instead of a few solitary settlers, unknown and almost forgotten by their fellowmen, they are now parts of a mighty system linked by sympathy and interest to other lands.”

In 1861 there was another flood, although it was not so destructive as that which devastated the settlement nine years earlier. It led to a great scarcity of grain in the following year. Mr. Joseph J. Hargrave says, “The spring of 1862 was a period of starvation in Red River Settlement. Daily dozens of starving people besieged the office of the gentleman in charge at Fort Garry, asking for food, and later in the season for seed wheat. By a grant of eight hundred bushels of wheat, allowed by the Governor and Council of Assiniboia, the bulk of the poorer classes were supplied with seed and grain to feed them until, with the spring, the means of gaining a livelihood became available.”

In 1862 there was a fairly good crop, although some damage was done by a hail-storm in August. In the following year the crops were greatly injured by a severe drought, and the prices of produce were very high in consequence. Wheat sold for 12 shillings per bushel and flour for 30 shillings per hundred-weight. The summer of 1864 was also very dry and very hot. The *International* could make but one trip during the season owing to low water. Hargrave says, “The drought prevailed until the middle of July, when rain for the first time visited the parched ground. With it, unfortunately, arrived



TOWN HALL, HARTNEY



MAIN STREET, HARTNEY



swarms of locusts (grasshoppers) which with terrible voracity cleared away the rising crops."

The stock, property, and rights of the Hudson's Bay Company had been sold to a new corporation in 1863; but the new company retained the name, traditions, and, to a great extent, the methods of the old company. Its relations to the settlers were much the same as those of the older organization had been. Two of its ships were wrecked in Hudson Bay during 1864, the cargo of one being an entire loss while that of the other was a partial loss. For this reason the company had to bring more than the usual amount of freight over the Minnesota route. As Hargrave says:

"The mischief done by the grasshoppers spoiled the harvest, but the fisheries and the plain hunts continued to supply the people with food, and the low water in the river, which had prevented the steamboat running, necessitated the employment of a vast number of Red River carts by the Company's freight contractors, thus supplying the numerous settlers possessed of moderate means, who owned the vehicles, with profitable employment during summer for themselves and their cattle. Indeed, the mishaps which hitherto prevented the working of this steamer proved great windfalls to the people. In former times the freight, which now comes by St. Paul, passed to its destination by the York route, and the cash disbursed in purchasing its transport between the bay and the settlement, being paid to the Red River tripmen who worked the boats, circulated in the colony, while the sums disbursed to the St. Paul contractors of late years have been paid in bills of exchange on the Board of the Company in London, which, being negotiated in the United States, cut off a large outlet of the local cash currency formerly flowing from the Company's strong box. The St. Paul contractors, being unable to run the steamer, were compelled to engage freighters at Red River to travel to Georgetown, there to meet the goods brought thither from St. Paul by their own people, over that portion of their freight route intended, at the time of arranging the terms of their contract, to be traversed by land carriage. Large importations of grain were brought from Minnesota, and the local duty thereon was repealed by the Council of Assiniboia. In consequence of these circumstances anything approaching a famine was averted."

An unusual misfortune befell the colony in 1865. Typhus fever had been brought to York Factory some time before by passengers who came out on the *Prince of Wales*, and from that port the deadly disease spread south to the Red River Settlement and carried off a large number of the people during the summer. During the spring swarms of grasshoppers again swept over the settlement, doing great damage to the young crops; but the season was a favorable one, the harvest was much greater than had been anticipated. In 1866 the crops were unusually good, although the grasshoppers did some damage in restricted areas.

In the autumn of 1867 the whole country was overrun by swarms of grasshoppers, which deposited their eggs everywhere. When these eggs were hatched in the spring, the young insects devoured everything green and completely ruined the crops. Starvation threatened the colonists, for not only were the crops destroyed, but the buffalo hunt failed, few fish could be caught, and small game disappeared. The outlook had not been darker for many years;



but appeals for aid made by the local newspaper and the press of Canada and letters on the situation from the Earl of Kimberley and others which appeared in the *London Times* met with a generous response, and aid was sent from all sides. The Council of Assiniboia immediately came to the assistance of the colonists, voting £600 for the purchase of seed wheat, £500 for flour, and £500 for the purchase of ammunition, twine, and hooks to be given to the settlers who wished to use them in procuring game and fish. The Hudson's Bay Company sent £2,000 from London, and private benefactors in England sent £1,000 more. The government of Ontario voted \$5,000 for the relief of the sufferers, and the private contributions from various parts of Canada were most liberal, while people in the United States gave \$5,000 to help their neighbors north of the boundary line through a year of scarcity. A committee, composed of the governor, the bishops, and a number of the other prominent residents, was organized to distribute the supplies. As the flour and other food supplies for the distressed settlers had to be brought from St. Paul, many of them were given employment in hauling these provisions across the prairie, the freight being paid in supplies for their families. This work kept them busy until the early part of the new year.

## CHAPTER XXV

### THE INCREASING UNREST

Dissatisfaction with the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company seems to have been stronger among people who had recently come to the Red River Settlement from Canada and the United States, where they had been accustomed to self-government, than among the old settlers, who had passed most of their lives in the colony. The growing discontent with the company's government was increased by a new power in the land, that of the press. In 1859 two gentlemen from Canada, Messrs. William Buckingham and William Caldwell, brought a printing press to Fort Garry, and on December 28th of that year the first number of their newspaper, the *Nor'-Wester*, appeared. It was published fortnightly, and the subscription price was twelve shillings per year. The price was soon reduced to ten shillings, and after a time the paper became a weekly. The year which brought the first newspaper to Fort Garry also brought Dr. John Schultz, who was to become Sir John Schultz and governor of Manitoba later; and for several years Dr. Schultz and the *Nor'-Wester* were closely connected. In 1860 Mr. Buckingham retired from the management of the paper, and his place was taken by Mr. James Ross, who edited it for some time; but in 1864 Ross sold his interest in the journal to Dr. Schultz, and in the next year the latter bought Mr. Caldwell's interest and so became sole proprietor of the paper. He retained control of it for several years.

Under the editorship of Mr. Ross the *Nor'-Wester* had opposed the government of the Hudson's Bay Company and had criticised the acts of the Council of Assiniboia, notwithstanding the fact that its editor held the positions of sheriff, governor of the jail, and postmaster from the council. When his censures became more severe, the council deprived him of all these posts, Mr. Henry McKenney being made sheriff and governor of the jail and Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne being appointed postmaster. Thereupon Mr. Ross' opposition to the company's government became more vigorous than ever, and it was not confined to articles in his newspaper by any means. He called meetings of the people in various parts of the settlement, made addresses, and conducted a very active campaign against the methods of government adopted by the company. It was proposed to send him to England with a petition from the people, asking the imperial authorities to provide a new form of government for the Red River colony; but this plan was modified, and Mr. Sandford Fleming was selected to represent the discontented settlers before the British ministers.

When the *Nor'-Wester* passed into the hands of Dr. Schultz, its demands for self-government for the colony and its attacks on the Hudson's Bay Company became more vigorous and more persistent. In November, 1866, Mr. Clare, the

7 chief factor of the company at Fort Garry, died while on his way to England. This left a vacant seat in the Council of Assiniboia, and the *Nor'-Wester* at once proposed that the vacancy should be filled by a man selected by the people, suggesting Dr. Schultz as the most suitable representative. A petition was drawn up, signed by a number of the people, and presented to the council, asking that body to elect Dr. Schultz as one of its members. In reply, Mr. Smith, the secretary of the council, informed the petitioners, that the members of the Council of Assiniboia were appointed by the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company and that the petition would be transmitted to that body in London. Mr. Smith added that a counter-petition had been presented by some of the citizens of the colony and that it, too, would be sent to the head office of the company for consideration.

The failure of this attempt to secure a seat for Dr. Schultz in the Council of Assiniboia gave the *Nor'-Wester* fresh occasion for attacks upon that body. It declared that the officials of the company, who were the dominating element in the council, cared little for the welfare of the people, being anxious only to promote the commercial success of the company; that many of the people were "openly discussing the propriety of taking the government from its present hands into their own;" and that the time was close at hand when representatives of the people would have seats in the governing council of the land as a matter of right and justice, not as a favor from a commercial corporation.

Incidents were not lacking to show that the Council of Assiniboia was no longer qualified to make or administer the laws of the colony, and the *Nor'-Wester* did not fail to use them in support of its contentions. Such an incident occurred in 1863. In December, 1862, a clergyman named Corbett was arrested, charged with a serious crime. This man had given strong evidence against the Hudson's Bay Company in the parliamentary investigation into its affairs in the year 1857, and his friends claimed that his arrest seven years later was an act of retaliation, instigated by the company. The trial began on February 19, 1863, and after a long hearing, the jury found him guilty, and he was sentenced to six months imprisonment. Early in April a petition, signed by 420 people, was presented to the governor and Council of Assiniboia, asking for Corbett's release on the ground that he had borne a good character previous to his arrest, that he had done good work among his parishioners, that he had already been sufficiently punished, and that his health would be endangered by further confinement. The governor, the members of the council, and Judge Black could see no good reason for annulling the original sentence, and so the petition was not granted. On April 20th there was a session of the petty court in one of the rooms of the building in which Corbett was confined, and an unusual number of people seemed to have been drawn thither. After the business of the court was concluded, a number of determined men gathered about the door of Corbett's cell, overawed the old Frenchman who acted as turnkey, and broke open the prison door. Corbett, who seemed fully prepared to leave the place, stepped out of his prison and was immediately escorted to his home in Headingly.

James Stewart, the master of the parochial school at St. James, was known to be one of the leaders of the party which released Corbett. Warrants for the arrest of this man and twelve of his associates were issued at once, and on the



SIR JOHN SCHULTZ



following day Stewart was lodged in the very cell from which he had liberated Corbett. On that afternoon two of his friends, William Hallett and John Bourke, both men of considerable influence among one section of the people, visited Governor Dallas to ask that Stewart be set free and that no further action be taken against his accomplices. When the governor explained that he had no power to grant their petition, they assured him that, if the authorities did not release Stewart, his friends would set him free by force. On the next day, April 22nd, a large force of constables was sworn in to guard the prison, and a special meeting of the council was called. Some of Stewart's friends appeared before it and repeated the request for his release, while some fifty others waited outside. When the deputation came out and reported to the waiting men that their request had been refused, the whole party moved over to the prison, pulled down the pickets which inclosed the prison yard, broke open the jail, and liberated their friend. The authorities made no effort to prevent this lawless proceeding, and the freed prisoner and his rescuers went to their homes in triumph.

No attempt was made to recapture Corbett, and about a year later he left the country. A few days after Stewart's liberation the justices of the peace addressed a letter to the governor, recounting the circumstances of his arrest and rescue and advising that no further action against him or the other rioters be taken, inasmuch as the sentences of the courts could not be enforced. They also pointed out that, without a force acting under the direct authority of the queen, justice could not be administered except in suits which had no public interest. This was an explicit confession that the settlement had outgrown the form of government which had prevailed in it up to that time, and the *Nor'-Wester* made the most of the admission.

About five years later the weakness of the government of the colony was shown again, and this time Dr. Schultz himself was a prominent figure in the incident. Soon after his arrival in the Red River Settlement Dr. Schultz became a partner of Mr. Henry McKenney, a near relative who was carrying on a business in the little village which was growing up outside the walls of Fort Garry. The partnership was dissolved in the autumn of 1864, the business being continued by Dr. Schultz, while Mr. McKenney became sheriff of the colony and governor of the jail. Before all the partnership accounts had been settled several suits were instituted in the courts of the colony, and these suits, in one form or another, reappeared for about four years. In 1866 one of the principal creditors of the firm secured judgments against both McKenney and Schultz. The former paid the claim against him, but the judgment against the latter was not met, and finally the creditor in whose favor the judgment had been given decided to enforce it.

On the morning of January 17, 1868, Mr. McKenney, in his capacity as sheriff and accompanied by two constables, went to the store of Dr. Schultz to obtain payment of the debt or to seize sufficient goods to satisfy the judgment. His efforts to secure a quiet settlement of the matter having failed, the sheriff directed the constable to seize certain goods in the store; but the proprietor tried to prevent them, and a scuffle followed which resulted in the arrest of the doctor. He was bound, conveyed to Fort Garry, brought before Mr. Roger Goulet, a justice of the peace, and charged with assaulting an officer of

the law in the discharge of his duty. The magistrate, believing that the evidence justified the charge, committed the prisoner to jail to stand his trial at the next session of the court.

In the meantime incidents, not unlike the action of a comic opera, had occurred at the doctor's store. The sheriff had left a constable named Mulligan in charge there; but Mrs. Schultz ordered him to leave the premises. He felt that he had a public duty to perform and refused to desert his post; whereupon the lady had all the doors barred and the window shutters nailed fast, effectually preventing the exit of the constable and the re-entry of the sheriff. Without food, fire or light, the imprisoned constable kept watch over the goods until night came and, with it, a relieving party. Soon after midnight a party of excited men proceeded to the jail at Fort Garry in which Dr. Schultz had been incarcerated, overpowered the jailer and constables who were trying to barricade the door, broke into the cell, and took the prisoner to his home.

No further attempt to arrest Dr. Schultz was made, nor was any action taken against the men who had broken into the jail to liberate him. On January 23rd a meeting of the Council of Assiniboia was held at which the critical condition of affairs in the settlement was discussed, and a resolution was adopted, providing for the enrollment of one hundred special constables, some of whom might be organized into a permanent force if necessary. At a later meeting of the council the special constables were summoned to meet at the court-house on February 10th, when it was expected that the Schultz case would come before the court again, and a large number of them assembled at that date; but the protracted suits over the affairs of McKenney and Schultz had been settled out of court a few days earlier, and so the constables were paid and dismissed. All these events furnished vantage grounds from which the *Nor'-Wester* could attack the inefficient government of the colony and advocate a change whereby members of the council would be elected by the people. All the people of the settlement, however, were not in sympathy with the action of the party which had released Dr. Schultz, and a statement that this unlawful proceeding was not approved by the majority of the citizens was drawn up, signed by 804 men, and forwarded to the council.

While these events were agitating the people in the settlements along the Red River, events were occurring in the district about Portage la Prairie, which, in spite of their comic aspects, served to show how sorely the country needed a new form of government. Quite a large settlement had grown up there; but as it was at some distance from Fort Garry, the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company was scarcely felt in the management of its public affairs. Early in 1863 a number of the residents of the district presented a petition to the Governor and Council of Assiniboia, asking that it should be included within the municipal limits of the District of Assiniboia; but in its reply the council stated that any attempt to extend its jurisdiction without adequate military support would not be likely to secure the good government which the petitioners desired. The council was anxious to help the people of Portage la Prairie and requested Governor Dallas, who was going to England in a short time, to present their case to the authorities of the Hudson's Bay Company in London. Thrown on their own resources, the people decided to organize among themselves the machinery for local self-government; and in December, 1863, acting on the

advice and under the direction of Rev. Archdeacon Cochran, they elected councillors and magistrates and organized a council and courts, whose powers and duties were similar to those of the corresponding institutions in Assiniboia. All the functionaries were to be elected by the people, however. Owing to the mixed character of the population of the settlement sectional feeling sometimes ran high, but the strong personality of Archdeacon Cochran kept the governing machinery of the district running quite smoothly until a disturbing element appeared in the person of Mr. Thomas Spence. This gentleman had arrived in the Red River Settlement in the autumn of 1866, and very soon afterwards he had made himself prominent in the political agitation which was going on at Fort Garry, taking sides with the party whose champion was Dr. Schultz. In the spring of 1867 he removed to Portage la Prairie and renewed his political activity there. In a short time he became the recognized leader of one of the factions of the district, was elected to the council, and soon became its dominant member. Through his influence some radical changes were made in the form of government and the boundaries of the district, and its name was changed from Portage la Prairie to Caledonia and subsequently to Manitoba. In January, 1868, a new council was elected, and Mr. Spence was chosen as chief magistrate or president of the new republic, which was to be quite independent of the district ruled by the Hudson's Bay Company from Fort Garry. All citizens were required to take an oath of allegiance to the new government, and the council took steps to erect public buildings, those most urgently needed being a court-house and a jail. To raise the money necessary for the construction of these buildings the council decided to levy a duty on all goods imported into the republic, and notices were served on all traders that such duties must be paid in future. But the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company at Portage la Prairie replied that he would pay no duty on goods brought to his post unless ordered to do so by the governor at Fort Garry; and the council, seeing that it was powerless to compel him to pay, contented itself with intimating that the agent would be provided with a cell in the new jail as soon as it was completed.

The new form of government and the new officials did not receive the universal respect of the citizens. A shoemaker named Macpherson had been heard to say that the money obtained by taxation was more likely to be expended in supplying beer and whiskey for the officers of the government than in erecting public buildings. When friends of the government remonstrated with him for making such derogatory statements, he repeated them with various embellishments. The council decided that such a flagrant case of *lèse-majesté* could not be passed over, and a warrant for his arrest on the charge of treason was issued. Several laughable incidents occurred in connection with the serving of the warrant, but finally Macpherson was apprehended. During the evening a session of the court was held in the house of a man named Hudson to try the case, Spence acting as the judge. During the trial a party of men entered the court and interrupted the proceedings. A squabble ensued, and when it was over, the court was in darkness, the presiding judge and president of the republic lay sprawling on the floor, and the prisoner and his friends had disappeared. An abortive attempt to re-arrest the prisoner was made the next day, and then Spence decided that he had nothing to gain by pushing the matter further. So Macpherson was given a new suit of clothes to replace that ruined during his arrest, and the matter was dropped.



The Macpherson affair destroyed the last shreds of respect which the people of the district had for Spence and his government, but he still strove to impress people outside of it with his influence and dignity. In the month of February he paid a visit to the governor of Rupert's Land at Fort Garry to interview him in regard to the duties on the company's goods brought to Portage la Prairie for sale. But Spence was bluntly informed that no duty would be paid unless the company ordered it, that he and his council could collect duties only from those who paid them voluntarily, that any attempts to collect them by force could be legally resisted, and that the administration of oaths of allegiance to the new republic was illegal and laid him open to prosecution.

The republic of Manitoba having received such scant recognition from its own citizens and the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company, its president determined to demand its recognition by the imperial government. So he addressed the following letter to the secretary of state for foreign affairs:

"La Prairie, Manitoba,  
Via Red River Settlement.  
February 19, 1868.

"My Lord,—As president-elect, by the people of the newly organized government and council of Manitoba, in British territory, I have the dutiful honour of laying before your Lordship, for the consideration of Her Most Gracious Majesty, our beloved Queen, the circumstances attending the creation of this self-supporting petty government in this isolated portion of Her Majesty's dominions; and, as loyal British subjects, we humbly and sincerely trust that Her Most Gracious Majesty and her advisers will be pleased forthwith to give this government favorable recognition, it being simply our aim to develop our resources, improve the condition of the people, and generally advance and preserve British interests in this rising Far West.

"An humble address from the people of this settlement to Her Majesty the Queen was forwarded through the Governor-General of Canada, in June last, briefly setting forth the superior attractions of this portion of the British Dominions, the growing population, and the gradual influx of emigrants, and humbly praying for recognition, law, and protection, to which no reply or acknowledgment has as yet reached this people.

"Early in January last, at a public meeting of settlers, who numbered over four hundred, it was unanimously decided to at once proceed to the election and construction of a government, which has accordingly been carried out, a revenue imposed, public buildings commenced to carry out the laws, provision made for Indian treaties, the construction of roads, and other public works tending to promote the interests and welfare of the people, the boundaries of the jurisdiction being, for the time being, proclaimed as follows:

"North, from a point running due north from the boundary line of Assiniboia till it strikes Lake Manitoba; thence, from the point struck, a straight line across the said lake to Manitoba Port; thence by longitudinal line 51, till it intersects line of latitude 100.

"West, by line of latitude 100 to the boundary line of the United States and British America.

"East, the boundary line of the jurisdiction of the Council of Assiniboia.

"South, the boundary line between British North America and the United States.

"I have the honor to remain, my Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

THOS. SPENCE,

*President of the Council."*

Mr. Spence received the following reply to his letter:

"Downing Street,

May 30, 1868.

"Sir—I am directed by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos to inform you that your letter of the 19th of February last, addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has been forwarded to this department, and that His Grace has also received a copy of a letter addressed by you to Mr. Angus Morrison, a member of the Canadian Parliament, dated the 17th of February last.

"In these communications you explain the measures that have been taken for creating a so-called self-supporting government in Manitoba, within the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company.

"The people of Manitoba are probably not aware that the creation of a separate government, in the manner set forth in these papers, has no force in law, and that they have no authority to create or organize a government, or even to set up municipal institutions (properly so-called) for themselves, without reference to the Hudson's Bay Company or to the Crown.

"Her Majesty's Government are advised that there is no objection to the people of Manitoba voluntarily submitting themselves to rules and regulations, which they may agree to observe for the greater protection and improvement of the territory in which they live, but which will have no force as regards others than those who may have submitted themselves.

"As it is inferred that the intention is to exercise jurisdiction over offenders in criminal cases, levy taxes compulsorily, and to attempt to put in force other powers, which can only be exercised by a properly constituted government, I am desired to warn you that you and your coadjutors are acting illegally in this matter, and that, by the course you are adopting, you are incurring grave responsibilities.

"I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant."

The letter from the office of the colonial secretary completed the collapse of the government of Manitoba, and soon afterwards the president betook himself to a point of the shore of Lake Manitoba and engaged in the useful occupation of making salt. Accounts of the brief but eventful history of the republic of Manitoba and of the lawlessness attending the arrest of Dr. Schultz were soon sent to Canada and created the impression there that the people of Red River had risen in rebellion against the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company. Indeed the matter assumed sufficient importance there to become a subject of inquiry in the Canadian parliament.

The *Nor'-Wester* took advantage of the excitement caused by the occurrences at Fort Garry and Portage la Prairie to advocate the presentation of a petition to the Governor and Council of Assiniboia, praying for a change in the system of government, and urged every man in the colony to sign it. Such a document

seems to have been drawn up, signed, and presented. It stated that one of the principal grievances of the people of Red River was the fact that they had no voice in the management of public affairs, declared that they were capable of choosing competent persons to make the laws, requested the council to adopt a regulation which would give them the right to elect their own councillors, and asked that the petition be given "the immediate and respectful consideration which the united and expressed wish of a large number of people deserves." The keynote of the petition was to be found in the expression, "All men possessing common sense have a right to a voice in the government under which they live."

Of course the Council of Assiniboia had no power to grant this petition, but whether it was transmitted to the office of the Hudson's Bay Company in London or not we are not told. The failure of the petition led the *Nor'-Wester* to renew its attacks on the company's government, and there can be no doubt that they helped to draw the attention of Canadian statesmen to the conditions prevailing in the Red River Settlement. Referring to the paper, Governor Dallas once wrote, "Its continued attacks upon the Company find a greedy ear with the public at large, both in the settlement and in Canada."

## CHAPTER XXVI

### THE PROPOSED UNION WITH CANADA

From the first the history of Manitoba was closely connected with that of Canada. This was almost inevitable. The western country was first penetrated by the fur traders of Three Rivers and Montreal, and in the minds of the Canadian people the *pays d'en haut* was an appanage of their own country. This feeling did not pass with the sovereignty of France. With a slight interruption, the fur trade went on after 1763 much as it had done before that date, although it had passed out of the hands of the French traders into the hands of the Scotch merchants of Montreal; and more than once it was claimed that the exploration and occupation of the prairie by Canadian traders gave Canada a stronger claim to it than that of the Hudson's Bay Company.

This feeling among the Canadian people was fostered to some extent by the action of the imperial government in asking the governor-general of Canada to make reports now and then on affairs in the Indian Territories, as well as a part of Rupert's Land, and by passing certain vague legislation, already referred to, which seemed to make Canada partly responsible for the maintenance of law and order in its vast hinterland west of the Great Lakes. This legislation was not wholly good, for it resulted in the overlapping of the jurisdictions of the imperial government, the Canadian government, and the government of the Hudson's Bay Company and came near leaving the Red River Settlement without efficient government from any source, as was illustrated again and again during the struggles between the rival fur companies and their partisans. The imperial government also seemed to recognize Canada's partial suzerainty over the Red River country by requesting its government to appoint a commission to inquire into the affairs of the little colony, and it was this request which led to the appointment of Colonel Coltman and Major Fletcher in 1817.

There may have been good reasons for this implied recognition of the right of Canada to exercise some control over the Red River Settlement. There may have been some shadowy doubt of the absolute right of the Hudson's Bay Company to govern the territory granted to it by Charles II; and there may have been much more doubt about its right to govern the territory which it held under license merely. It may have been considered wiser to deal with affairs in the Red River Settlement through a regularly organized government comparatively near to the new colony than to do so directly through the office of the colonial secretary. Finally, the action of the British government in this matter may have been to some extent a result of its remissness in the past. It had never carried out the provision of the Treaty of Utrecht which called for a delimitation of the boundary between the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company and the French

province of Canada, although the company had often pressed it to do so. Fifty years passed, and then Canada was transferred to Britain; but this did not eliminate the boundary problem, for the government of Canada continued to maintain that the Hudson's Bay Company was occupying and exercising authority over territory which had not been granted to it by its charter and which really formed a part of Canada.

While the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company gave it perpetual rights in the territory granted to it by King Charles, its rights over the remainder of the great territory in which it operated were conferred by a license granted by the imperial government for a period of twenty-one years. This license, having been renewed in 1838, naturally expired in 1859; but when the company applied for its renewal in 1857, the opposition to the company's monopoly, which had shown itself at intervals for more than a hundred years, manifested itself more strongly than ever. Mr. Isbister, who represented the discontented settlers of Red River, found the occasion opportune for reviving their agitation against the company; and so many influential members of the parliament were opposed to a renewal of the company's powers and privileges that the government felt impelled to make an exhaustive inquiry into its affairs and the conditions existing in its territories. A select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider "the state of those British possessions in North America which are under the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company, or over which it possesses a license to trade."

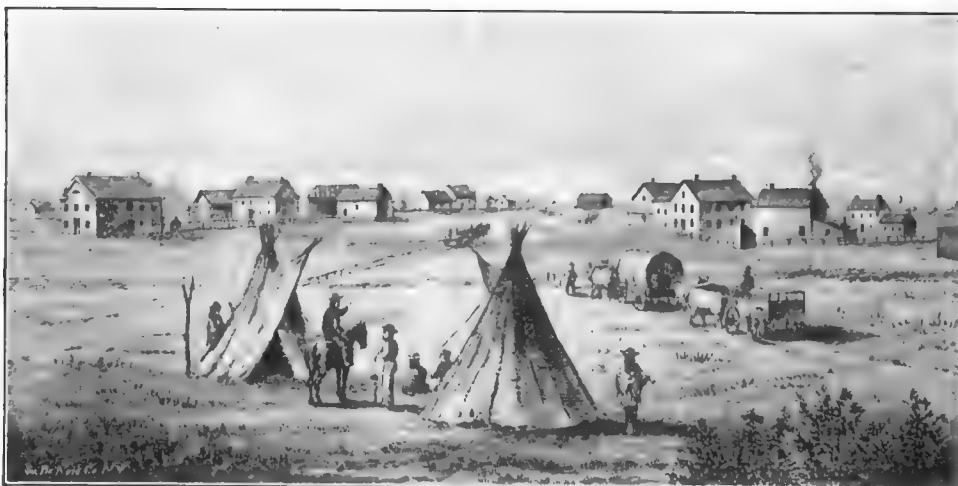
The committee was composed of nineteen prominent members of the House of Commons, including Right Honorable Henry Labouchere, Sir John Pakington, Lord John Russell, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Stanley, and Mr. Roebuck. The committee began to take evidence on February 20, 1857, and the investigation seems to have been very wide and thorough. The examination of witnesses was not completed until the 23rd of June, and the gentlemen who gave evidence were among the highest authorities upon matters connected with the North-West. Such men as Sir John Richardson, Rear Admiral Sir George Back, Dr. Rae, Sir George Simpson, Hon. John Ross, Lieut.-Colonel Lefroy, Lieut.-Colonel Caldwell, Bishop Anderson, Hon. Charles Fitzwilliam, Dr. King, Right Hon. Edward Ellice, Colonel Crofton, Mr. Alexander Isbister, Dr. King, Mr. John McLaughlin, and Chief Justice Draper of Canada furnished the committee with a mass of pertinent and first-hand information of the utmost value.

Recognizing Canada's interest in the matter to be investigated, the secretary of state for the colonies notified the government of Canada of the purpose and scope of the investigation in order that it might be represented before the select committee. The Canadian government sent Chief Justice Draper to London for this purpose, and his instructions are contained in the following letter:

"Secretary's Office, Toronto,  
20th February, 1857.

"Sir—I have the honor, by command of His Excellency the Governor-General, to communicate to you, hereby, His Excellency's instructions for your guidance, in connection with your mission to England as the special agent appointed to represent Canadian rights and interests before the proposed Committee of the House of Commons, on the subject of the Hudson's Bay Territory.

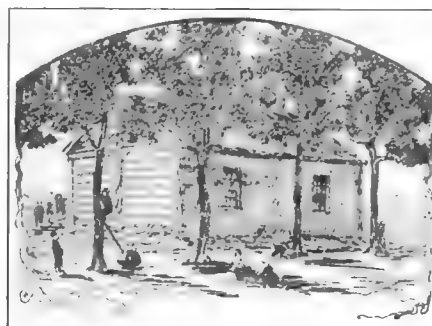
"I am to premise, however, that as it is impossible to anticipate the nature



WINNIPEG IN 1869



OLD COURTHOUSE WITH SOUTHWEST  
BASTION OF FORT GARRY



FIRST AND ONLY PUBLIC SCHOOL IN  
WINNIPEG IN 1871



FIRST NEWSPAPER OFFICE OF WINNIPEG, 1860



of the evidence that may be taken, or the conclusion that may be arrived at by the Committee, or the course which Parliament or Her Majesty's Government may think proper to adopt on the report of the Committee, it is not in His Excellency's power to convey to you at present any instructions of a precise or definite character.

"His Excellency has, however, entire confidence in your knowledge and discretion, and he has the more readily intrusted this important mission to you, inasmuch as your high position in the colony removes you from the ordinary influence of local or party consideration.

"Immediately on your arrival in London, you will place yourself in communication with the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies (to whom these instructions have been communicated), and as soon as any parliamentary committee on the subject of the Hudson's Bay Company or territory is constituted, you will take steps for offering to afford all information in your power relating to the interest or claims of Canada.

"You will consider it a part of your duty to watch over those interests by correcting any erroneous impressions, and by bringing forward any claims of a legal or equitable kind which this province may possess on account of its territorial position or past history.

"You will not consider yourself as authorized to conclude any negotiation, or to assent to any definite plan of settlement affecting Canada, without reporting the particulars of the same, and your own views thereon, to His Excellency in Council.

"His Excellency has full and complete confidence in the justice and consideration of Her Majesty's Government, and he is sure that the interests and feelings of Canada will be consulted so far as is consistent with right and justice. The people of Canada desire nothing more.

"His Excellency feels it particularly necessary that the importance of securing the North-West territory against the sudden and unauthorized influx of immigration from the United States should be strongly pressed. He fears that the continued vacancy of this great tract, with a boundary not marked on the soil itself, may lead to future loss and injury both to England and Canada. He wishes you to urge the expediency of making out the limits, and so protecting the frontier of the lands above Lake Superior, about the Red River, and from thence to the Pacific, as effectually to secure them against violent seizure, or irregular settlement, until the advancing tide of immigrants from Canada and the United Kingdom may fairly flow into them, and occupy them as subjects of the Queen, on behalf of the British Empire.

"With these objects in view, it is especially important that Her Majesty's Government should guard any renewal of a license of occupation (should such be determined on), or any recognition of rights by the company, by such stipulations as will cause such license, or such rights, not to interfere with the fair and legitimate occupation of tracts adapted for settlement.

"It is unnecessary, of course, to urge in any way the future importance of Vancouver's Island as the key to all British North America on the side of the Pacific, situated as it is between the extensive seaboard of Russian America and the vast territory in the hands of the United States.

"His Excellency cannot foresee the course which a committee of the House



of Commons may see fit to pursue in the proposed enquiry, or determine beforehand on what points evidence may be required.

“At any moment, however, His Excellency will be ready to attend to your suggestions, and supply such information, either by documentary evidence or by witnesses from Canada, as you may think necessary, and he may be able to send over.

“You will, of course, act upon such further instructions as may from time to time be conveyed to you by His Excellency’s directions.

“I have, etc.,

(Signed) E. A. MEREDITH,

*Assistant Secretary.”*

The attitude of many of the people of Canada towards the claims of the Hudson’s Bay Company is fairly well set forth in the following petition, sent by the board of trade of Toronto to the Legislative Council of Canada on April 20, 1857:

“That an association of traders, under the title of the ‘Honorable Hudson’s Bay Company,’ during a long period of time, has claimed and exercises a sovereignty in the soil, together with the exclusive trade over a large portion of the province of Canada, and that the exercise of such claim is subversive of all those rights and privileges which were guaranteed to the inhabitants of Canada by Royal proclamation immediately after the conquest of the country, and subsequently secured to them by those Acts of the British Parliament which gave to Canada a constitutional government;

“Your petitioners further show that up to the year 1763, when by the Treaty of Fontainebleau, Canada was ceded to the British Crown, the whole region of country, extending westward to the Pacific Ocean and northward to the shore of the Hudson’s Bay, had continued in the undisputed possession of the Crown of France for a period of two centuries, and was known as La Nouvelle France, or Canada;

“That during the half century succeeding the treaty above alluded to, an extensive trade and traffic was continued to be carried on throughout the country, described by commercial companies and traders, who had established themselves there under authority of the Crown of France, and that a trade was likewise, and at the same period, carried on by other traders of British origin, who had entered into that country and formed establishments there, consequent upon its cession to the British Crown;

“That such trade and traffic was carried on freely and independent of any restrictions upon commercial freedom, either as originally enacted by the Crown of France, or promulgated by that of Great Britain;

“That in 1783 nearly all the aforesaid traders and companies united and formed an association, under the name of the ‘North-West Company of Montreal,’ which said company made many important discoveries, and extended its establishments throughout the interior of North America, and to within the Arctic Circle and to the Pacific Ocean;

“That in the year 1821 the said North-West Company united with the so-called Hudson’s Bay Company, a company to all intents and purposes foreign to the interests of Canada and owing no responsibility to her;

“That under the name of the Honorable Hudson’s Bay Company, they ad-

vance claims and assume rights in virtue of an old charter of Charles II, granted in 1669, that bearing a date nearly one hundred years before this country had ceased to be an appendage to the Crown of France, or it pertained to that of Great Britain;

“That under such pretended authority said Hudson’s Bay Company assumes a power to grant away and sell the lands of the Crown, acquired by conquest and ceded to it by the Treaty of 1763;

“That said company has assumed the power to enact tariffs, collect customs dues, and levy taxes against British subjects, and has enforced unjust and arbitrary laws, in defiance of every principle of right and justice.

“Your petitioners more especially pray the attention of your Honorable House to that region of the country, designated as the Chartered Territory, over which said company exercises a sovereignty in the soil as well as a monopoly in the trade, and which said company claims as a right that insures to it *in perpetuo*, in contradistinction to that portion of the country over which it claims an exclusive right of trade, but for a limited period only.

“While your petitioners believe that this latter claim is founded upon a legal right, they humbly submit that a renewal of such license of exclusive trade is injurious to the interests of the country so monopolized and in contravention of the rights of the inhabitants of Canada.

“Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that your Honorable House will take into consideration the subject of how far the assumption of power on the part of the Hudson’s Bay Company interferes with Canadian rights, and as to the necessity of more particularly declaring the boundaries of Canada on the westward and on the northward, and of extending throughout the protection of Canadian laws and the benefits of Canadian institutions.

“And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

THOMAS CLARKSON, *President*,

CHARLES ROBERTSON, *Secretary*.”

The Canadian government asked the legislature to appoint a committee to gather information in regard to the quantity of tillable land in the North-West, routes of access to it, the claims of Canada to a portion of the country, etc. Hon. J. E. Cauchon, afterwards lieutenant-governor of Manitoba, was chairman of this committee. It examined a number of witnesses, and its report, when completed, was sent to the committee of the British parliament for consideration.

Chief Justice Draper, speaking before the committee, held that Canada had a threefold interest in the inquiry. She was deeply interested in having the boundary settled; it was important that the country under discussion should be kept as a British possession; and it was very desirable that the people of Canada should be able to extend their settlements into it. He was of the opinion that the country should be ultimately transferred to Canada, but that it could not carry on the government efficiently until better means of communication were established. In the meantime, some temporary provision for its government could be made, probably under the Hudson’s Bay Company, and Canada could commence to develop the resources of the country and open routes to it. Among other things, he said, “I hope you will not laugh at me as very visionary, but I hope to see the time, or that my children may see the time, when there is a railway going all across that country and ending at the Pacific; and so far

as individual opinion goes, I entertain no doubt that the time will arrive when that will be accomplished."

That the Hudson's Bay Company was not averse to the settlement of the Red River country is evident from the testimony which Hon. Edward Ellice gave before the committee. He said, "The Hudson's Bay Company would be glad to make a cession of any part of that territory for the purpose of settlement, upon one condition, that Canada shall be at the expense of governing it and maintaining a good police, and preventing the introduction, as far as it can, of competition with the fur trade. The company has a great mass of property there (at Red River) which it repurchased from Lord Selkirk in 1636 for a considerable sum of money. My opinion is that a fur company has very little to do with colonization and that the Hudson's Bay Company would have done much better if it had never had anything to do with colonization on the Red River."

In regard to the government of the country, in case a colony independent of the company were established, Mr. Ellice said, "The Crown has the power, under the act establishing the right to grant the license, to establish magistrates in any part of the territory it pleases for the administration of justice and for the protection of all Her Majesty's subjects; no new power is required."

There is other evidence that the Hudson's Bay Company was quite ready to give up the task of governing the country, if some other efficient method could be devised. Governor Dallas said that "he found himself with all the responsibility and semblance of authority over a vast territory, but unsupported, if not ignored, by the Crown." He thought that the people of Red River did not object to the personnel of the Hudson's Bay Company, but to the system of government. He feared the formation of a provisional government, lest it might not be able to check a movement toward annexation to the United States, which had been threatened; and he believed that the territorial rights of the company should revert to the Crown.

The mass of information collected by the select committee was most carefully analyzed, but the members were not unanimous in their conclusions from it. Mr. Gladstone proposed a set of resolutions to be embodied in the committee's report, which would have been adverse to the company had they been adopted; but they were defeated by the casting vote of the chairman. Mr. Christy proposed another set, but they were negatived. Finally a report was agreed to and presented to the House of Commons on July 31st. As nearly all the clauses in it have a bearing on the history of Manitoba, the report may be given in full. It is as follows:

"The near approach of the period when the license of exclusive trade, granted in 1838 for twenty-one years, to the Hudson's Bay Company over that north-western portion of British America, which goes by the name of the Indian Territory, must expire, would alone make it necessary that the condition of the whole of the vast regions which are under the administration of the company should be carefully considered; but there are other circumstances, which, in the opinion of your committee, would have rendered such a course the duty of the Parliament and Government of this country.

"Among these, your committee would specially enumerate, the growing desire of our Canadian fellow-subjects that the means of extension and regular



Methodist Episcopal Church  
Entrance to River Park

Front Street

Anglican Church  
High School

SCENES IN MELITA



settlement should be afforded to them, over a portion of this territory; the necessity of providing suitably for the administration of the affairs of Vancouver Island, and the present condition of the settlement which has been formed on the Red River.

“Your committee have received much valuable evidence on these and other subjects connected with the inquiry which has been entrusted to them, and especially have had the advantage of hearing the statements of Chief Justice Draper, who was commissioned by the government of Canada to watch this inquiry. In addition to this, your committee have received the evidence taken before a committee of the Legislative Assembly, appointed to investigate this subject, containing much valuable information in reference to the interests and feelings of that important colony, which are entitled to the greatest weight on this occasion.

“Your committee have also had the opinion of the law officers of the Crown communicated to them, on various points connected with the charter of the Hudson’s Bay Company.

“The territory over which the company now exercise rights is of three descriptions:—1st. The land held by charter, or Rupert’s Land; 2nd. The land held by license, or the Indian Territory; 3rd. Vancouver’s Island.

“For the nature of the tenure by which these countries are severally connected with the company, your committee would refer to the evidence they have received and the documents appended to their report.

“Among the various objects of imperial policy, which it is important to attain, your committee consider that it is essential to meet the just and reasonable wishes of Canada to be enabled to annex to her territory such portion of the land in her neighborhood as may be available to her for the purposes of settlement, with which lands she is willing to open and maintain communications, and for which she will provide the means of local administration. Your committee apprehend that the districts on the Red River and the Saskatchewan are among those likely to be desired for early occupation. It is of great importance that the peace and good order of those districts should be effectually secured. Your committee trust that there will be no difficulty in effecting arrangements as between Her Majesty’s Government and the Hudson’s Bay Company, by which these districts may be ceded to Canada on equitable principles, and within the districts thus annexed to her, the authority of the Hudson’s Bay Company would of course entirely cease.

“Your committee think it best to content themselves with indicating the outlines of such a scheme, leaving it to Her Majesty’s Government to consider its details more maturely before the Act of Parliament is prepared, which will probably be necessary to carry it into effect.

“In case, however, Canada should not be willing, at a very early period, to undertake the government of the Red River District, it may be proper to consider whether some temporary provision for its administration may not be advisable.

“Your committee are of opinion that it will be proper to terminate the connection of the Hudson’s Bay Company with Vancouver’s Island as soon as it can conveniently be done, as the best means of favoring the development of the great natural advantages of that important colony. Means should also be pro-

vided for the ultimate extension of the colony over any portion of the adjoining continent, to the west of the Rocky Mountains, on which permanent settlement may be found practicable.

"As to those extensive regions, whether in Rupert's Land or in the Indian Territory, in which for the present, at least, there can be no prospect of permanent settlement, to any extent, by the European race, for the purposes of colonization, the opinion at which your committee have arrived is mainly founded on the following considerations: 1st. The great importance to the more peopled portions of British North America that law and order should, as far as possible, be maintained in these territories; 2nd. The fatal effects which they believe would infallibly result to the Indian population from a system of open competition in the fur trade, and the consequent introduction of spirits in a far greater degree than is the case at present; and 3rd. The probability of the indiscriminate destruction of the more valuable fur-bearing animals in the course of a few years.

"For these reasons, your committee are of opinion that whatever may be the validity or otherwise of the rights claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company under the charter, it is desirable that they should continue to enjoy the privilege of exclusive trade, which they now possess, except so far as those privileges are limited by the foregoing recommendations.

"Your committee have now specified the principal objects which they think it would be desirable to attain. How far the chartered rights claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company may prove an obstacle to their attainment, they are not able, with any certainty, to say. If this difficulty is to be solved by amicable adjustment, such a course will be best promoted by the Government, after communication with the company, as well as with the Government of Canada, rather than by detailed suggestions emanating from this committee.

"Your committee cannot doubt but that, when such grave interests are at stake, all the parties concerned will approach the subject in a spirit of conciliation and justice, and they therefore indulge a confident hope that the Government will be enabled, in the next session of Parliament, to present a Bill which shall lay the foundation of an equitable and satisfactory arrangement, in the event, which they consider probable, of legislation being found necessary for that purpose."

The report possesses some remarkable features. It recommends the continuation of the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company and recognizes the service of the company to the empire in controlling the Indian population of the North-West; but it tacitly admits the complaint of the Red River settlers that the company's government of the colony was inefficient, and suggests that a new form of government is needed. It also forecasts the union of the Hudson's Bay Territories with Canada, which was accomplished some twelve years later. The committee probably exaggerated the danger of the annexation of parts of these territories to the United States; and, in spite of all the evidence before it, the members probably failed to appreciate the great resources of the country which they were considering as well as the rapidity with which it would be settled when the questions of its ownership and government had been definitely settled.

In Canada the effect of the report was to strengthen the feeling that the west naturally belonged to her and that its annexation would not be long delayed. This feeling probably lay behind the determination of the government of Canada

to send Mr. S. J. Dawson and Professor Henry Youle Hind to the west in 1857 to conduct investigations in regard to the resources of the country. The work of these men has been referred to in an earlier chapter. The same feeling may have lain behind the attempt of the Canadian government to establish regular mail service between Canada and the Red River, which was made in 1858 and abandoned after two years. It also showed itself later in attempts to make a road along the line of travel afterwards known as the "Dawson Route."

In the Red River Settlement the report tended to lessen the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company and to make its moribund government more ineffectual than before, and it probably increased the disorder in various parts of the colony, of which some account has already been given. It was evident to all that the company's governing power must soon be taken from it.





## CHAPTER XXVII

### THE TRANSFER TO CANADA

In 1858 the British government decided to make Vancouver Island a crown colony, and the secretary of state for the colonies instructed Governor Douglas to call an assembly of representatives of the inhabitants to devise some form of government for it. The license of the Hudson's Bay Company, giving it the exclusive right of trade on the island, was not renewed in 1859; and the governor, acting on instructions from Downing Street, proclaimed the revocation of the license and the establishment of a new province of the British Empire. This action of the imperial authorities gave fresh courage to the opponents of the company's government in Rupert's Land and raised the hopes of the people of Canada who wished to see that vast region annexed to their own provinces.

The Canadian government was not satisfied with the report of the select committee of the British House of Commons, presented in July, 1857. It was especially disappointed that no effective steps had been suggested by the committee for settling the boundary between Canada and the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company on the north and the west and that there had been no investigation of the company's charter. It regarded the validity of the charter as a fundamental matter in the whole question at issue between the company and Canada. The position taken by the government of Canada was shown in the following clause of a joint address of the Assembly and the Legislative Council presented to Her Majesty in August, 1858: "That Canada, whose rights stand affected by that charter, to which she was not a party, and the validity of which has been questioned for more than a century and a half, has, in our humble opinion, a right to request from Your Majesty's Imperial Government, a decision of this question, with a view of putting an end to discussions of conflicting rights, prejudicial as well to Your Majesty's Imperial Government, as to Canada, and which, while unsettled, must prevent the colonization of the country."

On September 4 of the same year the Executive Council of Canada addressed a communication to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, the secretary of state for the colonies, drawing attention to the importance of having a direct line of communication by railway or otherwise between Canada and the valleys of the Red and Saskatchewan Rivers, and later in the year Messrs. Cartier, Ross, and Galt went to England in connection with the matter. While there they intimated that Canada would take legal steps to test the validity of the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the colonial secretary appears to have advised the governor-general of Canada that he approved of such a step; but His Excellency replied on April 19, 1859, that his council did not advise such action.

The imperial government made it plain in many ways that it would favor some practicable plan whereby the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company would be annexed to Canada. Shortly before the license of the company expired in May, 1859, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton offered to renew it for one year or two years over the district east of the Rocky Mountains, pending some arrangement with Canada. But the company refused on the ground that a renewal for such a short period would only increase the inconvenience which had resulted from the state of suspense in which the question had been kept for two years, and that it would paralyze the company's authority in its own territory by creating an impression that the authority would shortly terminate. When the license was finally renewed for the usual period of twenty-one years, the government suggested that the question of the Canadian boundary should be referred to the privy council; but it refused to let the validity of the company's charter be tested while the boundary proceedings were pending, and so the Canadian government declined to take any part in the matter, on the ground that it could not be expected to compensate the company for any territory until the company's right to such territory was established.

On March 9, 1859, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton wrote to the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, urging that the company come to some friendly arrangement with the Canadian government; but the directors do not seem to have taken any steps to carry out his suggestion. He then decided that he would have the validity of its charter tested by the judicial committee of the privy council; but before this could be done, the government of which he was a member went out of office.

The new government tried at intervals during 1860 and 1861 to devise a bill, satisfactory to all parties, whereby the imperial government might acquire from time to time portions of the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company for colonization, making suitable compensation therefor. Presumably these portions were to be transferred to Canada. But the company objected to this piece-meal dismemberment, Canada objected to acquiring the territory in such a manner, and no method of making compensation to the company was devised; and so the whole scheme came to naught.

In April, 1862, the Canadian government sent a communication to Governor Dallas of the Hudson's Bay Company, desiring to make some arrangement for the construction of a road and a telegraph line through the company's territory so as to connect Canada with British Columbia. Mr. Dallas replied that, while the question was really one for his board of directors in London, he himself thought that the request could not be granted. Such works as were proposed and such chains of settlements as were expected, if established in the valleys of the Red and Saskatchewan Rivers, would soon drive the buffalo away from these districts and so cut off the supply of food by which the company was able to maintain its trading posts in the regions further west and north. He believed that partial concessions of the company's territory in this way would inevitably lead to its extinction, and that, if any change were made in the government of such districts, direct administration by the crown was the only method likely to give public satisfaction. His letter contains the following paragraph: "I believe I am, however, safe in stating my conviction that the company will be willing to meet the wishes of the country at large by con-



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senting to an equitable arrangement for the surrender of all the rights conveyed by the charter."

During the summer of 1862 Mr. Edward Watkin, a gentleman who had been prominently connected with the Grand Trunk Railway, went to England, hoping to interest capitalists there in a scheme for building a road and a telegraph line across central Canada. In the autumn of the same year the Canadian government sent Messrs. Howland and Sicotte to London to urge upon the home government the importance of opening up the Hudson's Bay Company's territory for settlement; and they, working with Mr. Watkin, succeeded in interesting several prominent Englishmen in their plans. The unwillingness of the company to have the road built, the unwillingness of the imperial government to grant a subsidy for the work, and the unwillingness of the Canadian government to give any substantial aid, so long as the boundaries of the company's territory were undetermined and its title in doubt, were obstacles too serious to permit Mr. Watkin's scheme to be carried out.

The simplest solution of all the difficulties would have been the purchase of the rights of the company by the imperial government; but it was unwilling to take this step, and so another solution was sought. Mr. Watkin succeeded in organizing a new company, and securing the necessary capital for it, to buy all the stock, lands, rights, and other property of the Hudson's Bay Company. The sum paid the old company was £1,500,000, and for this amount it transferred all its property to the International Finance Association, which in turn transferred it to the new company whose capital was fixed at £2,000,000. The final transfer was consummated in July, 1863, and Mr. Watkin at once proceeded to Canada to secure government aid in his plans for opening up the western prairies by building roads, constructing telegraph lines, and planting settlements. His proposals were not favorably received by the government, for it found that the new company maintained all the territorial claims of the old one, and it declined to grant the aid asked for until the validity of those claims was definitely settled. The reply of the Executive Council to Mr. Watkin's proposal concludes thus: "The committee therefore recommend that correspondence be opened with the Imperial Government, with the view to the adoption of some speedy, inexpensive, and mutually satisfactory plan to determine the important question (that of territorial rights of the company), and that the claims of Canada be asserted to all that portion of Central British America, which can be shown to have been in the possession of the French at the period of the cession in 1763."

In November of that year Sir Edmund Head, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, declared that the most satisfactory solution of the difficulty would be the purchase of all the company's territory by the crown; but as there were many obstacles in the way of such a plan, he proposed an alternative scheme. By it the territory fit for settlement would be equally divided between the crown and the company, with the exception of certain specified tracts to be retained by the latter; the road and telegraph would be constructed by the company; the crown would purchase such premises of the company as were needed for military purposes; and it would pay the company one third of the revenue derived from gold and silver in the territory acquired.

The proposals made by Sir Edmund Head on behalf of the Hudson's Bay

Company did not meet with the approval of the Duke of Newcastle, the colonial secretary, and in the spring of 1864 he made the following counter-proposals to the company:

"1. That within certain geographical limits the territorial rights of the company should be surrendered to the Crown;

"2. That the sum of 1 s. per acre on every acre sold by the government should be paid to the company, and payment to cease when their aggregate receipts from this source shall exceed £150,000, or on the expiration of 50 years;

"3. That one-fourth of the sum received by the government as an export duty for gold, or on leases of gold mines, or licenses for gold mining, shall be payable to the company for 50 years, or until the aggregate receipts shall amount to £100,000;

"4. That on these conditions a government be established in the ceded territory, Great Britain undertaking the expense and risk of that government until the colony is able to support it, as in British Columbia and other colonies."

The directors of the company met on April 13, 1864, and decided to accept the general principles underlying the duke's proposals, although they desired some changes in the details. They urged that the payments for land and minerals should be placed at £1,000,000 instead of £250,000, or else that they should not be limited in time, and that the company should receive 5,000 acres of land for each 50,000 acres sold by the crown. On June 6 Mr. Cardwell, who had succeeded the Duke of Newcastle as colonial secretary, informed the company that he could not entertain the amendments it had suggested, and no further progress in the negotiations was made for six months. But in December the directors of the company met to reconsider the matter, and the result was an offer to accept £1,000,000 as payment in full for the territory mentioned, which was practically all that granted by the charter of Charles II.

In opening the Canadian parliament on Feb. 19, 1864, Lord Monck, the governor-general said, "The condition of the vast region lying on the northwest of the settled portions of the province is daily becoming a question of great interest. I have considered it advisable to open correspondence with the Imperial Government, with a view to arrive at a precise definition of the geographical boundaries of Canada in that direction. Such a definition of boundary is a desirable preliminary to further proceedings with respect to the vast tracts of land in that quarter belonging to Canada, but not yet brought under the action of our political and municipal system." The position taken by the Canadian government, thus referred to in the speech from the throne, was stated in plainer terms by Hon. William McDougall in the debate which followed. He believed that Canada was entitled to all that part of the North West Territory, which could be shown to have been in possession of the French when they ceded Canada to the British.

In these prolonged negotiations, these proposals and counter-proposals, several facts are evident: the desire of the Hudson's Bay Company to be relieved from the task of government and its willingness to sell its vast territory for adequate remuneration; the desire of the home government to effect a friendly settlement of the questions at issue between the company and Canada, to find some method for transferring the company's territory to Canada, and to keep the question of the company's title in abeyance; and Canada's steady adherence

to the position that the questions of title and boundaries should first be settled. It will also be apparent that the three parties were gradually approaching common ground for the settlement of the questions at issue between them.

Early in 1865 the Canadian government sent a delegation headed by Hon. George Brown to London to make one more attempt to secure the transfer of the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company to Canada. The delegates discussed the matter with Hon. Mr. Cardwell, and his statement of their position and that of his government is as follows: "The Canadian ministers desired that that territory should be made over to Canada, and undertook to negotiate with the Hudson's Bay Company for the termination of its rights, on condition that the indemnity, if any should be paid, would be raised by Canada by means of a loan under Imperial guarantee. With the sanction of the Cabinet, we assented to the proposal, undertaking that if the negotiations should be successful, we, on the part of the Crown, being satisfied that the amount of the indemnity was reasonable and the security sufficient, would apply to the Imperial Parliament to sanction the arrangement and guarantee the amount."

Nothing further, however, seems to have been done for several months; but in February, 1866, Sir Edmund Head informed Mr. Cardwell that certain Anglo-American capitalists were likely to submit an offer for the purchase of all the arable land of the Hudson's Bay Company with a view to colonizing it; and, when he was reminded by the colonial secretary that there was an understanding between the Canadian delegates and the home government that Canada would have the first opportunity to secure the territory if the company disposed of it, Sir Edmund replied that the company could not be expected to leave the offer to Canada open for an indefinite period to its own financial detriment. These views were communicated to the Canadian government, and it replied on June 22 that while it recognized the importance of completing the negotiations for the extinction of the territorial claims of the company, the annexation of the territory to Canada, and the establishment of a regular government therein, the matter seemed one for the government of the Dominion of Canada to settle; and as the confederation of the provinces would shortly be accomplished, it hoped that the final settlement might be deferred a little longer. It also expressed the hope that Her Majesty's government would use its influence in the meantime to prevent any such sale as that contemplated. This reply was conveyed to the company, and six months later Lord Carnarvon suggested to the company that it would not be wise to take any steps which would interfere with the negotiations with Canada.

The confederation of the Canadian provinces became an accomplished fact on July 1, 1867; and thereafter it was the Dominion of Canada, instead of the united provinces of Ontario and Quebec, with which the home government and the Hudson's Bay Company had to deal in the negotiations for the transfer of the company's territory. While the delegates of the different provinces were working out the details of the confederation scheme, they passed a resolution, fully endorsing the position taken by the Canadian government in its communication to the imperial government on the 22nd of the preceding June; and in framing the British North America Act, by which the Dominion of Canada was created, its framers anticipated the early transfer of the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Dominion, for Article XI, sec. 146, provided as fol-



lows: "It shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the advice of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, etc., on addresses from the Houses of the Parliament of Canada, to admit Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory, or either of them, into the Union, on such terms and conditions in each case as are in the addresses expressed, and as the Queen thinks fit to approve, subject to the provisions of this Act."

The statesmen of the new Dominion were fully alive to the importance of securing its vast hinterland in order that it might soon become a united dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the matter came up during the first session of its first parliament. On December 4, 1867, Hon. William McDougall, minister of public works, introduced a series of resolutions on which the addresses referred to in the British North America Act were to be based. These resolutions, which discreetly kept Canada's old contention in the background, created much discussion; but after a few amendments, they were adopted in the following form:

"1. That it would promote the prosperity of the Canadian people, and conduce to the advantage of the whole Empire, if the Dominion of Canada, constituted under the provisions of the British North America Act of 1867, were extended westward to the shores of the Pacific Ocean;

"2. That colonization of the fertile lands of the Saskatchewan, the Assiniboine, and Red River districts, and the development of the mineral wealth which abounds in the regions of the North-West, and the extension of commercial intercourse through the British possessions in America from the Atlantic to the Pacific, are alike dependent upon the establishment of a stable government, for the maintenance of law and order in the North-Western Territories;

"3. That the welfare of a sparse and widely scattered population of British subjects of European origin, already inhabiting these remote and unorganized territories, would be materially enhanced by the formation therein of political institutions bearing analogy, as far as circumstances will admit, to those which exist in the several provinces of this Dominion;

"4. That the 146th section of the British North America Act of 1867 provides for the admission of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, or either of them, into union with Canada, upon terms and conditions to be expressed in addresses from the Houses of Parliament of this Dominion to Her Majesty, and which shall be approved of by the Queen in Council:

"5. That it is accordingly expedient to address Her Majesty, that she would be graciously pleased, by and with the advice of Her Most Honorable Privy Council, to unite Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory with the Dominion of Canada, and to grant to the Parliament of Canada authority to legislate for their future welfare and good government.

"6. That in the event of the Imperial Government agreeing to transfer to Canada the jurisdiction and control over this region, it would be expedient to provide that the legal rights of any corporation, company, or individual, within the same, will be respected; and that in case of difference of opinion as to the extent, nature, or value of these rights, the same shall be submitted to judicial decision, or be determined by mutual agreement between the Government of Canada and the parties interested. Such agreement to have no effect or validity until first sanctioned by the Parliament of Canada.



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"7. That upon the transference of the territories in question to the Canadian Government, the claims of the Indian tribes to compensation for lands required for purposes of settlement would be considered and settled in conformity with the equitable principles which uniformly governed the Crown in its dealings with the Aborigines.

"8. That a select committee be appointed to draft a humble Address to Her Majesty on the subject of the foregoing resolutions."

The Hudson's Bay Company would not consent to the transfer of its territory until the amount of compensation for it had been settled, and as Canada had practically agreed to do this, the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, then secretary of state for the colonies, sent a dispatch to Lord Monck, saying that the Dominion government must settle the terms of the transfer with the company before the bill authorizing the transfer would be submitted to the imperial parliament. Accordingly the Dominion parliament passed the Rupert's Land Act in July, 1868, authorizing the government to acquire the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company. The government sent Sir George E. Cartier and Hon. William McDougall to England to arrange terms with the company, and they sailed on their mission on October 3, 1868. Soon after they had presented their credentials to the Duke of Buckingham, that minister informed them rather pointedly that the company was to be treated as a proprietor holding a good title to the lands whose transfer was sought, and so eliminated Canada's old contention from the discussion. There were proposals and counter-proposals for some time; and the business was also delayed by a change of government, in which Earl Granville succeeded the Duke of Buckingham in the colonial office, and by the resignation of the Earl of Kimberley, the company's governor, who was succeeded by Sir Stafford Northcote.

The British government was most anxious to have the negotiations brought to a satisfactory termination, and Earl Granville seems to have brought some pressure to bear upon the company, just as his predecessor had done upon the representatives of Canada. He plainly reminded the company that the title to its great territory was not beyond dispute, that its boundaries were open to question, that its vast domain was almost certain to be overrun by thousands of Canadian and American settlers, that it was powerless to prevent such an invasion, and that its government of the great region in the past had not proved its ability to maintain law and order there for the future. Finally an agreement was reached, and on March 9, 1869, the arrangements for the transfer were completed. They were as follows:

"1. The Hudson's Bay Company to surrender to Her Majesty all the rights of government, property, etc., in Rupert's Land, which are specified in 31 and 32 Victoria, clause 105, section 4; and also all similar rights in any other part of British North America not comprised in Rupert's Land, Canada, or British Columbia.

"2. Canada is to pay to the Company £300,000 when Rupert's Land is transferred to the Dominion of Canada.

"3. The Company may, within twelve months of the surrender, select a block of land adjoining each of its stations, within the limits specified in Article 1.

"4. The size of the blocks is not to exceed..... acres in the Red River country, nor three thousand acres beyond that territory, and the aggregate extent of the blocks is not to exceed fifty thousand acres.

"5. So far as the configuration of the country admits, the blocks are to be in the shape of parallelograms, of which the length is not more than double the breadth.

"6. The Hudson's Bay Company may, for fifty years after the surrender, claim in any township or district within the Fertile Belt, in which land is set out for settlement, grants of land not exceeding one-twentieth of the land so set out. The blocks so granted to be determined by lot, and the Hudson's Bay Company to pay a rateable share of the survey expenses, not exceeding..... an acre.

"7. For the purpose of the present agreement, the Fertile Belt is to be bounded as follows: On the south by the United States boundary; on the west by the Rocky Mountains; on the north by the northern branch of the Saskatchewan; on the east by Lake Winnipeg, the Lake of the Woods, and the waters connecting them.

"8. All titles to land up to the 8th of March, 1869, conferred by the Company, are to be confirmed.

"9. The Company to be at liberty to carry on its trade without hindrance, in its corporate capacity, and no exceptional tax is to be placed on the Company's land, trade, or servants, nor an import duty on goods introduced by them previous to the surrender.

"10. Canada is to take over the materials of the electric telegraph at cost price, such price including transport, but not including interest for money, and subject to a deduction for ascertained deterioration.

"11. The Company's claim to land under agreement of Messrs. Vankoughnet and Hopkins to be withdrawn.

"12. The details of this arrangement, including the filling up of the blanks in Articles 4 and 6, to be settled by mutual agreement."

Such were the terms on which the government of the Hudson's Bay Company ceased, after it had been an empire within the empire for two hundred years; thus it surrendered its title to most of a territory out of which half a dozen European kingdoms might have been carved; and thus Canada acquired a vast addition to her dominion whose estimated area was nearly two and a half millions of square miles. The long-deferred hopes of the people of the Red River colony for stable self-government and the maintenance of law and order were on the eve of being realized.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### TROUBLE OVER THE TRANSFER

The terms under which the Hudson's Bay Company agreed to transfer its territory to the Dominion of Canada were finally settled on March 9, 1869; the necessary order-in-council, endorsing these terms, was adopted by the imperial government; on June 22, 1869, the parliament of Canada passed an Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory; and October 1, 1869, was the date fixed for the payment of the purchase price of £300,000 and the completion of the transfer.

But the transfer was not to be made without disturbance, and to understand the causes of the disturbance many facts must be kept in mind. Some of these facts relate to the Hudson's Bay Company and the position in which it found itself, some to the actions of the Canadian government, some to the attitude of the Canadian people, and others to the attitude of the Red River people themselves. The facts in connection with these matters are patent to any one who studies the existing circumstances carefully. It has been vehemently affirmed and as vehemently denied that other influences, hidden but strong, were at work, fanning the smoldering embers of suspicion and dissatisfaction among the people of Red River until they broke out in the flame of open rebellion; but the advocates of neither side seem to have proved their case, and we must wait for time to give a verdict which will embody the whole truth.

The year 1869 found the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Red River Settlement in a very difficult position. The company's rule was about to terminate; and as soon as the actual transfer of its territory was made, they would cease to have any authority as government officials. The company's influence as a governing body had been moribund for several years, and it died when the terms of the transfer were settled; yet its officials were expected to maintain law and order in a land where all their authority had vanished. The actual transfer was not accomplished as soon as was expected, and in the meantime no new governing machinery could be put in motion and the country was without a real government of any sort. These facts should be remembered, especially by those who have criticised Mr. William Mactavish, the company's governor at Fort Garry, for inaction and vacillation. It should be remembered, too, that Governor Mactavish was ill, and that, much against his will, he remained in office until the transfer was completed.

For the blunders of the Dominion government it is less easy to find valid excuses. Before any act had been passed or any agreement adopted, which would give it a title to any part of the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company, even before the terms of the transfer had been settled, it had taken steps,

which assumed in a practical way the ownership of the Red River country. On September 18, 1868, Hon. William McDougall instructed Mr. John A. Snow to proceed to Red River and commence the construction of a road from the settlement to the Lake of the Woods along the route recommended by Mr. S. J. Dawson some ten years earlier. This was done without any formal understanding with the Hudson's Bay Company. Mr. Snow claimed that he had received verbal permission from Governor Mactavish to commence the work; but this does not seem to have been approved by the directors of the company, for during the negotiations which Messrs. Cartier and McDougall conducted during the autumn and winter of that year, the directors made a formal complaint to the colonial secretary because the Canadian government was constructing a road across the lands of the company without its permission.

1 } The conduct of some of the men sent to carry out the undertaking was unwise, that of others most reprehensible. The majority of the laborers engaged on the road were Canadians or Americans; few of the Metis secured employment, although they were in special need of the wages to be earned in that way because of the ravages of the grasshoppers during the preceding summer. The Metis of the settlement were greatly irritated by a series of private letters written by one of Mr. Snow's assistants to friends in Canada who were indiscreet enough to give them to the *Toronto Globe* for publication. These letters contained some severe criticism of the French half-breeds, and they afterwards made the writer feel their resentment in an unmistakable way.

2 } The Metis were further irritated by the action of several men who attempted to exploit the lands along the line of the road which was being built. These men entered into a scheme to buy the land from the Indians for a nominal price, without recognizing the claims of the Metis. The latter had always claimed some title to the soil in virtue of their Indian descent, as well as on the ground of early occupation, and naturally became indignant when they found themselves ignored by these early land-grabbers. Believing that Mr. Snow and Mr. Charles Mair, one of his assistants, were implicated in the scheme, a number of the French half-breeds went to Oak Point one day in February, 1869, seized Mr. Mair, and carried him to Fort Garry. They released him only at the earnest request of Governor Mactavish. Mr. Snow was convicted of having sold liquor to the Indians in connection with the land deals and was fined. There was also some trouble over the purchase of provisions.

The irregularities in connection with the building of this road finally drew a remonstrance from Governor Mactavish. In his reply Mr. McDougall said that the Canadian government had undertaken the road as a measure of relief for the settlers, "as the Hudson's Bay Company had done nothing for the starving people of Red River." How unjust this charge against the company is has been shown in Chapter XXIV. It will be understood that the incidents connected with the building of this road and Mr. McDougall's partial responsibility for them as a minister of the Dominion government did not raise him in the estimation of the people of Red River, nor tend to secure him a kindly reception when he came to the country in another capacity a few months later.

In the meantime the Dominion government made another blunder. On July 10, several months before the expected transfer of the Red River Settlement to the Dominion, Hon. Mr. McDougall directed Colonel J. S. Dennis, D.

L. S., to proceed to the settlement and make preparations for surveying it into townships and dividing these into sections. Up to this time the Hudson's Bay Company, in selling land to settlers, had followed the plan of survey inaugurated by Mr. Peter Fidler in Lord Selkirk's time. Farms were laid out with narrow frontages along the rivers, and originally they ran back ninety or one hundred chains, the division lines being at right angles to the general course of the stream. Subsequently, however, the length of the farms was extended to two miles. The owner of one of these narrow farms, or "the inner two miles," was supposed to have the privilege of cutting hay on a strip of land of the same width as his farm and extending beyond it to a distance of four miles from the river, this strip being known as "the outer two miles." Thus the farms along the Red River ran in one direction, while those along the Assiniboine ran in another; owing to frequent subdivision there was no uniformity in their width; and the survey of the division lines was by no means exact. In this unsystematic plan of laying out farms had obtained in the settlement land had been conveyed in a loose manner, and there was more uncertainty about many titles. Any new system of survey in the divide the Red and Assiniboine Rivers would result in endless confusion and loss; and Colonel Dennis warned the government that such a survey as that proposed would rouse the opposition of the half-breeds, unless their claims were investigated and settled in advance.

But the government did not heed the warning, and in October Hon. William McDougall ordered the survey to proceed. Colonel Dennis attempted to obey, but he had scarcely put his men in the field before the work was interrupted. Major Boulton, who was one of the surveying party, tells us what happened:

"When the surveying party arrived, the first thing done was to send the horses down to Pointe des Chènes and leave them with those of Mr. Snow, the overseer of the construction of the road before referred to. Some of the party were struck with the beauty of the country in that neighborhood and determined upon taking up land. Then and there they selected a tract and staked it out for future occupation. This gave rise to jealousy on the part of the half-breeds in the neighborhood, who watched their proceedings; and Riel, as it turned out, followed us down to ascertain what our movements were likely to be. It was not difficult for him to persuade the half-breeds that this act was hostile to their interests, and they assembled to intercept us on our way. Riel, who came with the half-breeds as their spokesman, warned our party that they must not survey the land or take possession of any of it. The words of his argument I have forgotten, but the gist of it was to the effect that the country was theirs, and that we had no right to it and must not survey it. We informed him that we were only employees of the Dominion Government and had no control over our movements. There was no show of violence or hostility in this demonstration, and it did not strike us as being of importance at the time. It was, however, the first scene in the drama that was about to be enacted; and I have no doubt it gave the idea to the half-breeds of acting in a similar manner, which resulted in what is known as the 'stake claims.'"

Colonel Dennis withdrew this party of men and returned to Fort Garry. He then secured ponies and Red River carts for transport, went to Pembina, and, following the international boundary west for about ten miles, began the



survey of a line straight north, now called the first principal meridian, upon which all future surveys were to be based. This work was not interrupted by the half-breeds and was stopped only by the sudden coming of winter.

Another detachment of Colonel Dennis' surveyors, in charge of Major Webb, was less fortunate. It seems to have encroached upon some of the farms laid out on the old system. Father Morice has given this account of the affair:

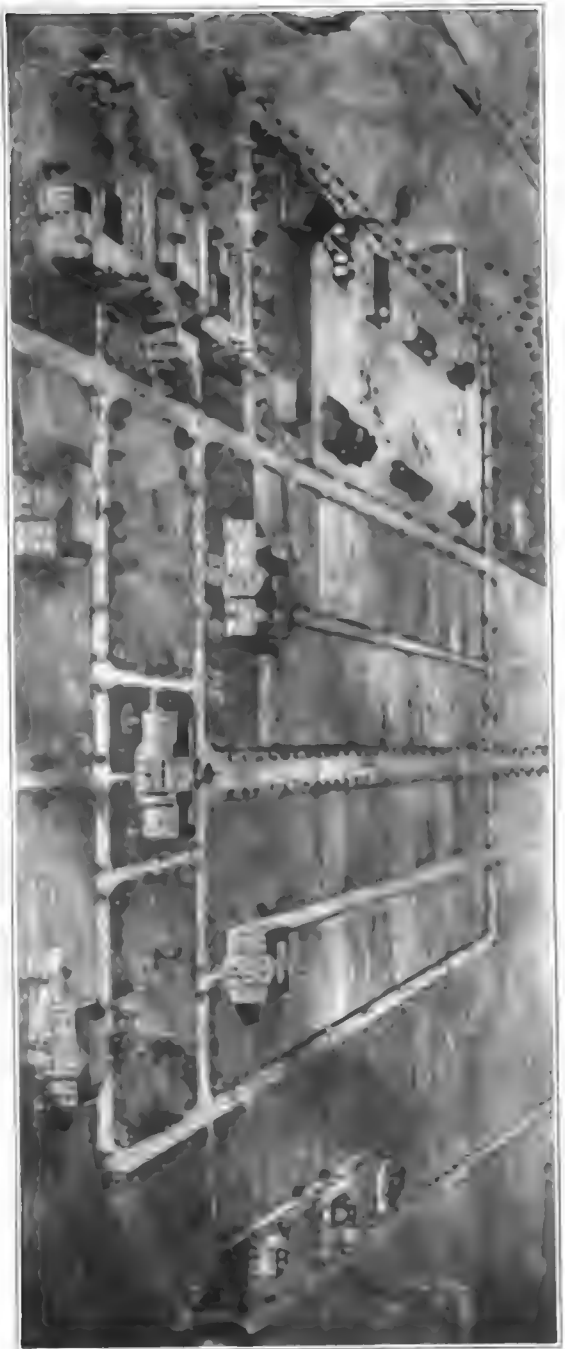
"After private consultations and confidential suggestions exchanged with the leading Metis of St. Vital, where Riel was established, and St. Norbert, an important parish adjoining, some secret meetings were held, the situation was viewed from all points, and the determination was taken to stop the undue interference of the Canadian English in the affairs of the country by putting an end to the operations of the surveyors. In consequence, on the 11th of October, as these were running their lines across the property of a man named André Nault, Riel presented himself at the head of sixteen unarmed Metis and intimated to Mr. Webb, the chief of the Canadian employees, not only to cease his survey but also that he must definitely leave the district. English gentlemen turned a deaf ear, Riel and his followers refused from continuing their work by riding upon their chains."

Colonel Dennis was annoyed at these interruptions of his work, and the local authorities to protect his men from further disturbances; but they were powerless to take any effective measures to that end. Dr. Cowan, the officer in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Fort Garry, tried to induce Riel's followers to cease their opposition to the surveys, but he was not successful. Riel was summoned before two justices of the peace, who remonstrated with him; but his reply was, "The Canadian government has no right to make surveys in the territory without the express permission of the people." When appealed to, Governor Mactavish called a meeting of the council of Assiniboia, but that body could do nothing in the existing circumstances.

The facts, which are usually given as the causes of the Red River rebellion, have been outlined above, and the disturbances, which formed its prelude, have been noted briefly; but the real causes of the rebellion lie much deeper and must be sought in the convictions and feelings of the people themselves. Allusions to these convictions have already been made, but the matter will bear more detailed consideration. The construction of the Dawson road, the new system of surveys, the attempt of parties from Canada to exploit the lands of the territory about to be added to the Dominion must have affected all classes of people in the Red River Settlement; why then were the Metis the only class whose dissatisfaction found expression in open revolt against constituted authority?

In 1869 the population of the whole colony was a little more than 12,000. The Metis numbered about 5,000, the English and Scotch half-breeds about 5,000, and the people of British and Canadian birth about 2,000. There were also a few Americans in the settlement. The Canadian element was favorable to the acquisition of the country by Canada, and its attitude had been voiced to some extent by Dr. Schultz and his organ, the *Nor'-Wester*. Most of the British-born residents were favorable to the termination of the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company and the establishment of some form of self-government in harmony with British institutions, and probably most of the English-speaking half-breeds held similar opinions. None of these people, however, had had

Not  
constituted  
authority



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE AND FARM, ST. VITAL.



any voice in arranging the terms by which the country they inhabited was transferred to Canada. That had been done by representatives of the Dominion, of the British government, and of the Hudson's Bay Company; and perhaps this may partly account for the apparent apathy of the English-speaking settlers in the troubles which followed the transfer. Their history seems to show, too, that they were lacking in initiative ability; and their would-be leaders did not command their confidence. The few American people in the settlement seem to have hoped for the ultimate annexation of the country to the United States, and they may have expected that result to follow, if the troubles between the settlers and the Dominion government reached an acute stage. They probably misinterpreted and exaggerated the significance of the petition of 1846, signed by nearly six hundred people in the colony, asking for annexation to the United States. The statement that a large sum of money had been deposited in St. Paul about this time to finance a movement for the annexation of the Red River Settlement to the United States lacks proof.

But the attitude of the Metis was different in some respects from that of the other classes in the community. Behind their ~~suspicion in regard to the motives and methods of the Dominion government, behind their old distrust of the Hudson's Bay Company~~, lay the feeling of ownership and nationality. This feeling showed itself in the enmity of the Metis to the Hudson's Bay Company during the long contest with the Nor'-Westers; it led them to regard the Selkirk settlers as intruders; and it responded all too readily to the appeals of Duncan Cameron and Alexander McDonell in years 1815 and 1816. The "New Nation" was more than a mere catch-word among these people. It was the expression of a general sentiment among them at that time—something akin to real national feeling—and they had never lost it entirely. It is significant that the newspaper, which became the organ of the Metis during the rebellion, was called the *New Nation*. The Metis maintained that they had occupied the country before the whites came, even before the Hudson's Bay Company had established any posts in it, and claimed the rights of original possessors. It is true that they had never established any form of government in the country, although they had shown some capacity for a simple form of government in the organization of their large hunting parties and a remarkable willingness to conform to its regulations. It was this feeling of being the original possessors of the country, this incipient national sentiment, which often made the Metis restless under the laws adopted by the Hudson's Bay Company. Possibly ~~some recognition of the rights which they claimed was contemplated in the agreement for the transfer of the country to the Dominion, although the Hudson's Bay Company had denied them previously; and the Dominion government certainly recognized them to some extent later.~~ But these rights had not been recognized at the time fixed for the transfer, nor had any investigation of their validity been promised; and so the Metis naturally suspected that their rights had been sacrificed.

It is possible that the Metis were also actuated by another feeling—the natural resentment of a race which finds itself unable to adapt itself to changes consequent upon the progress of the country in which it lives. It sees itself gradually supplanted by another race and recognizes that its influence must be subordinated to that of a more progressive people. The recognition of the

inevitableness of such a fate breeds a dull, hopeless anger which has shown itself in scores of futile outbreaks among aboriginal or semi-aboriginal races against the people who have dispossessed them. In America, India, South Africa, and elsewhere the fact has been illustrated again and again.

The long-smoldering resentment of the Metis might never have found expression in open revolt against the existing government, had they lacked a leader. But a leader, waiting his opportunity, was present in the person of young Louis Riel. He was the eldest son of Louis Riel, "the miller of the Seine," who had led the Metis in their successful resistance to the Hudson's Bay Company in the Sayer affair in 1846. His mother was a daughter of Jean Baptiste Laimoniere and his wife, Marie Anne Gaboury, whose romantic story has been sketched in a previous chapter. On his mother's side he was pure French, but from his father he inherited a very slight strain of Indian blood. The younger Louis Riel was born in St. Boniface on October 22, 1844. He grew up a clever lad, and Archbishop Taché, who had an eye for promising boys, arranged to have him attend college in Montreal. He was fourteen years of age when he entered the college, and he seems to have studied there for five years. The death of his father in 1864 made it necessary for the young man to return home. It has been stated that he subsequently lived in the United States for a short time, but during the two years which preceded the disturbances mentioned in the early part of this chapter Louis Riel had resided on the paternal farm at St. Vital.

Louis Riel was twenty-five years of age—an age at which youth is quite confident that the world is ready to accept its ideals. He was better educated than the majority of his people, full of enthusiasm, and possessed of a fiery eloquence which was very effective among the excitable Metis. He inherited some of his father's ability as a leader, and much of his father's antipathy to the existing government. Strongly imbued with the Metis' sentiment of nationality and a belief in their rights, he naturally became its clearest exponent. When a youth, he had been asked what he intended to do when his studies were completed. "I will go to Red River," he replied, "and follow in my father's footsteps. He was a benefactor of our people, and I shall seek to be their benefactor too." Such sentiments, ideals, and ability, combined with some personal ambition, made Louis Riel the leader of the Metis in their opposition to the methods adopted in the transfer of the Red River colony to Canada.

## CHAPTER XXIX

### OPEN REBELLION

No one had taken a more active part in securing the annexation of the North-West territories to Canada than Hon. William McDougall, and it seemed fitting that he should be made their first lieutenant-governor. His commission, dated September 29, 1869, was to take effect on the day on which the transfer of the territory was consummated, and Mr. McDougall was instructed by the secretary of state for the Dominion to proceed to Fort Garry at once in order to superintend the organization of the new territorial government. He was also asked to make reports to the government on the state of the laws in the territories, the system of taxation, the currency, the lands open to settlement, the condition of the Indian tribes, the relations between the Hudson's Bay Company and the different religious denominations, etc. In addition, he was asked to send the names of men qualified to serve as members of his council, and he was urged to take steps for the early extension of the telegraph system into the North-West. On October 11 the secretary of state forwarded by the hands of Mr. J. A. N. Provencher the commission appointing Mr. McDougall as lieutenant-governor and commissions to Mr. William Mactavish and others, authorizing them to administer the oaths of allegiance and of office to Governor McDougall and to all other persons appointed to government positions. But Mr. McDougall did not accomplish any of the multifarious tasks assigned to him. He departed for his new field of duty at once, and on October 30 he reached Pembina, accompanied by Mr. J. A. N. Provencher, who was to act as secretary of his government, Mr. Albert Richards, who was to be his attorney-general, Dr. Jakes, Major Cameron, and some members of his family; but he never entered Fort Garry as governor of the North-West Territories.

News of Governor McDougall's coming preceded him and stirred the Metis to increased activity. Their spokesman, Riel, attempted to secure the support of the English-speaking settlers for the opposition to the policy of the Dominion government shown by the Metis, but they would give him no encouragement. He then called a meeting of his leading supporters among the inhabitants of the French parishes; and a committee, or council, was appointed to direct the agitation. John Bruce was made president and nominal leader of the council, while its real leader, Louis Riel, was appointed secretary. The house of Father Ritchot at La Salle river was used as a council chamber.

This committee, determined not to recognize the authority of the Dominion government or its officials, decided that Governor McDougall must not be allowed to come to Fort Garry, and the following notice was sent to him:

"Monsieur—Le Comité National des Metis de la Rivière Rouge intime à

Monsieur W. McDougall l'ordre de ne pas entrer sur le Territoire du Nord-Ouest sans une permission spéciale de ce comité.

"Par ordre du Président,

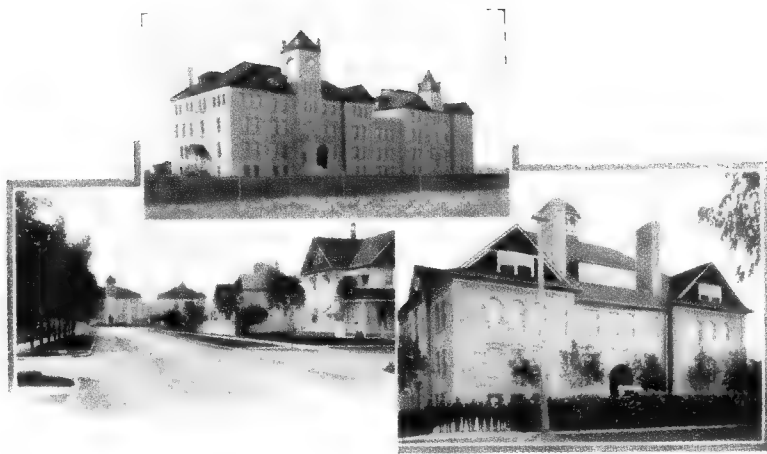
JOHN BRUCE,  
LOUIS RIEL,  
*Secrétaire.*

"Daté à St. Norbert, Rivière Rouge,  
Ce 21e jour d'Octobre, 1869."

On his journey across the Minnesota plains Governor McDougall had met Hon. Joseph Howe, who was on his way east after spending some time in the Red River Settlement. Mr. Howe told him that there was no efficient government in the colony, that the French half-breeds were greatly dissatisfied with the terms and manner of the transfer to Canada, and that the whole situation was one requiring the utmost tact, if serious trouble was to be averted; but the governor did not expect such decided opposition as was intimated in the notice from the committee which was put into his hands on his arrival at Pembina. On the same day he received a long letter from Governor Mactavish, informing him of the unrest among the Metis and the excitement caused by his own approach. Governor Mactavish suggested that three courses were open to him: a small band of friendly French people might be raised, who would go to Pembina and escort the governor to Fort Garry; a body of English residents, large enough to overawe the Metis, might be enlisted to bring him in; or he might remain at Pembina until the malcontents dispersed. He advised the governor to adopt the last plan, and it would appear that Colonel Dennis had sent similar advice. Nevertheless, Mr. McDougall crossed the boundary and took up quarters in the Pembina post of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Metis council took steps to enforce obedience to its order. The road from Pembina to Fort Garry led across the La Salle river, and as the stream runs between high, steep banks, it could not be easily crossed except at the bridge; and the council sent a band of thirty or forty men, armed with guns and revolvers, to build a barricade of small timber across the trail south of the bridge and to remain there to guard it. One or two advance parties were placed on the road further south.

These high-handed actions of Riel and his followers did not meet with approval from all the French and Metis, and they were viewed with decided disapprobation by the English-speaking people of the settlement. The situation was discussed at a meeting of the council of Assiniboia on October 25, the members present being Judge Black, Bishop Machray, Dr. Cowan, Dr. Bird, and Messrs. Dease, Sutherland, McBeth, Fraser, and Bannatyne. Riel and Bruce had been invited to attend the meeting, and members of the council remonstrated with them for taking up arms and showed them that such actions were criminal. Riel expressed his determination to persist in opposing Mr. McDougall's entrance into the settlement, although he promised to repeat to his followers what he had been told by the council. The Metis leaders were allowed to retire; and then the council engaged in a long discussion, plan after plan being suggested only to be rejected because the council was well aware of its lack of power to enforce any measure which it might adopt. Finally, on motion of Messrs. Bannatyne and McBeth, the following resolution was adopted:



BRANDON COLLEGE AND PARK SCHOOL





"That Messrs. Dease and Goulet be appointed to collect immediately as many of the more respectable of the French community as they can, and with them proceed to the camp of the party who intend to intercept Governor McDougall and endeavor, if possible, to procure their peaceable dispersion; and that Mr. Dease report to Governor Mactavish on or before Thursday next as to their success or otherwise."

Of course Mr. Dease had to report that he had not been successful in his mission; and having shot its futile bolt, the council did little more. One man in Fort Garry seemed to have some foresight and decided ideas of the plan of action which should be adopted. He was Sergeant James Mulligan, chief of police. He urged Dr. Cowan to call out the 300 special constables, who had been enrolled in anticipation of trouble a few years earlier, and as many of the old pensioners as could be found, and place them as a garrison in Fort Garry. The walls and bastions of the fort were in good order and were mounted with 13 six-pounder guns. There were nearly 400 Enfield rifles in its armory, left there by troops who had once garrisoned the place, and there was plenty of ammunition and provisions. If Mulligan's advice had been followed, the fort could have been held against any force which the Metis were likely to have mustered, and the incipient rebellion would probably have fizzled out before the end of the year. But nothing was done, and the inaction of the authorities encouraged Riel to persist in the course on which he had entered.

Governor McDougall decided to wait at the boundary for a few days, but he sent his secretary forward at once to ascertain how matters stood in the settlement. Mr. Provencher was a nephew of the deceased Bishop Provencher, and the governor hoped that he might secure the sympathy and confidence of the French and Metis people. When Mr. Provencher's carriage reached the La Salle barricade, it was stopped and he was invited to attend mass in the neighboring church. After the service he discussed the political situation with some of the leading people of the district, and in the afternoon he had an interview with Riel. The latter told him plainly that, as leader of the Metis, he could not recognize the measures adopted by the Canadian government nor the appointments which it had made, but that he was ready to open negotiations with any representative of the government fully empowered to agree upon the terms under which the colony would be federated with the Dominion. That was the message which Mr. Provencher was to carry to Pembina, and an armed guard would accompany him.

As Father Ritchot, Riel, and some of his supporters came out on the road to see Mr. Provencher started on his return ride to Pembina, another carriage approached the barricade. It contained Major Cameron, who hoped to reach Fort Garry and study conditions there from another point of view. Seeing the obstruction on the road, he called out impatiently, "Remove this infernal fence!" But the Metis guard declined to oblige him, and two of the men, taking his horses by their bridles, turned their heads southward. "You are to return to Pembina," said Riel, "and to make sure that you do not take some other road my men will accompany you there." He then detailed a guard of fourteen mounted men under Ambroise Lépine to escort the two baffled travelers back to Pembina, which they reached on the evening of the next day, November 2. Lépine had been entrusted with another duty, which he carried out without

delay, and that was to set Mr. McDougall south of the border. So on November 3rd the governor found himself deported from the country whose government he was sent to organize. Hearing of the governor's unpleasant experience, Colonel Dennis went to Pembina and secured fairly comfortable quarters for him near the United States customs house in Pembina.

Riel was not slow to see the advantage which the possession of Fort Garry would give him. During November 2nd, the day on which Lépine was sent to compel Governor McDougall and his party to retire to United States territory, Riel marched a force of about 120 men down to Fort Garry, entered it unopposed, and took possession of its cannon, rifles, ammunition, and other stores, in spite of the protests of Dr. Cowan, the officer of the Hudson's Bay Company in charge there. He quartered his officers in the apartments of the company's clerks and appropriated some of Governor McDougall's furniture in order to make them more comfortable. During the first few days of their occupation of the fort Riel's men seem to have committed no depredations.

Riel's success appears to have turned his head, and his actions became more arbitrary and lawless. Mails were detained and examined, and letters between Pembina and Fort Garry had to be sent by special messengers. A rumor that Mr. McDougall was bringing arms from Canada and intended to have them secretly conveyed to Fort Garry gave the insurgent leaders an excuse for stopping every cart which crossed the boundary to search it for concealed weapons and ammunition. The same excuse served for the detention of a quantity of merchandise consigned to Dr. Schultz, and Riel's agents were careful to collect duty on the goods before releasing them.

Riel's next move seems to have been designed to give some appearance of legality to his usurpation. On November 6 he went to the office of the *Nor'-Wester*, and ordered the editor, Dr. Bown, to print a notice for distribution among the people of Red River. When Bown refused, he was made a prisoner, and two men, engaged by Riel for the purpose printed the required number of copies of the notice. It read as follows:

**"PUBLIC NOTICE TO THE INHABITANTS OF RUPERT'S LAND**

"The President and Representatives of the French-speaking population of Rupert's Land, in council, (the invaders of our rights being now expelled), already aware of your sympathy, do extend the hand of fellowship to you, our friendly fellow-inhabitants, and in doing so invite you to send twelve representatives from the following places, viz. :—

St. John's .....	1	St. Clement's .....	1
Headingley .....	1	St. Margaret's .....	1
St. Mary's .....	1	St. James .....	1
St. Paul's .....	1	Kildonan .....	1
St. Andrew's .....	1	St. Peter's .....	1
Town of Winnipeg .....	2		

in order to form one body with the above council consisting of twelve members, to consider the present political state of this country, and to adopt such measures as may be deemed best for the future welfare of the same.

"A meeting of the above council will be held in the Court-House, at Fort Garry, on Tuesday, the 16th day of November, at which the invited representatives will attend.

“By order of the President,

LOUIS RIEL, *Secretary*.

Winnipeg, November 6, 1869.”

The English-speaking residents hesitated to countenance Riel's actions by sending delegates to a meeting of his council; but finally, hoping to reach some peaceable solution of the trouble, they decided to accept his invitation. On the day appointed the twenty-four delegates presented themselves, and as they filed into the court-house a salute of twenty-four guns was fired from the walls of the fort, which the Metis supplemented by a *feu-de-joie* from their muskets. The convention consisted of the following members: John Bruce, president; Louis Riel, secretary; French representatives—François Dauphinais, Pierre Poitras, and Pierre Laveiller from St. François Xavier, W. B. O'Donoghue from St. Boniface, André Beauchemin and Pierre Parenteau, Sr., from St. Vital, Louis Lacerte and Baptiste Tourond from St. Norbert, and Charles Nolin and Jean Baptiste Perreault from Ste. Anne's; English representatives—Henry McKenney and H. F. O'Lone from Winnipeg, James Ross from Kildonan, Maurice Lowman from St. John's, Dr. Bird from St. Paul's, Donald Gunn from St. Andrew's, Thomas Bunn from St. Clement's, Henry Prince, chief of the Indians settled there, from St. Peter's, Robert Tait from St. James, William Tait from Headingly, George Gunn from St. Ann's, and John Garrioch from Portage la Prairie.

Governor McDougall found himself in a very difficult position. He was on the border of the country which he had been sent to govern, but he was prevented from entering it and taking up his duties. Friends in the settlement were not unanimous in the advice which they gave him, some urging him to wait at Pembina, others assuring him that if he came down to Fort Garry the loyal people in the colony would rally to his support. But many of these loyal people were unwilling to take any action which would direct the hostility of the Metis against themselves. Colonel Dennis, who had canvassed the English and Scotch settlers, hoping to raise among them a force strong enough to bring the governor down to Fort Garry, gives the following as the opinion of those inhabitants who had decided to remain neutral: “We feel confidence in the future administration of the government of this country, under Canadian rule; at the same time, we have not been consulted in any way, as a people, in entering into the Dominion. The charter of the new government has been settled in Canada, without our being consulted. We are prepared to accept it respectfully, to obey the laws and become good subjects; but when you present to us the issue of a conflict with the French party, with whom we have hitherto lived in friendship, backed up, as they would be, by the Roman Catholic church, which appears probable, by the course at present being taken by the priests, in which conflict, it is almost certain the aid of the Indians would be invoked, and perhaps obtained by that party, we feel disinclined to enter upon it, and think that the Dominion should assume the responsibility of establishing amongst us, what it, and it alone, has decided upon.” Governor McDougall could not hope for any active support from that section of the people.

Nor did he receive much support from the government which had sent him out as governor of the newly acquired territories. It was the original intention of the Dominion government to complete the transfer of the North-West

territories on October 1, and Mr. McDougall's arrival was timed accordingly. But the proclamation of Her Majesty, announcing the annexation of the country to the Dominion, was postponed, and in the meantime, Governor McDougall had no official status in it. This fact afforded the Metis ground for their position and gave some of the English-speaking people an excuse for their apathy and inaction. Mr. McDougall felt the weakness of his position, for on November 2 he wrote to Governor Mactavish, reminding him that the Hudson's Bay Company was still the governing power in the country and responsible for the preservation of peace until the transfer of the colony was formally proclaimed. But the company's governing power had waned to a shadow, and Governor Mactavish could do nothing but offer advice. He advised Mr. McDougall to return to Canada until the trouble had blown over; but as that meant an overland journey of four hundred miles to St. Paul in the beginning of winter, Mr. McDougall hesitated. He urged Mr. Mactavish to issue a proclamation, explaining to the people the terms of the act, which made their country a part of Canada, and warning them against impeding any action taken under its provisions. Mr. Mactavish was very doubtful if such a proclamation would have any effect in checking unlawful movements on the part of the French population, since the local authorities found themselves in a very anomalous position. In his reply he says: "The Act in question referred to the prospective transfer of the territory; but up to this moment we have no official intimation from Britain, or the Dominion of Canada, of the fact of the transfer or of its conditions, or of the date at which they were to take practical effect upon the government of this country."

Nevertheless Governor Mactavish finally decided to try the effect of a proclamation. When Riel's convention assembled, Governor Mactavish sent his secretary, Mr. J. J. Hargrave, with a copy of the proclamation to be read before the delegates. It was as follows:

"Whereas I, William Mactavish, governor of Assiniboia, have been informed that a meeting is to be held to-day of persons from the different districts of the settlement, for the ostensible purpose of taking into consideration the present political condition of the colony, and for suggesting such measures as may be best adapted for meeting the difficulties and dangers connected with the existing state of public affairs; and whereas, I deem it advisable at this juncture to place before that meeting, as well as before the whole body of the people, what it appears necessary for me to declare in the interests of public order, and of the safety and welfare of the settlement:

"Therefore, I notify all whom it concerns, that during the last few weeks large bodies of armed men have taken up positions on the public high road to Pembina, and, contrary to the remonstrances and protests of the public authorities, have committed the following unlawful acts:

"1st. They have forcibly obstructed the movements of various persons traveling on the public highway, in the peaceful prosecution of their lawful business, and have thus violated that personal liberty which is the undoubted right of all Her Majesty's subjects.

"2nd. They have unlawfully seized and detained on the road at La Rivière Sale, in the parish of St. Norbert, goods and merchandise of various descriptions, and of very considerable value, belonging as well to persons coming into

the colony as to citizens already settled here and carrying on their business in the settlement, thereby causing great loss and inconvenience, not only to the owners of these goods, but, as has formally been complained of, also to the carriers of the same, and possibly involving the whole colony in a ruinous responsibility.

“3rd. They have unlawfully interfered with the public mails, both outgoing and incoming, and by thus tampering with the established means of communication between the settlement and the outside world have shaken public confidence in the security of the mails, and given a shock to the trade and commerce of the colony, of which the mischievous effects cannot now be fully estimated.

“4th. Not only without permission, but in the face of repeated remonstrances on the part of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s officer in immediate charge of Fort Garry, they have, in numbers varying from about sixty to one hundred and twenty, billeted themselves upon that establishment, under the plea of protecting it from danger which they allege was known by themselves to be imminent, but of which they have never yet disclosed the particular nature; they have placed armed guards at the gates of an establishment, which, every stick and stone of it, is private property, in spite of the most distinct protestations against such a disregard of the rights of property; they have taken possession of rooms within the Fort, and although they have there as yet committed no direct act of violence to person or property, beyond what has been enumerated, yet by their presence in such numbers, with arms, for no legitimate purpose that can be assigned, they have created a state of excitement and alarm within and around the Fort, which seriously interferes with the regular business of the establishment.

“5th. A body of armed men have entered the Hudson’s Bay Company’s post at Pembina, where certain gentlemen from Canada with their families were peaceably living, and under threats of violence have compelled them to quit the establishment at a season of the year when the rigors of winter were at hand, and forced them to retire within American territory.

“And, in the last place, they have avowed it as their intention, in all these unlawful proceedings, to resist arrangements for the transfer of the government of this country, which have been made under the sanction of the Imperial Parliament, and of virtually setting at defiance the Royal authority, instead of adopting those lawful and constitutional means, which, under the enlightened rule of Her Most Gracious Majesty, our Queen, are sufficient for the ultimate attainment of every object that rests upon reason and justice.

“The persons who have been engaged in committing these unlawful deeds have resorted to acts which directly tend to involve themselves in consequences of the gravest nature, and to bring upon the colony and the country at large the evils of anarchy and the horrors of war.

“Therefore, in the interests of law and order, in behalf of all the securities you have for life and property, and, in a word, for the sake of the present and the future welfare of the settlement and its inhabitants, I again earnestly and emphatically protest against each and all of these unlawful acts. I charge those engaged in them, before they are irretrievably and hopelessly involved, immediately to disperse themselves, and peaceably to depart to their habitations or to

their lawful business, under the pains and penalties of the law; and whatever in other respects may be the conclusions of those who meet to deliberate upon the present critical and distracted state of public affairs, I adjure you as citizens, having the interests of your country at heart, to ratify and proclaim, with all the might of your united voices, this public notice and protest and so avert from the country a succession of evils, of which those who see the beginning may never see the end.

"You are dealing with a crisis, out of which may come incalculable good or immeasurable evil; and with all the weight of my official authority, and all the influence of my individual position, let me finally charge you to adopt only such means as are lawful and constitutional, rational and safe.

"Given under my hand and seal, at Fort Garry, this 16th day of November, 1869.

W. MACTAVISH,

*Governor of Assiniboia."*

When Mr. McKenney, to whom Mr. Hargrave had handed the proclamation, attempted to read it to the convention, the French delegates objected, while the English insisted upon hearing it. The wrangle which followed tended to create a feeling of antagonism between the two factions and to destroy the little chance of unanimous action which may have existed at first. The convention sat until the evening of November 17, without having made any headway, and then adjourned until the 22nd. When the convention reassembled on that date some of the English delegates proposed that Governor McDougall should be admitted in order that they might discuss the grievances of the people with him. But Riel declared that he should not be permitted to enter the colony either as its governor or as a private citizen, and this irreconcilable attitude of the Metis leader widened the breach between the two parties in the convention. On the next day he had Governor Mactavish, Dr. Cowan, and other gentlemen arrested; and when the convention met, he declared his intention of forming a provisional government to conduct negotiations with the Dominion authorities for the federation of the colony with Canada and asked the English-speaking representatives to join him in the movement. Fearing lest they had already countenanced some of his illegal acts by sitting in the convention which he had summoned, these delegates declared that they could not discuss his latest proposal without consulting the people who had elected them; and so the convention was again adjourned to December 1st.

The proclamation, which Governor Mactavish sent to the convention on November 16, states that up to that time the Metis, who had taken forcible possession of Fort Garry, had "committed no direct act of violence to person or property," beyond occupying some of the buildings of the Hudson's Bay Company; but Riel's moderation in this respect was of short duration. Winter had come, and he knew that to keep his band of armed men about him he must feed and pay them, as well as find comfortable shelter for them. He had no means to do these things for more than a hundred "soldiers," and therefore means must be found. The simplest way was to seize the store of the Hudson's Bay Company, which was well stocked with food, clothing, arms, and ammunition—the things Riel needed most. This was done in spite of the protests of the governor and the factor in charge, and the leader of the insur-



GEORGE D. MACVICAR, SR.





gents did not neglect the opportunity to take from the company's strong box the money needed for his campaign. Father Morice has given the following euphemistic account of the affair:

"Eventually the inexorable necessities growing out of the prolongation of the struggle, the formation of a regular government, and the opposition which it met, compelled Riel not only to seize arms and ammunition, as well as supplies of food belonging to the company, but also to negotiate a loan of money and to force the manager of that corporation to consent to it, on the condition that Canada, which was the cause of the uprising, would reimburse the said company when it should take possession of the country."

It is said that Riel used a part of the money so obtained to purchase the *Pioneer*, a newspaper which Mr. Caldwell had established a short time before. Thenceforward this journal was to some extent the organ of Riel and his party. On November 23rd, he seized all the official records of the Hudson's Bay Company, and as these included titles to lands and other important documents, the act created much uneasiness among all classes of people. About the same time rumors that the friends of Governor McDougall were holding secret meetings came to Riel's ears and led him to keep an armed patrol on the streets.

Some friends of peace now made an effort to induce the French to change their programme so far as to acknowledge the government of the Hudson's Bay Company until a joint committee of Metis and English-speaking people could be selected to treat with Mr. McDougall on behalf of the Dominion government or with that government directly. At first the suggestion was favorably received, and Riel gave an assurance that this would be done. But renewed rumors that friends of Governor McDougall were planning to retake Fort Garry gave the Metis leader an excuse for changing his mind, and in a public meeting held in Winnipeg soon after he stated that a provisional government had become a necessity because the Hudson's Bay Company was powerless to govern the colony longer. He added that there was no desire on the part of the Metis to force their special views on the rest of the community and that he wished to act in conjunction with representatives of the English. This assurance induced the English delegates to reconsider the question of attending the adjourned meeting of the convention, and a report that the Queen's proclamation, annexing the colony to Canada, had been received, led them to decide to attend the meeting called for December 1st.



## CHAPTER XXX

### THE BILL OF RIGHTS

The delegates met in convention on the afternoon of December 1, and after a short session adjourned until six o'clock. When they met in the evening, the following "Bill of Rights" was introduced by some of the French members, and the majority of the delegates agreed to it as a basis on which the claims of the colony would be presented to the dominion government:

"1. That the people have the right to elect their own Legislature.

"2. That the Legislature have the power to pass all laws local to the Territory over a veto of the Executive by a two-thirds vote.

"3. That no Act of the Dominion Parliament (local to the Territory) be binding on the people until sanctioned by the Legislature of the Territory.

"4. That all Sheriffs, Magistrates, Constables, School Commissioners, etc., etc., be elected by the people.

"5. A free Homestead and pre-emption Land Law.

"6. That a portion of the public lands be appropriated to the benefit of Schools, the building of Bridges, Roads, and Public Buildings.

"7. That it be guaranteed to connect Winnipeg by Rail with the nearest line of Railroad within a term of five years, the Land Grant to be subject to the Local Legislature.

"8. That for the term of four years all military, civil, and municipal expenses be paid out of the Dominion Funds.

"9. That the military be composed of the inhabitants now existing in the Territory.

"10. That the English and French languages be common in the Legislature and Courts, and that all Public Documents and Acts of the Legislature be published in both languages.

"11. That the Judge of the Supreme Court speak both the English and French languages.

"12. That Treaties be concluded and ratified between the Dominion Government and the several Tribes of Indians in the Territory to ensure peace on the frontier.

"13. That we have a fair and full representation in the Canadian Parliament.

"14. That all privileges, customs, and usages existing at the time of the transfer be respected."

The French delegates then proposed that two English and two French members of the convention be sent to Pembina to ask Mr. McDougall if he could guarantee these rights by virtue of his commission, and if he could, to assure him that both sections of the convention would welcome him to the capital; other-

wise they would request him to remain at Pembina until the bill of rights was guaranteed by the Dominion parliament. But the proposal was not adopted, as the English delegates claimed that they had not been appointed to take such a step, and so the convention was dissolved without further action.

The Dominion government appeared to realize at last that it had been too hasty in some of its steps and remiss in others. It is more than probable that it had received a strong hint from the imperial authorities that the just claims of the people of Red River should be settled before their country was annexed to Canada; but it was unwilling to assume responsibility for its own blunders, and showed a disposition to make Governor McDougall the scapegoat for its sins. It temporized, hoping that time would obviate its difficulties. It neither recalled Mr. McDougall nor did anything to enable him to enter the territory which it had sent him to govern. On November 19th the secretary of state wrote him a letter, approving of his decision to remain at Pembina, advising him that he could assert no authority in the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company until the annexation of that territory had been announced by royal proclamation, and warning him against any action which might be construed as a violation of the neutrality law of the United States. But the Queen's proclamation was delayed, thus leaving the colony under the government of the Hudson's Bay Company and throwing upon that corporation the task of quelling the insurrection.

Governor McDougall had been led to believe that a suggestion made by the governor-general would be carried out and that the postponed proclamation would be made on December 1st. Formal notice to that effect had not been received by him, but he assumed that it had been sent and delayed in the mails. Proceeding on this assumption, he had not passed the month of November in entire inaction at Pembina. He seems to have been in constant communication with friends in the settlement who were anxious to secure his admission to Fort Garry, although they had not devised any effective means of attaining their object. He and they felt justified in taking decided action on December 1st. On that date he issued a proclamation on his own authority, citing the clauses of the British North America Act, the minute of Her Majesty's Privy Council, and the Rupert's Land Act, which made the territory a part of Canada, formally declared that the transfer was consummated on December 1st, and announced his own appointment as lieutenant-governor. Watching for a favorable opportunity, the governor, Mr. Provencher, and Mr. Richards crossed the boundary into the territory and had the proclamation read in due form. Copies of it in English and French had been taken to Fort Garry by Mr. Newcombe and posted up there and in other parts of the settlement by friends of the governor. At first people were inclined to believe that the Dominion government had really proclaimed the annexation of the territory; but after a time they learned that it had postponed the proclamation indefinitely, and so the hasty action of Governor McDougall did more harm than good to his cause. On December 2nd he issued another proclamation, announcing that all public officials in Rupert's Land, except Governor Mactavish, were to continue in office until otherwise ordered.

He also issued a commission to Colonel Dennis on December 1st, appointing him deputy-governor. The document states that bodies of armed men on the road between Pembina and Fort Garry have arrested and held as prisoners a



MAJOR C. A. BOULTON



number of private persons and officials, that these armed men have refused to disperse in obedience to the proclamation of Governor Mactavish, that they have seized Fort Garry and have taken possession of records and public property, and that Mr. McDougall had been appointed to perform the duties of lieutenant-governor; and then this statement follows:

"I have nominated and appointed, and, by these presents, do nominate and appoint you, the said John Houghton Dennis, to be my Lieutenant, and a Conservator of the Peace in and for the North-West Territories, and do hereby authorize and empower you as such to raise, organize, arm, equip, and provision a sufficient force within the said Territories, and, with the said force, to attack, arrest, disarm, or disperse the said armed men, so unlawfully assembled and disturbing the public peace; and for that purpose, and with the force aforesaid, to assault, fire upon, pull down, or break into any fort, house, stronghold, or other place in which the said armed men may be found; and I hereby authorize you, as such Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace, to hire, purchase, impress, and take all necessary clothing, arms, ammunition, and supplies, and all cattle, horses, wagons, sleighs, or other vehicles, which may be required for the use of the force to be raised as aforesaid; and I further authorize you to appoint as many officers and deputies under you, and to give them such orders and instructions, from time to time, as may be found necessary for the due performance of the service herein required of you, reporting to me the said appointments and orders, as you shall find opportunity, for confirmation or otherwise.

"And I hereby give you full power and authority to call upon all magistrates and peace officers to aid and assist you, and to order all or any of the inhabitants of the North-West Territories in the name of Her Majesty the Queen, to support and assist you in protecting the lives and properties of Her Majesty's loyal subjects, and in preserving the public peace, and, for that purpose, to seize, disperse, or overcome by force, the said armed men, and all others who may be found aiding or abetting them in their unlawful acts."

Colonel Dennis began at once to carry out the instructions embodied in his commission. He arrived at Winnipeg on December 1st, had the governor's proclamation posted up in various parts of the settlement, and began to enroll the force which his commission authorized him to raise. He made Lower Fort Garry his headquarters, as it was the only fortified post in the vicinity. He requisitioned and purchased supplies, arms, and ammunition and entrusted Major Boulton with the task of enrolling volunteers in the neighboring parishes. The major reported a ready response to his call, and soon each parish had a company of fifty men, officered and ready for drill. A company was formed in Winnipeg, with Dr. Lynch as captain, Mr. Miller as first lieutenant, and Mr. Allen as second lieutenant. Major Webb was sent to Portage la Prairie to organize four companies in that district. A number of Indians, led by Chief Prince, came up from Lake Winnipeg to offer their services to Colonel Dennis.

The effect of Governor McDougall's proclamation on the loyal people of the settlement was very marked, and if the authority which he assumed had been real, it is probable that Colonel Dennis would have been able to organize a force large enough to overawe Riel's band and lead to its quiet dispersion. But when Major Boulton called a public meeting in Kildonan about December 5th to enroll volunteers for Colonel Dennis' force some of those present questioned



the authority of the governor to make such a proclamation, and before long it became known that the Dominion government, still waiting for something to happen which would release it from the difficult position in which its own blunders had placed it, had not authorized the proclamation annexing the North-West Territories on December 1st. This information showed that Colonel Dennis, although acting in good faith, had in reality no legal warrant for raising and equipping a volunteer force in the colony, and the volunteers soon lost all enthusiasm in the movement.

On the Metis, however, the effect of Colonel Dennis' efforts was quite the contrary of that expected. A number of them had never approved of the extreme measures adopted by Riel, and soon after the appearance of Governor McDougall's proclamation, François Nolin, Augustin Nolin, and Jean Baptiste Perreault met Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne, who persuaded them that their leader's attitude was likely to involve the whole settlement in very serious trouble. They proposed to have, fifty men of the Metis party and fifty of the English settlers meet to discuss the bill of rights, send delegates to Mr. McDougall, and, if he promised to do all in his power to obtain these rights, bring him to Fort Garry. These men went to work in earnest, and there was some prospect that a majority of Riel's council would adopt their views; but Colonel Dennis' preparations for putting down the Metis by force of arms thwarted the plans of Messrs. Nolin and Perreault, caused the Metis to rally around their leader more unitedly than before, and enabled him to increase his force in Fort Garry.

A quantity of government provisions intended for the road-building and surveying parties had been stored in Dr. Schultz' warehouse for the winter. These provisions would have been of great use to Colonel Dennis' force in its campaign against the Metis, and his supporters were anxious lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy. Riel had had an inventory of them made and offered to place a guard over them lest they should be taken by persons who had no right to do so. But this sounded too much like his pretext for seizing the property of the Hudson's Bay Company, and his offer was declined. A number of Canadian sympathizers, who had gone from Winnipeg to Lower Fort Garry to enroll themselves in Colonel Dennis' force, were sent back with orders to keep together for mutual protection. To do this and at the same time to protect the government stores they occupied Dr. Schultz' buildings. On December 4th Colonel Dennis sent a note, asking them to withdraw from the place, but they decided to remain. On the 6th he wrote Major Boulton, telling him that he did not wish Dr. Schultz and those with him to occupy the warehouse longer. During the following evening the major rode over to Dr. Schultz' house and gave him Colonel Dennis' message. A number of leading men were present, and after some consultation, it was decided to evacuate the premises next day. There were several ladies in the party occupying Dr. Schultz' house, and in order to find some place of shelter for them the departure was delayed.

On the morning of the 7th some of the citizens of Winnipeg decided to ask Dr. Schultz to abandon his position on the ground that the presence of an armed body of men on his premises angered the Metis and endangered the whole community. About the same time Mr. Snow and others went to Riel, told him that the party in Dr. Schultz' house had assembled there only to

protect their lives and property, and that if he would guarantee these, they would retire quietly to their homes. Riel replied by the following curt order:

"Communication received this 7th day of December, 1869. Dr. Schultz and men are hereby ordered to give up their arms and surrender themselves. Their lives will be spared should they comply. In case of refusal, all the English half-breeds and other natives, women and children, are at liberty to depart unmolested.

LOUIS RIEL.

"Fort Garry, 7th December, 1869.

"The surrender will be accepted at or before fifteen minutes after the order."

To enforce compliance with this peremptory order Riel called out more than two hundred of his "soldiers," and taking a few cannon, marched down to Dr. Schultz' house. Unable to help themselves and believing the surrender to be a mere form, the following persons—forty-three in all—signed the capitulation: Joseph Lynch, M. D., John Schultz, M. D., Arthur Hamilton, G. D. McVicar, R. P. Meade, Henry Woodington, W. J. Allen, Thomas Langman, D. U. Campbell, John O'Donnell, M. D., W. F. Hyman, James Dawson, W. J. Davis, J. B. Haines, George Fortney, Wm. Graham, Wm. Nimmons, Wm. Kitson, John Ferguson, Wm. Spice, Thos. Lusted, James Stewart, H. Weightman, L. W. Archibald, C. E. Palmer, Geo. Bubar, Matthew Davis, A. Wright, P. McArthur, Robert Smith, James C. Kent, J. M. Coombs, A. R. Chisholm, John Eccles, John Ivy, F. C. Mugridge, F. Franklin, Geo. Nicol, Geo. Millar, James H. Ashdown, A. W. Graham, D. Cameron, J. H. Stocks. Two men, not in the house at the time, were summoned by Riel and obliged to add their names to the list; these were James Mulligan and Charles Garret. Three ladies in the party—Mrs. Schultz, Mrs. Mair, and Mrs. O'Donnell—accompanied the prisoners to Fort Garry, and Mr. J. H. Mactavish of the Hudson's Bay Company placed his apartments at their disposal; but the men, instead of being released, were confined in very cramped and cold quarters. They had no fire, little bedding, and a scanty supply of food.

Conscious that his actions needed some justification, Riel issued on the next day one of his specious declarations, printed in French and English, It was as follows:

#### DECLARATION OF THE PEOPLE OF RUPERT'S LAND AND THE NORTH-WEST

"Whereas it is admitted by all men, as a fundamental principle, that the public authority commands the obedience and respect of its subjects. It is also admitted that a people, when it has no government, is free to adopt one form of government in preference to another, to give or refuse allegiance to that which is proposed. In accordance with the above first principle, the people of this country had obeyed and respected that authority to which the circumstances surrounding its infancy compelled it to be subject. A company of adventurers known as the Hudson's Bay Company, and invested with certain powers granted by His Majesty Charles II, established itself in Rupert's Land and in the North-West Territory for trading purposes only. This company, consisting of many persons, required a certain constitution; but as theirs was

a question of commerce only, their constitution was framed in reference thereto; and yet, since there was at that time no government to see to the interests of a people already existing in the country, it became necessary for judicial affairs to have recourse to the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. This inaugurated that species of government which, slightly modified by subsequent circumstances, ruled the country up to a recent date. Whereas that government thus accepted was far from answering to the wants of the people, and became more and more so as the population increased in numbers, and as the country was developed, and commerce extended until the present day when it commands a place among the colonies; and this people, ever actuated by the above mentioned principles, had generally supported the aforesaid government, and gave it a faithful allegiance; when, contrary to the law of nations, in March, 1869, that said government surrendered and transferred to Canada all the rights which it had or pretended to have, in this territory, by transactions with which the people were considered unworthy to be made acquainted. And, whereas it is also generally admitted that a people is at liberty to establish any form of government it may consider suitable to its wants, as soon as the power to which it was subject abandons it or attempts to subjugate it without its consent to a foreign power, and maintained that no right can be transferred to such foreign power.

"Now, therefore, first, we, the representatives of the people in council, assembled at Upper Fort Garry, on the 24th of November, 1869, after having invoked the God of Nations, relying on these fundamental moral principles, solemnly declare, in the names of our constituents, and in our own names, before God and man, that from the day on which the Government we had always respected abandoned us, by transferring to a strange power the authority confided to it, the people of Rupert's Land and the North-West became free and exempt from all allegiance to the said Government.

"Second: That we refuse to recognize the authority of Canada, which pretends to have a right to coerce us, and impose upon us a despotic form of government, still more contrary to our rights and interests as British subjects than was that Government to which we had subjected ourselves through necessity up to a recent date.

"Third: That by sending an expedition on the 1st of November ult., charged to drive back Mr. William McDougall and his companions, coming in the name of Canada to rule us with a rod of despotism, without a previous notification to that effect, we have acted conformably to that sacred right which commands every citizen to offer energetic opposition to prevent his country being enslaved.

"Fourth: That we continue, and shall continue, to oppose, with all our strength, the establishing of the Canadian authority in our country under the announced form, and in case of persistence on the part of the Canadian Government to enforce its obnoxious policy upon us by force of arms, we protest beforehand against such an unjust and unlawful course; and we declare the said Canadian Government responsible before God and man for the innumerable evils which may be caused by so unwarrantable a course.

"Be it known, therefore, to the world in general, and to the Canadian Government in particular, that as we have always heretofore successfully defended



DR. J. H. O'DONNELL



our country in frequent wars with the neighboring tribes of Indians, who are now on friendly relations with us, we are firmly resolved in future, not less than in the past, to repel all invasions from whatsoever quarters they may come; and furthermore, we do declare and proclaim, in the name of the people of Rupert's Land and the North-West, that we have, on the said 24th of November, 1869, above mentioned, established a provisional government, and hold it to be the only lawful authority now in existence in Rupert's Land and the North-West which claims the obedience and respect of the people; that meanwhile we hold ourselves in readiness to enter into such negotiations with the Canadian Government as may be favorable for the good government and prosperity of this people. In support of this declaration, relying on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge ourselves on oath, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to each other.

"Issued at Fort Garry, this 8th day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine.

JOHN BRUCE, President.

LOUIS RIEL, Secretary."

Thus Riel strove to persuade his followers, and perhaps himself, that their agitation was about to be crowned with success. Indeed they had some reason for thinking so. Colonel Dennis' scheme for bringing the insurrection to an end had utterly collapsed, and forty-five of his supporters were prisoners in Fort Garry. To prevent Governor McDougall from making another attempt to cross the border Riel sent a band of forty men to guard the roads about the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Pembina. Mr. J. Snow was ordered to arrange his affairs and leave the country. Dr. Bown, editor of the *Nor'-Wester*, did not wait for a similar order, but retired quietly to Eagle's Nest, a little post of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Winnipeg river. Colonel Dennis, recognizing the futility of further effort on behalf of the governor just then, decided to leave the colony. He wrote to Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne, asking him to inform the people in arms that he would be glad to do anything in his power to bring about a settlement of the colony's difficulties, and inclosed a copy of a proclamation, which was printed and distributed during the day. It was as follows:

#### "PEACE PROCLAMATION

"Lower Fort Garry, Red River Settlement,

"December 9, 1869.

"To all whom it may concern:

"By certain printed papers, of late put in circulation by the French party, communication with the lieutenant-governor is indicated with a view to laying before him alleged rights on the part of those now in arms. I think that course very desirable, and that it would lead to good results. Under the belief that the party in arms are sincere in their desire for peace, and feeling that to abandon for the present the call on the loyal to arms would, in view of such communication, relieve the situation of much embarrassment and so contribute to bring about peace and save the country from what will otherwise end in ruin and desolation, I now call on and order the loyal party in the North-West Territories to cease further action under the appeal to arms made by me; and

I call on the French party to satisfy the people of their sincerity in wishing for a peaceful ending of all these troubles by sending a deputation to the lieutenant-governor at Pembina without any unnecessary delay.

“Given under my hand at Lower Fort Garry, this 9th day of December, 1869.

J. S. DENNIS,

Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace  
in and for the North-West Territories.”

There was some fear that the Sioux, who had come north and settled in the neighborhood of Portage la Prairie a few years earlier, would be drawn into the struggle between the Metis and Canadian parties, and Colonel Dennis sent Major Boulton to induce them to remain quiet. On his way west the major barely escaped capture at the hands of some of Riel's men; but he carried out his mission to the Sioux successfully and secured from their chief a promise to keep the peace. During the next few months he remained at Portage la Prairie; but Colonel Dennis rejoined Governor McDougall at Pembina and soon after returned to Canada.

In the meantime the Dominion government had left Mr. McDougall at Pembina, without support and almost without instructions. On November 29th he wrote to Honorable Joseph Howe, the secretary of state, “I have the honor to report that I am still at Pembina, in the territory of the United States, and unable, in consequence of the continued occupation of the road by armed men, to proceed to Fort Garry. I have further to report that I have not received any instructions for my guidance on and after the day of the transfer of the territory to Canada, nor any notice of the order in council, which has no doubt been passed to effect it. In these circumstances, I am compelled to act upon the general powers and directions of my commission, and of the Acts of Parliament, Canadian and Imperial, which seem to bear upon the case.” He then explained what he intended to do on December 1st. When the proceedings of that day were over, he duly reported them to Hon. Mr. Howe. Mr. McDougall did not receive the reply of the secretary of state before he left Pembina; but when it did reach him, it must have given him a surprise. Mr. Howe condemned in pointed terms the issue of the governor's proclamation, the commission to Colonel Dennis, and the attempt of the latter to raise an armed force in the colony. He censured Colonel Dennis as well as the governor, misconstruing some of the facts of the case in doing so, for the colonel had acted in good faith and believed that his commission was valid. Inadvertently, too, Mr. Howe gave the governor a glimpse of the temporizing policy of the government and its desire to shift the responsibility of settling the Red River troubles to other shoulders than its own. He said, “Had the inhabitants of Rupert's Land, on the breaking out of the disturbances, risen and put an end to them, or had Governor Mactavish organized a force to occupy his forts, and maintain his authority, all would have been well, and Riel and his people would have been responsible for any bloodshed or property destroyed.”

Hearing that Riel would be at the Pembina post of the Hudson's Bay Company on December 13, Mr. McDougall wrote to him, proposing an interview in which they could discuss the difficulties which had arisen. Among other things, he said, “I have full powers from the Government, as well as the strongest desire personally, to meet all just claims of every class and section of the people.

Why should you not come to me and discuss the matter? I beg you to believe that what occurred will not affect my mind against you or those for whom you may be authorized to speak. The interview proposed must be without the knowledge or privity of certain American citizens here, who pretend to be *en rapport* with you. I trust to your honor on this point." But Riel did not reply, and so the interview never took place. As it seemed to Mr. McDougall that the Dominion government was ignoring him entirely, he decided to wait at Pembina no longer, and on December 18th he departed for Canada.





## CHAPTER XXXI

### THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The "Bill of Rights" was published on December 5th. It tended to reassure the English settlers and induce them to wait for a peaceable settlement of the troubles of the colony. The collapse of Colonel Dennis' attempt to raise an armed force and his proclamation tended in the same direction. Joint action on the part of the Metis and English factions seemed possible once more. Many of the Metis retired from Fort Garry to their homes, leaving only about sixty men there.

On December 10th, two days after he had proclaimed the establishment of a provisional government, Riel hoisted its flag over Fort Garry. The design on the flag combined the *fleur-de-lis* with the shamrock; and it is said that the latter emblem was added at the suggestion of W. B. O'Donoghue, one of Riel's councillors from St. Boniface. The adoption of the shamrock as one of the emblems on his flag may have given rise to the rumor that Riel was acting in collusion with Fenians across the international boundary, and the rumor received some corroboration from articles advocating annexation to the United States, which appeared in the *New Nation* about the time that paper became the organ of Riel's party. Riel himself, however, steadily protested that he was opposed to annexation and that he desired to maintain a provisional government, representative of all classes in the community, until the rights of the people could be secured from Canada. Had his acts been as moderate as his statements and had he kept faith with the men who surrendered at Dr. Schultz' house, he might have won the co-operation of the English element in the population; but unfortunately the breakdown of the movement in opposition to him made him more arbitrary than ever. He persistently refused to release his prisoners and added to their number by incarcerating men who were known to disapprove strongly of his methods; and he continued to take from the stores of the Hudson's Bay Company and private merchants what he needed for his followers.

The Dominion government finally took action in regard to the Red River rebellion, although it was a step towards pacification rather than definite settlement of the trouble. On December 4th the secretary of state, Hon. Mr. Howe, instructed Rev. Grand Vicar Thibault to proceed to the Red River Settlement and present the views and purposes of the government to the people there. Colonel de Salaberry was to act as his colleague. Mr. Howe's letter of instructions to the two commissioners gave them no real power to conclude any arrangements with the colony and was very vague and general in what it promised to the people. It stated that in the four provinces al-

ready federated men of all classes, races, and creeds were on perfect equality in the eyes of the government and the law, and that no government would attempt to establish different conditions in the North-West; it pointed to the fact that the rights of the Indians in eastern Canada had always been respected and that no Indian wars had ever occurred there, and it promised that the Indians of the west would be justly treated; it declared that there would have been bloodshed in the Red River Settlement, if the Dominion and imperial governments had not shown so much moderation; it assured the people that the governor-general's proclamation and the instructions to Governor McDougall would show them how groundless were their fears that they would receive unfair treatment or that their political rights would be ignored; intimated that the fullest measure of self-government would be given the colony as soon as possible; and concluded with a little fling at the indiscretion shown by Governor McDougall.

On December 6th the proclamation of the governor-general, Sir John Young, afterwards Lord Lisgar, was issued to the people of the North-West Territories. The following are its principal clauses:

"The Queen has charged me, as Her Representative, to inform you that certain misguided persons in Her Settlement on the Red River have banded themselves together to oppose by force the entry into Her North-West Territories of the officer selected to administer, in Her name, the government, when the Territories are united to the Dominion of Canada, under the authority of the late Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom; and that those parties have also forcibly, and with violence, prevented others of Her loyal subjects from ingress into the country.

"Her Majesty feels assured that she may rely upon the loyalty of Her subjects in the North-West, and believes those men, who have thus illegally joined together, have done so from some misrepresentation.

"The Queen is convinced that, in sanctioning the union of the North-West Territories with Canada, she is promoting the best interests of the residents, and at the same time strengthening and consolidating Her North American possessions as part of the British Empire. You may then judge of the sorrow and displeasure with which the Queen reviews the unreasonable and lawless proceedings which have occurred.

"Her Majesty commands me to state to you that she will always be ready, through me as Her Representative, to redress all well-founded grievances, and that she has instructed me to hear and consider any complaints that may be made, or desires that may be expressed to me as Governor-General. At the same time she has charged me to exercise all the powers and authority with which she has trusted me in the support of order and the suppression of unlawful disturbances.

"By Her Majesty's authority, I do therefore assure you, that on the union with Canada all your civil and religious rights and privileges will be respected, your properties secured to you, and that your country will be governed, as in the past, under British laws and in the spirit of British justice.

"I do further, under Her authority, entreat and command those of you who are still assembled and banded together in defiance of law, peaceably to disperse and return to your homes, under the penalties of the law in case of disobedience.

"And I do lastly inform you, that in case of your immediate and peaceable obedience and dispersion, I shall order that no legal proceedings be taken against any parties implicated in these unfortunate breaches of the law."

On the next day Mr. Howe sent a letter to Governor McDougall, amplifying the pledges contained in the proclamation of the governor-general. Unfortunately the letter reached Pembina after the governor had departed for Ottawa, and its contents were not made known to the people of Red River until January 25th. Mr. Howe said:

"You will now be in a position, in your communications with the residents of the North-West, to assure them:

"1. That all their civil and religious liberties and privileges will be sacredly respected.

"2. That all their properties, rights and equities of every kind, as enjoyed under the government of the Hudson's Bay Company, will be continued to them.

"3. That in granting titles to land now occupied by the settlers, the most liberal policy will be pursued.

"4. That the present tariff of customs duties will be continued for two years from the 1st of January next, except in the case of spirituous liquors, as specified in the order-in-council above alluded to.

"5. That in forming your council the Governor-General will see that not only the Hudson's Bay Company but the other classes of the residents are fully and fairly represented.

"6. That your council will have the power of establishing municipal self-government at once, and in such manner as they think most beneficial to the country.

"7. That the country will be governed, as in the past, by British law, and according to the spirit of British justice.

"8. That the present government is to be considered as merely provisional and temporary, and that the Government of Canada will be prepared to submit a measure to parliament, granting a liberal constitution, so soon as you, as Governor, and your council have had an opportunity of reporting fully on the wants and requirements of the territory.

"You had, of course, instructions on the above-mentioned points, excepting as regards the tariff, before you left Ottawa, but it has been thought well that I should repeat them to you in this authoritative form."

In sending out Rev. Thibault and Colonel de Salaberry the government hoped to pacify the insurgents without committing itself to any precise plan for the future government of the colony; but a few days later it decided that more definite action was necessary, and it dispatched to Fort Garry a representative invested with real power to deal with the discontented colonists. Shortly after his arrival at Pembina Governor McDougall had reported to Ottawa that the inactivity of the Hudson's Bay Company seemed to warrant the inference that its officials had considerable sympathy with the position taken by the Metis. This was scarcely fair, however, for on November 24th Mr. Donald A. Smith, now Lord Strathcona, wrote to Hon. Mr. Howe, by request of the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, offering all the assistance in its power to restore peace and order in the Red River Settlement. After some delibera-

tion the government accepted this offer, and on December 10th the secretary of state wrote to Mr. Smith, appointing him a commissioner with power to bring about the best settlement possible with the people of the western colony. The letter was as follows:

"Sir—I have the honor to inform you that His Excellency the Governor-General has been pleased to appoint you Special Commissioner, to inquire into and report upon the causes and extent of the armed obstruction offered at the Red River, in the North-West Territories, to the peaceful ingress of the Hon. Wm. McDougall, the gentleman selected to be the Lieutenant-Governor of that country on its union with Canada.

"Also, to inquire into and report upon the causes of the discontent and dissatisfaction at the proposed change that now exists there.

"Also, to explain to the inhabitants the principles on which the Government of Canada intends to govern the country, and to remove any misapprehension which may exist on the subject.

"And also to take such steps, in concert with Mr. McDougall and Governor Mactavish, as may seem most proper for effecting the peaceable transfer of the country and the government from the Hudson's Bay authorities to the Government of the Dominion. You will consider this communication as your letter of appointment as Government Commissioner.

"With this letter you will receive:

"A copy of the letter of instructions given to Mr. McDougall on leaving Ottawa, dated 28th September last;

"Copy of further letter of instructions to Mr. McDougall, dated 7th instant;

"Copy of the Proclamation issued by His Excellency the Governor-General, addressed to the inhabitants of the North-West Territories, by the express desire of Her Majesty.

"These will enable you to speak authoritatively on the subject of your mission.

"You will proceed with all dispatch to Pembina, and arrange with Mr. McDougall as to your future course of action; and then go on to Fort Garry, and take such steps as, after such consultation, may seem most expedient. You will, of course, consult Governor Mactavish, and endeavor to arrange one system of concerted action in the pacification of the country, with Mr. McDougall, the Hudson's Bay authorities, and yourself.

"As the information received by the Government here is necessarily imperfect, and as the circumstances at the Red River are continually changing, it is not considered expedient to hamper you with more specific instructions. You will, therefore, act according to the best of your judgment in concert with Mr. McDougall, and you will keep me fully informed by every mail of the progress of events.

"In addition to the more immediate object of your mission, you are requested to report on the best mode of dealing with the Indian Tribes in the country, and generally to make such suggestions as may occur to you as to the requirements of the country for the future."

Mr. Smith left at once for Fort Garry and reached it on December 27th. He took the precaution of leaving his commission and the official documents committed to him in the hands of Mr. J. A. N. Provencher at Pembina. He



LOUIS SCHMIDT



found Colonel de Salaberry at the border town, for that gentlemen was doubtful if the Metis would allow him to enter the settlement; but Rev. Thibault had gone forward and had reached St. Boniface a day before Mr. Smith arrived at Fort Garry. He had left his commission with his colleague; but that gentleman rejoined him on January 6th, and then their papers were handed to Riel. The Metis leader, having read the documents, remarked that they gave the bearers no power and retained them. The two commissioners were kept as virtual prisoners in the bishop's palace and had no chance to discuss matters with the people, and so they accomplished very little. Perhaps the government did not expect them to do more. Mr. Smith was allowed to occupy quarters with his fellow officers of the Hudson's Bay Company; but he, too, was closely watched by Riel's men and was little better than a prisoner.

On December 25, 1869, Mr. Bruce resigned as president of the Metis council, and at a meeting, held two days later, Riel was appointed as his successor. On January 8th the following notices were gazetted in the *New Nation*:

"Orders of the Provisional Government of Rupert's Land.

"The people of Rupert's Land are notified by these presents:—

"That at a meeting of the Representatives of the People, held at Fort Garry, on the 27th day of December, 1869, the following resolutions were adopted:—

"1st.—Mr. John Bruce having, on account of ill health, resigned his position as president, Mr. Louis Riel was chosen to replace him.

"The new president takes this opportunity, in conjunction with the Representatives of the People, to express their high sense of the qualities which distinguish the ex-president. Among others, his modesty, the natural moderation of his character, and the justness of his judgment. These qualities, which were of such great assistance to the people, deserve public recognition, and the Representatives accepted his resignation only in the hope hereby to preserve the health of one dear to them

"2nd.—Mr. François Xavier Dauphinais has been chosen Vice-President.

"3rd.—Mr. Louis Schmidt has been appointed Secretary of the Council.

"4th.—Mr. W. B. O'Donoghue has been appointed Secretary-Treasurer.

"5th.—Mr. Ambroise Lépine has been appointed Adjutant-General.

"6th.—It has been decided that Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne should be continued in his position as Postmaster.

"7th.—All the officers or employees of the old government who might pretend to exercise that old authority shall be punished for high treason.

"8th.—Justice shall be administered by the Adjutant-General, whose council shall be composed of Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne, F. X. Dauphinais, and Pierre Poitras. This council will sit on the first and third Monday of each month.

"9th.—All licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors must be given by the Adjutant's council, and all those who took this kind of license on the 1st of December last, must have them renewed by the said council.

"In publishing these orders the President and Representatives of the People, anxious to draw upon the exercise of their authority the blessing of Heaven and the approbation of all, announce to the people of Rupert's Land that they have pardoned twelve political prisoners, showing thereby that clemency and forgiveness are as familiar to them as severity.

LOUIS RIEL, President,  
LOUIS SCHMIDT, Secretary."



For a month Riel's prisoners had endured, as bravely as they might, the hardships and indignities meted out to them by their captors. Major Boulton says: "They were detained for no offence, but merely that Riel might use them to serve his purpose in any way that seemed to him expedient. Their confinement and poor food were not long in telling on them; but they were unable to get any release, or any amelioration of their lot, for Riel was obdurate, and they were closely guarded by a large force. Their sufferings were greater by reason of the inclemency of the weather, it now being the depth of winter; and neither sufficient warmth or clothing was allowed them. Having been confined for some weeks without any hope of speedy release, nothing having been so far accomplished by the mission of Mr. Smith, some of the prisoners determined to effect their escape. The guards had become careless; and, an opportunity presenting itself, they made a dash for their liberty. But the difficulties they had to contend with in finding their way across the snow-clad prairies after effecting their escape were greater than they anticipated. Out of the twelve who escaped seven were retaken. One of them, poor Hyman, was badly frozen. Charles Mair and Thomas Scott, whose life was afterwards taken by Riel, reached Portage la Prairie."

The recaptured men were taken back to prison on January 9th. Up to that time the prisoners—nearly sixty in all—had been confined in the jail of the Hudson's Bay Company, a rather dilapidated structure which stood just outside the fort; but after the capture of those who escaped, all were immured in buildings inside the walls of the fort. Dr. Schultz was kept in a room by himself, and believing that Riel meditated some special act of vengeance against him, he determined to escape. His wife and one or two friends assisted him in his preparations, and on the 23d of January everything was ready. By the aid of a knife and a gimlet he opened the window of his prison; his buffalo robe, cut into strips, furnished a rope by which he descended to the ground; a severe blizzard screened his movements; and when he was outside the walls of the fort, a cutter was waiting to carry him to the house of Mr. McBeth in Kildonan, where he was safe for a time. When his fellow-prisoners learned the next day of the doctor's escape, neither the abuse nor the threats of their guards could keep them from cheering.

When Mr. Donald A. Smith reached Fort Garry, he was taken by some of the guards to Riel who introduced him to some of the members of his "provisional government." He was asked the purport of his visit, and replied that he came as the representative of the Canadian government and would show his credentials to the people of Red River as soon as they were ready to receive him. He was required to take an oath not to attempt to leave the fort; but he declined to do this, and was careful throughout his stay not to recognize the provincial government as having any legal existence. For two months he was practically a prisoner; for although Riel gave him permission to go outside the walls of the fort for exercise, if accompanied by two armed guards, he never availed himself of the privilege. On January 6th he had an interview with Riel, which convinced him that no good would come of any negotiations with the Metis council. He decided that it was better to deal with individuals among the disaffected people.

Mr. Smith, in his report to the government, said: "Meantime we had fre-

quent visits in the fort from some of the most influential and most reliable men in the settlement, who gladly made known to the people generally the liberal intentions of the Canadian Government, and, in consequence, one after another of Riel's councillors seceded from him, and being joined by their friends, and by many of their compatriots and co-religionists, who had throughout held aloof from the insurgents, they determined no longer to submit to his dictation."

On January 14 Riel informed Mr. Smith that he had had an interview with Grand Vicar Thibault and Colonel de Salaberry and had found that they were without authority to guarantee the rights of the colonists, should the Red River Settlement be federated with Canada; and he asked to see Mr. Smith's commission. Being informed that it was not in Mr. Smith's possession, he demanded a written order that the document should be delivered to his messenger. This was refused; but when Riel assured him that the papers would be delivered into his hands, Mr. Smith agreed to send for them. That evening he dispatched Mr. Hardisty, his brother-in-law, who had accompanied him from Montreal, to Pembina for the papers left in the hands of Mr. Provencher. Riel sent one of his guards with Mr. Hardisty, and he placed a guard over Mr. Smith, with instructions not to lose sight of him for a moment and to prevent him from having any communication with other people. The next morning, several hours before daybreak, Mr. Smith was awakened and found Riel and a guard standing beside his bed. The new president of the provisional government demanded a written order for the delivery of Mr. Smith's official papers and again met with a refusal.

The well-affected people among the French, having been informed of these incidents and suspecting Riel's purpose, determined to prevent him from seizing the papers. They collected seventy or eighty men—mostly French—and, without giving others any inkling of their purpose, rode south to meet Mr. Hardisty. As they were escorting him back on the 18th, Riel met the party a few miles south of Fort Garry. The Metis leader, who was accompanied by Father Ritchot and a few of his followers, attempted to interfere; but when Pierre Laveiller levelled a revolver at his head and told him to fall into line with the others, he thought it wise to obey. The president of the provisional government was not an absolute ruler by any means.

During the afternoon Very Rev. Vicar Thibault, Colonel de Salaberry, and Father Lestanc called on Mr. Smith, and while they were discussing the intentions of the Canadian government with regard to Rupert's Land, Mr. Hardisty and his escort arrived with Mr. Smith's papers. As these established his status as a representative of the Dominion government, he demanded that the guard be removed and that he be allowed to communicate freely with the people of the colony. Riel consented to this at once. An altercation then arose between members of Mr. Hardisty's escort and Riel, O'Donoghue, and others of the extreme Metis party, but finally it was agreed that a meeting of inhabitants from all parts of the settlement would be called for the next day to hear the proposals brought by Mr. Smith from the Dominion government. A guard of forty men remained to watch the documents which he had received. During the evening some of Riel's most ardent supporters were busy among the followers who had grown lukewarm and persuaded many of them to show a united front at the meeting to be held on the morrow.



## CHAPTER XXXII

### THE NEW LIST OF RIGHTS.

That public meeting, which was held inside the walls of Fort Garry on January 19, 1870, is as worthy a subject for the brush of a great artist as that held on the site of St. John's cathedral nearly fifty-three years earlier. Both were turning points in the history of the Red River Settlement; and the later meeting was quite as picturesque and significant as the earlier. In the one a few hard-driven colonists asked only for a fair chance to develop the land of their adoption and secure homes for themselves and their children in it; in the other their descendants asked that their homes be protected from violence and that the rights of self-government be secured to them. The earlier meeting was held out of doors in the warmth and brightness of a midsummer day; the later was convened out of doors at midwinter, with the temperature at 20° below zero and a biting wind blowing, for a thousand men had gathered to hear Canada's proposals to Rupert's Land, and no building in all the colony would house half that number. English and Scotch, French and Metis, clad in greatcoats of buffalo skin or blue cloth, stood for hours in the bitter weather, discussing matters on which the future of their country might turn.

A group of men approached the wind-swept platform, and there was vigorous cheering from the Metis as the first man mounted it, for he was Louis Riel, their leader. O'Donoghue followed, then Colonel de Salaberry, Grand Vicar Thibault, and others, and finally the man who was to be the central figure of this meeting, as Selkirk was of that earlier meeting by the riverside. Tall, well-knit, with beetling brows and determined mouth, Mr. Donald A. Smith's appearance inspired the people with confidence in his ability to cope with the situation.

Riel stepped to the front to move that Mr. Thomas Bunn be chairman, and the motion, seconded by Pierre Laveiller, was carried. Judge Black was appointed as secretary, and Riel was chosen as interpreter. Without further preliminaries, the chairman called upon the representative of the Dominion to state the purpose of his mission. Mr. Smith began by asking all present to lay aside their arms, and then he asked that the flag of the provisional government be replaced by a British ensign. Many of the men complied with the first request, but the second was not granted. Mr. Smith then read Mr. Howe's letter, appointing him a commissioner of the government, and this was followed by the governor-general's letter to Mr. Smith, although there was some wrangling over the reading of the latter. Then Mr. Smith asked Grand Vicar Thibault for letters to Governor Mactavish and Bishop Machray which the Dominion government had entrusted to him. Riel exclaimed that he did not

wish to have either letter read; but Mr. Smith explained that Governor Mactavish had authorized him to ask for the one, and Bishop Machray asked that the other, which had been addressed to him, be produced. There was another altercation, the English demanding the letters, the Metis supporting Riel. It was a tense moment, and many hands went into pockets in which pistols lay. When some one asked, "Who has the documents now?" Laveiller cried, "Mr. O'Donoghue has them;" and this was corroborated by the grand vicar. Finally some one moved that the letters be produced and read, and the motion was carried by a large majority. Then Riel said, "I move that this meeting adjourn and that we hunt up the papers tomorrow." This motion was lost, and O'Donoghue was sent for the missing letters. Laveiller insisted on going with him. The papers were found in Louis Schmidt's desk and carried to Mr. Smith.

"The paper I want," said Mr. Smith, "is a proclamation from the governor-general, copies of which came into the settlement, although I do not know where they are now." Waiting a moment for the proclamation, which could not be produced because it had been destroyed, Mr. Smith proceeded to read a message from the queen, in the form of a communication from Earl Granville to the governor-general, dated November 26, 1869, most of which the governor-general had incorporated in his proclamation of December 6th. There was much cheering when the message had been read, and Riel recognized that in this first meeting he had been out-manœuvred by Mr. Smith. The latter felt that enough had been accomplished for one day, and as the meeting had already lasted five hours, it was adjourned until the morrow. As the assembly was about to break up, Mr. Burke sprang up and demanded the release of the prisoners; but Riel was in an angry mood, and gave a curt refusal. Many voices repeated Burke's demand, and the Metis rushed for their arms; but after another tense moment the crowd dispersed without any serious disturbance.

When the meeting assembled on the 20th, Judge Black declined to act as secretary, and Mr. Bannatyne was appointed in his place. Mr. Smith then read the letter from the governor-general to Governor Mactavish, the instructions given to Mr. McDougall by the government on September 28th, and the letter of the secretary of state to that gentleman, dated December 7th, containing the promises to the people of Rupert's Land already quoted. When the reading of these documents had been completed, the meeting adjourned for half an hour; and the time was spent by Riel and his colleagues in earnest discussion, for events had not taken the turn which they had expected. When the meeting reassembled, it was moved by Mr. Riel, seconded by Mr. Bannatyne, and carried, that twenty representatives be chosen by the English and twenty by the French to meet on January 25th for the purpose of considering Mr. Smith's proposals on behalf of the Canadian government and deciding on the best course of action in connection with them. Committees were appointed to apportion the number of representatives to the various parishes and to determine the method of their election. After this short speeches were made by Father Ritchot, the Bishop of Rupert's Land and Riel, the latter expressing his satisfaction at the harmonious character of the meeting and the prospect of securing their rights at an early date. There was a good deal of fraternizing between Metis and English when the meeting broke up, and once more the friends of order hoped for united action on the part of all factions.



HON. WILLIAM HESPELER



On January 21st the committee appointed to allot the English representatives, met at the residence of Bishop Machray and arranged that St. Andrew's was to elect three delegates, Kildonan, St. Clement's, St. Peter's, St. James, Headingly, and St. Ann's two each, and Winnipeg, St. John's, St. Margaret's, and St. Mary's one each. In Winnipeg the election developed keen rivalry between the British and the American factions, Mr. Bannatyne being the candidate of the former, Mr. Alfred H. Scott the candidate of the latter. It was unfortunate in many respects that Mr. Scott was elected. In the few days between the meeting in Fort Garry and the elections Riel was busily engaged in canvassing the Metis who supported Laveiller in his opposition to the methods of the president of the provisional government. He succeeded in winning many of them by promising to lay down his authority as soon as the new convention met. About forty of them had remained in the fort after the meeting of the 20th; but three-fourths of these men were soon convinced of Riel's good intentions and retired to their homes. When the results of the elections were announced, it was found that a great majority, but not all, of the Metis representatives were partisans of Riel.

The representatives of the people met on January 25th, but as several of the French delegates had not arrived, the organization of the convention was postponed until the next day. When the convention met on January 26th, the following English representatives were present: Rev. Henry Cochrane and Thomas Spence from St. Peter's, Thomas Bunn and Alex. McKenzie from St. Clement's, Judge Black, Donald Gunn, Sr., and Alfred Boyd from St. Andrew's, Dr. Bird from St. Paul's, John Fraser and John Sutherland from Kildonan, James Ross from St. John's, Alfred H. Scott from Winnipeg, George Flett and Robert Tait from St. James, John Taylor and Wm. Lonsdale from Headingly, Kenneth McKenzie from St. Mary's, Wm. Cummings from St. Margaret's, George Gunn and D. S. Spence from St. Ann's. The French delegates were: Pierre Thibert, Alexandre Pagé, and Magnus Birston from St. Paul's, W. B. O'Donoghue, Ambroise Lépine, Joseph Genthon and Louis Schmidt from St. Boniface, Louis Riel and André Millet (dit Beauchemin) from St. Vital, Pierre Parenteau, Norbert Larence, and B. Tourond from St. Norbert, Louis Lacerte and Pierre Delorme from Pointe Coupée, Baptiste Millet (dit Beauchemin), from St. Charles, Xavier Pagé and Pierre Poitras from St. François Xavier, François Nolin and Charles Nolin from Oak Point, and George Klyne from Pointe à Girouette. Judge Black was appointed chairman of the convention, Louis Schmidt French secretary, and Wm. Caldwell English secretary. The commissioner's papers were brought in and handed to Schmidt for translation, and then the meeting adjourned for the day.

When the convention met again on the 27th, Mr. James Ross called for the proclamation of the governor-general, but it was not produced. Mr. Smith attended the meeting by invitation, and he has given this account of the proceedings:

"I was received with much cordiality by all the delegates, explained to them the views of the Canadian Government, and gave assurances that, on entering confederation, they would be secured in the possession of all rights, privileges, and immunities enjoyed by British subjects in other parts of the Dominion; but on being requested by Mr. Riel to give an opinion regarding a certain



'List of Rights,' prepared by his party in December last, I declined to do so, thinking it better that the present Convention should place in my hands a paper stating their wishes, to which I should 'be happy to give such assurances as I believed would be in accordance with the views of the Canadian Government.' The convention then set about the task of preparing a 'List of Rights,' embodying the conditions on which they would be willing to enter the confederation. While the discussion regarding this list was going on, Mr. Riel called on me, and asked me if the Canadian Government would consent to receive them as a province. My reply was, that I could not speak with any degree of certainty on the subject, as it had not been referred to when I was at Ottawa, the intention then being that the North-West should, in the first instance be incorporated under the Dominion as a territory; but I added that no doubt it would become a province within two or three years."

Having appointed Louis Riel, Louis Schmidt, Charles Nolin, James Ross, Dr. Bird and Thomas Bunn as a committee to draw up a "List of Rights," the convention adjourned on the 27th to meet again on the 29th. When it met on that day, the committee presented its report, and after much debate it was adopted in the following form:

#### "LIST OF RIGHTS

"1. That in view of the present exceptional position of the North-West, duties upon goods imported into the country shall continue as at present (except in the case of spirituous liquors), for three years, and for such further time as may elapse until there shall be uninterrupted railroad communication between Red River Settlement and St. Paul, and also steam navigation between Red River Settlement and Lake Superior.

"2. That as long as this country remains a territory in the Dominion of Canada, there shall be no direct taxation except such as may be imposed by the local legislature for municipal or other local purposes.

"3. That during the time this country shall remain in the position of a territory in the Dominion of Canada, all military, civil, and other public expenses in connection with the general government of the country or that have hitherto been borne by the public funds of the settlement, beyond the receipt of the above mentioned duties, shall be met by the Dominion of Canada.

"4. That while the burden of public expense in this country is borne by Canada, the country to be governed by a Lieutenant-Governor from Canada, and a Legislature, three members of whom being heads of departments of the government, shall be nominated by the Governor-General of Canada.

"5. That after the expiration of this exceptional period, the country shall be governed, as regards its local affairs, as the provinces of Ontario and Quebec are now governed by a Legislature elected by the people, and a Ministry responsible to it, under a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Governor-General of Canada.

"6. That there shall be no interference by the Dominion Parliament in the local affairs of this territory, other than is allowed in the provinces, and that this territory shall have and enjoy in all respects the same privileges, advantages, and aids in meeting the public expenses of this territory, as the confederated provinces have and enjoy.

"7. That while the North-West remains a territory, the legislature have a

right to pass all laws, local to the territory, over the veto of the Lieutenant-Governor by a two-thirds vote.

"8. A homestead and pre-emption law.

"9. That while the North-West remains a territory, the sum of \$25,000 a year be appropriated for schools, roads, and bridges.

"10. That all the public buildings be at the cost of the Dominion treasury.

"11. That there shall be guaranteed uninterrupted steam communication to Lake Superior, within five years, and also the establishment by rail of a connection with the American railway as soon as it reaches the international line.

"12. That the English and French languages be common in the legislature and courts, and that all public documents and Acts of the Legislature be published in both languages.

"13. That the Judge of the Supreme Court speak the French and English languages.

"14. That treaties be concluded between the Dominion and the several Indian tribes of the country as soon as possible.

"15. That, until the population of the country entitles us to more, we have three representatives in the Canadian Parliaments—one in the Senate, and two in the Legislative Assembly.

"16. That all properties, rights, and privileges, as hitherto enjoyed by us, be respected; and that the recognition and arrangement of local customs, usages, and privileges, be made under the control of the Local Legislature.

"17. That the Local Legislature of this territory have full control of all lands inside a circumference having Upper Fort Garry as a center, and that the radius of this circumference be the number of miles that the American line is distant from Fort Garry.

"18. That every man in the country (except uncivilized and unsettled Indians), who has attained the age of twenty-one years, and every British subject a stranger to this country, who has resided three years in this country, and is a householder, shall have the right to vote at the election of a member to serve in the legislature of the country, and in the Dominion Parliament; and every foreign subject, other than a British subject, who has resided the same length of time in the country, and is a householder, shall have the same right to vote, on condition of his taking the oath of allegiance, it being understood that this article shall be subject to amendment exclusively by the Local Legislature.

"19. That the North-West Territory shall never be held liable for any portion of the £300,000 paid the Hudson's Bay Company, or for any portion of the public debt of Canada, as it stands at the time of our entering Confederation; and if thereafter we be called upon to assume our share of said public debt, we consent only on condition that we first be allowed the amount for which we shall be held liable."

The committee had incorporated Clause 8 of the "Bill of Rights," adopted by the first convention on December 1st, in its report; but this section, which provided that any military force in the territory must be composed of residents, was dropped by the convention. The "List of Rights" having been adopted, on February 5 Riel moved that the convention consider the terms on which the colony would enter Confederation as a province rather than a territory, but the

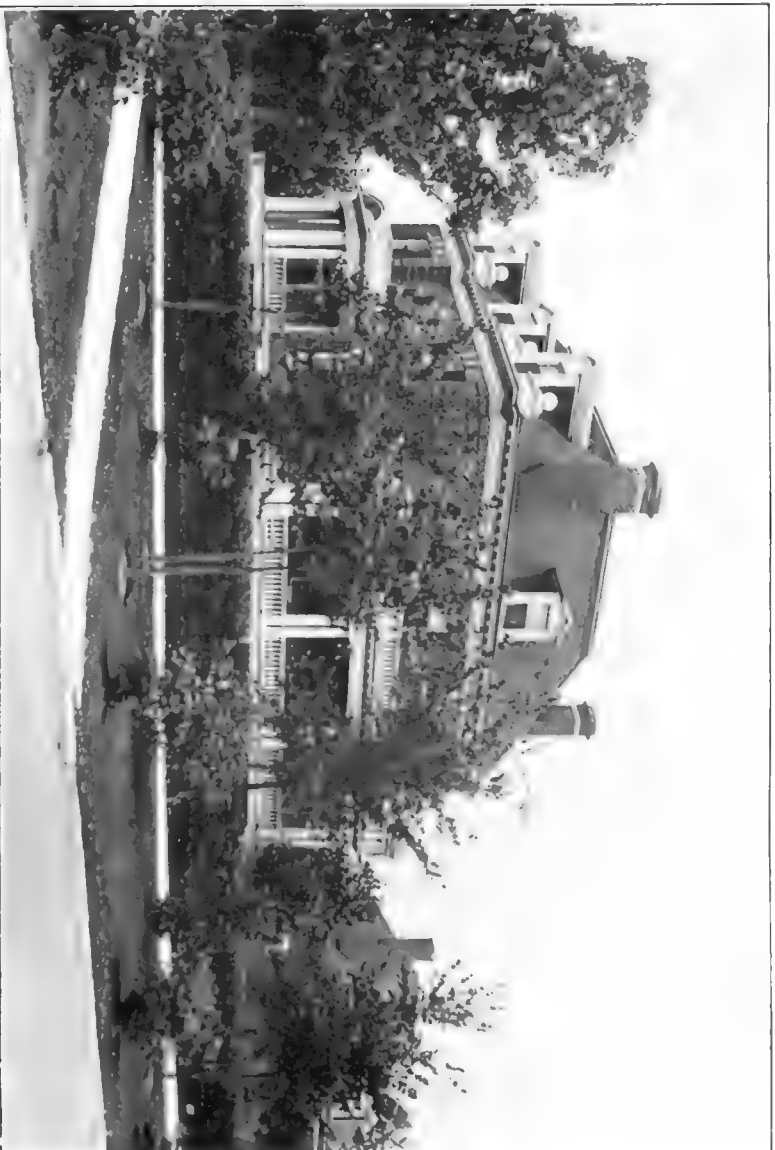
motion was lost. On the next day he moved, "That all bargains with the Hudson's Bay Company for the transfer of this territory be considered null and void; and that any arrangements with reference to the transfer of this country shall be carried on only with the people of this country." But only 17 members voted for this resolution, while 22 voted against it. Riel was angered by his defeat. "The devil take it," he exclaimed; "we must win. The vote may go as it likes, but the measure must be carried."

He then berated in vigorous language, Messrs. Klyne and Nolin, two half-breeds who had voted against his motion; but Nolin replied as vigorously, saying that he had been sent as a delegate by his parish in spite of Riel's opposition, that while he was a member of the convention he would vote according to his conscience, and that he would come again if his parish wished it. "Remember," retorted Riel, "that there is a provisional government; and though the measure has been lost by the voice of the convention, I have friends enough who will add it to the list on their own responsibility."

The meeting broke up in some confusion, but not before it had been decided to send the "List of Rights" to Mr. Smith and to hear his views upon it. It did not reach his hands until the morning of the 7th, however, and Mr. Smith was asked to give his answers at a meeting of the convention fixed for one o'clock in the afternoon. A guard stood over him in the interval to see that he wrote nothing except matter to be presented to the convention, and Riel and Lépine came into his room to intimate that the answers to the clauses of the list must be simply "Yes" or "No."

Foiled in his efforts to carry his scheme in the convention, Riel seems to have decided to terrorize his opponents into submission. Almost as soon as the meeting of February 5th was adjourned, he had William Hallett, one of his prisoners, placed in irons for speaking of the president of the provisional government in uncomplimentary terms; and Dr. Cowan, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company was arrested and confined in the same room with Hallett. These men were threatened by Riel, and a rumor spread through the settlement that they would be shot by order of the dictator. Riel then made his way to the bedside of Governor Mactavish and abused him in unmeasured terms, greatly to the distress of Mrs. Mactavish. Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne, hearing of the outrage, attempted to go to the residence of the governor, his brother-in-law, but was ordered by Riel not to approach the fort. A day or two later Mr. Bannatyne succeeded in passing the guards and gaining admission to the governor's house. When the fact was reported to Riel, he had Mr. Bannatyne arrested and placed in confinement. He also attempted to arrest Charles Nolin, but the friends of this man offered such a determined resistance that the attempt was abandoned. The guard placed over Mr. Smith had orders to shoot him if he attempted to escape.

Once more the arbitrary acts of Riel made the English delegates hesitate, but they finally decided to attend the convention when it met at one o'clock on February 7th to hear Mr. Smith's replies to the "List of Rights." These were most satisfactory to the great majority of the members, for Mr. Smith assured them that the Dominion government would be willing to accede to nearly all their demands, and that, in regard to the two or three clauses which would require legislation by the Dominion parliament, he was sure the wishes of the



GIFFORD HALL, RESIDENCE OF E. F. HUTCHINGS, WINNIPEG



people would be met as far as possible. In conclusion he said, "Although authorized, as commissioner, to act generally as might appear best in the state of affairs here, it was thought probable some points might arise with which I could not deal personally, and to meet this I was instructed by the Dominion government to invite a delegation of two or more of the residents of Red River to meet and confer with them at Ottawa. This I now do, and on the part of the government promise that the gentlemen sent to Canada will be cordially received."

The invitation to send delegates to Ottawa was unanimously accepted, and a resolution to that effect, signed by the secretaries, was sent to Mr. Smith the next day. The delegates chosen were John Black, Esq., recorder of the settlement, Rev. J. N. Ritchot, and Mr. Alfred H. Scott. Riel then brought up the subject of a provisional government, hoping that the English members would endorse it. They seem to have been unwilling to do so without specific directions from their constituents, and before taking any action, they sent Messrs. Fraser and Sutherland to Governor Mactavish to learn his views. "Form a government for God's sake," the sick man exclaimed, "and restore peace and order in the settlement." When asked if he would delegate his power as governor to another, he answered, "I am dying and will not delegate my power to anyone." Some writers have distorted Governor Mactavish's answers into an endorsement of Riel's provisional government, but it is plain that he meant nothing of the sort. Hoping to restore peace to the colony, the English members finally consented to the formation of a provisional government, and Louis Riel, W. B. O'Donoghue, Charles Nolin, James Ross, Thomas Bunn, and Dr. Bird were appointed a committee to formulate the details.

On February 9th the committee presented its report, which was as follows:

"1st. That the council consist of twenty-four members, twelve from the English and twelve from the French-speaking population.

"2nd. That each side decide as to the appointment of its own members of council.

"3rd. That Mr. James Ross be Judge of the Supreme Court.

"4th. That all Justices of the Peace, Petty Magistrates, Constables, etc., retain their places, with the exception of Mr. Dease, J. P., whose place shall be taken by Norbert Larence.

"5th. That Henry McKenney, Esq., be sheriff, as before.

"6th. That Dr. Bird be coroner, as before.

"7th. That the General Court be held at the same times and places as formerly, and that the Petty Court be held in five districts: Lower, Middle, Upper, St. Anne's (Pointe des Chênes), and St. Margaret's (La Prairie).

"8th. That Mr. Bannatyne be continued Postmaster.

"9th. That John Sutherland and Roger Goulet be Collectors of Customs.

"10th. That the President of the Provisional Government be not one of the twenty-four members.

"11th. A two-thirds vote to override the veto of the President of the Provisional Government.

"12th. That Mr. Thomas Bunn be Secretary to the Provisional Government, and Louis Schmidt Under Secretary.

"13th. That Mr. W. B. O'Donoghue be Treasurer."

There was much discussion over the selection of a president, but Riel was finally appointed. It was midnight when the meeting adjourned; but when news of the formation of a new provisional government spread over the settlement, bonfires were lighted and fireworks set off to celebrate the event, although it seemed like the irony of fate that these fireworks had been brought to Winnipeg by Dr. Schultz to celebrate the entry of Governor McDougall into Fort Garry. Governor Mactavish, Dr. Cowan, and Mr. Bannatyne were released from prison at once; but Mr. Smith was still kept under guard. The convention met again on February 10th to divide the settlement into ridings for the coming election and then adjourned for the last time. Before it dispersed, Riel announced that one of the first acts of the provisional government had been the confiscation of Dr. Schultz' property and the plant of the *Nor-Wester*.

On the 11th and 12th, sixteen of Riel's prisoners were released: Wm. Hallett, Chas. Garrett, Wm. Drever, Jr., Jas. Mulligan, Chas. Stodgall, A. Murray, D. U. Campbell, Jas. Stewart, A. R. Chisholm, F. Franklin, T. Langman, H. Weightman, Dr. O'Donnell, A. Wright, and two others whose names are not given. Mr. Davis, another prisoner, managed to escape while the others were being liberated. Riel had promised to set all the prisoners free; and if he had kept his word, the most tragic incidents of the rebellion might never have occurred.

## CHAPTER XXXIII

### THE RULE OF THE DICTATOR

The majority of the English-speaking people who lived in the district around Portage la Prairie seem to have favored confederation with Canada, and they were ready to extend help and sympathy to those who attempted to check the insurrection by force of arms. When Colonel Dennis' efforts to raise a force for the purpose of bringing Governor McDougall into the colony failed in December, several of the leaders in the movement retired to Portage la Prairie for the winter. Major Boulton was one of them. When some of Riel's prisoners escaped early in January, they found refuge in Portage la Prairie. The people there had little knowledge of the events which were taking place in and around Fort Garry beyond the meagre information brought by these refugees, for the mail service had been practically abolished. They had friends among the prisoners immured in Fort Garry and naturally wished to see them set free. Stories of the hardships endured by the captives were brought to the district from time to time, and one or two attempts had been made to raise a force to liberate the sufferers; but these attempts ended in talk. When Thomas Scott reached the settlement after his escape and gave the people an account of his imprisonment, the project of rescuing the other prisoners was revived. Several secret meetings were held, and a party was organized to proceed to Fort Garry, capture it during the night, and release the prisoners confined there. Although he disapproved of the scheme, Major Boulton, who had seen considerable service in the British army, finally consented to lead the expedition. Mr. Farmer and Mr. Gaddy were among the other officers chosen by the men who composed the party.

On February 12th the party started on its march of sixty miles over the snowy trail to Winnipeg. The weather was bitterly cold, the thermometer registering more than thirty degrees below zero. The men, sixty in number, had to make the journey on foot, they had no transport, carried little food, and were poorly armed. That they set out under such conditions shows how deeply in earnest the men were. Short halts were made at Poplar Point and High Bluff to allow small detachments to join the main body, and then the men pushed on steadily. Nine hours' marching brought them to Headingly, where friendly settlers gave them shelter for the night. Soon after the cold and weary men were housed, a blizzard came up and continued for two days. This compelled them to change their plans. They found that nearly all the English and half-breeds living in the vicinity of Headingly were opposed to Riel, and at a meeting held in the house of Mr. John Taylor it was decided to ask the co-operation of the English settlers living in the parishes below Fort Garry as well as the



help of the Metis who were opposed to Riel's policy. Mr. Taylor and a companion were sent as delegates to the former, while Mr. Gaddy and another man were commissioned to interview Mr. Dease, the recognized leader of the Metis opponents of Riel. It should be said here that the men from Portage la Prairie had not heard of the success of Mr. Donald A. Smith's negotiations with the convention and the formation of a provisional government; nor had they heard of Riel's promise to release all his prisoners. If the people at Headingly had heard of these matters, they do not seem to have told their friends from Portage la Prairie.

At eight o'clock in the evening of the next day the party left Headingly. It was a cold, moonlit night, and as the intrepid band passed the walls of Fort Garry, it was seen by a sentry, who fired a shot to alarm the guard. The men were allowed to proceed, however, without molestation. Hoping to capture Riel and hold him as a hostage, some of the men surrounded a house in the village of Winnipeg, where it was thought the Metis leader might be spending the evening; but when the owner assured them that Riel was not within, they went forward again. It was past midnight when the party reached Kildonan and took up quarters in the church.

When morning came, it did not bring the enthusiastic welcome which the Portage la Prairie men had expected. Then for the first time they seem to have heard of all that had been accomplished by Commissioner Smith and the convention towards bringing about a peaceable solution of the colony's troubles, and they found that the settlers were greatly alarmed lest the chances of this solution would be destroyed by such a hostile move against Riel as that contemplated by the Portage men. The gentlemen, who had been sent to the lower parishes, brought back more encouraging reports, however, and about mid-afternoon a contingent from these parishes, numbering more than three hundred men came marching up to the Kildonan church, led by Dr. Schultz. They had a cannon, which was drawn by four oxen, and were fully determined to storm Fort Garry and free the prisoners who had been confined there so long. Major Boulton thus found himself in command of a force of more than four hundred men, whom he must feed and shelter. As he had no money with which to secure these necessities, the people of Kildonan provided the men with supper and breakfast, and most of them slept in the church.

During the evening a man named Parisien, supposed to be a Metis spy, was captured and confined in the church. In the morning he asked and received permission to go outside, accompanied by three guards. Many people were coming and going, and a number of cutters were standing by the church. Seeing a gun in one of the cutters, Parisien broke from his guards, seized the gun, and ran to the bank of the river, which was only a few yards distant. Just at that moment John Hugh Sutherland, a son of the late Senator Sutherland, appeared on the ice near the bank. He was riding across the river from his father's house to join the force at the church and was not aware that a prisoner had been taken and was attempting to escape. Wishing to obtain a horse, Parisien raised his gun and fired twice at the young man, both bullets taking effect. Friends rushed to the wounded man's assistance, and he was carried to the house of Rev. Dr. Black, where Dr. Schultz and another physician did all in their power for him; but in spite of their efforts he passed away at nightfall.



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HON. JOHN TAYLOR



As soon as Sutherland fell, the men on the bank opened fire on Parisien, who, seeing that resistance was hopeless, surrendered. The crowd was disposed to treat him roughly, but Major Boulton interfered and ordered him to be confined in the church until his case could be dealt with in a legal manner. When the force disbanded next day, Parisien was sent as a prisoner to Lower Fort Garry. On the way he made another attempt to escape; but the guard fired on him, and he was so severely wounded that he was easily recaptured. Parisien died of his wounds early in April.

Anxious to prevent a clash between the force under Major Boulton and the Metis, who rallied to Riel's support as soon as they learned that his supremacy was threatened, a number of the leading settlers opened negotiations with the insurgent leader for the release of his prisoners. He finally consented to set them free, and they reached the Kildonan church about two o'clock of March 16, the day on which Sutherland had been shot. Having accomplished one of the purposes for which they had mustered, the men under Major Boulton wished to follow up their success and oust Riel from Fort Garry; but the major urged that it was not wise to attempt anything further, and in this advice he was seconded by Bishop Machray, Archdeacon McLean, Judge Black, and others. Finally the majority of the party decided that it was better to disband and return to their homes. The men from the lower parishes departed at once, but the Portage la Prairie contingent went up to Point Douglas and camped in Boyd's store for the night.

In the morning Major Boulton advised his men to accept the hospitality of friends in various parts of the settlement for a time and then make their way home singly; but forty-seven of them, believing that Riel had given a pledge that they would not be molested on their journey, decided to march home in a body. Under the circumstances Major Boulton felt it his duty to go with them, and the party set off about nine o'clock on the morning of the 17th. The beaten trail led close to Fort Garry, but to avoid any occasion for a broil with the Metis there the Portage men left the trail and headed across the prairie in a direct line for St. James, although the snow was almost waist-deep. When they were opposite the fort a party of horsemen came out of it and rode across the prairie towards them, followed by about fifty armed men on foot. They were led by O'Donoghue and Lépine, and the former informed the Portage men that he had been sent by Riel to invite them to the fort for the purpose of holding a parley. Suspecting treachery, but unable to offer any effective resistance, Boulton and his men complied with O'Donoghue's request. As soon as they had entered the fort the gates were closed, about 400 of Riel's men surrounded them, and they were marched off as prisoners to a building in the middle of the fort, used as a residence for the clerks of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Major Boulton was confined in a room by himself and put in irons. In a short time Riel came to the door and said, "Major Boulton, you must prepare to die to-morrow at twelve o'clock." With some difficulty the major secured permission to communicate with his friends, and as soon as possible Archdeacon McLean came to see him. The clergyman then tried to persuade Riel not to take the major's life, but the Metis leader would do no more than promise to postpone the execution for twelve hours. During the next day many prominent people in the district did their utmost to induce Riel to spare the major's

life, but he was obdurate. Finally Mr. Donald A. Smith brought him to a more reasonable mood, and he promised a week's reprieve. He also promised to set Major Boulton free, if Mr. Smith would go among the English settlers and persuade them to send their delegates to his council once more. This Mr. Smith undertook to do, and Archdeacon McLean promised to help him. About an hour before Major Boulton expected to be called out to be shot, the archdeacon came to him with the news that his sentence had been reversed.

But the major was to have another surprise before morning came, less pleasant, but certainly not less surprising. He says:

"As soon as Archdeacon McLean had left, I lay down and went to sleep. I could not have been long asleep when I was suddenly awakened by some one shaking me. I looked up and saw Riel with a lantern. He said, 'Major Boulton, I have come to see you. I have come to shake you by the hand, and to make a proposition to you. I perceive that you are a man of ability, that you are a leader. The English people, they have no leader. Will you join my government, and be their leader?' The sudden transition from being under sentence of death to being asked to take a position in Riel's government struck me as serio-comic; but I collected my wits and replied that his proposition was so startling that I could not give an answer at the moment, but that, if he would release all the prisoners and allow me to go back to the Portage to consult with my friends, I would consider the proposition seriously. He retired, but I heard no more about joining his government."

The men who surrendered with Major Boulton were R. Adams, W. Bartlett, Thos. Baxter, W. G. Bird, Magnus Brown, Robt. Dennison, J. Dilworth, Wm. Dilworth, Wm. Farmer, John Ivy, James Jock, Arch. McDonald, Chas. McDonald, James McBain, Robt. McBain, John McKay, Alex. McLean, John McLean, M. McLeod, Alex. McPherson, Chas. Millan, J. B. Morrison, N. Morrison, A. Murray, Geo. Newcombe, Jos. Paquin, Wm. Paquin, Alex. Parker, G. Parker, Sgt. Powers, Wm. Salter, James Sanderson, Geo. Sandison, Thos. Scott, Jos. Smith, Lawrence Smith, Dan Sissons, W. Sutherland, John Switzer, A. Taylor, D. Taylor, H. Taylor, John Taylor, H. Williams, Geo. Wylds, and two others whose names are not given. It seems to have been Riel's intention to hold these prisoners as hostages for the good conduct of the English-speaking people of the colony. Three of them, besides Major Boulton, had been sentenced to death, but were reprieved; and Riel promised to set all free as soon as the new council met. In the meantime, however, a number of other men were arrested and confined in the prison, Dr. Cowan being one of them. The prisoners were allowed to receive food and other necessities from their friends, and they do not seem to have suffered such hardships as were endured by the prisoners taken in December. They sometimes heard rumors of plans made by friends for their release, but nothing was done.

Riel recognized Dr. Schultz as the most dangerous of his opponents and was anxious to end his active opposition by putting him in prison once more. Shortly before the hour first fixed for the execution of Major Boulton, Riel came to him and offered to grant a reprieve, if he could induce Dr. Schultz to surrender, or if he could secure the doctor's capture. But to surrender to Riel was the last thing Dr. Schultz was likely to do. He realized that his second attempt to raise a force for the purpose of overthrowing the power of the Metis

was an unpardonable offence in the eyes of their leader and that his friends could no longer protect him from Riel's vengeance. As soon as his followers had retired from Kildonan church to their homes in the lower parishes, Dr. Schultz left the colony. Guided by a half-breed named Monkman, who occupied a little farm near the mouth of the Red River for many years afterward, and accompanied by Mr. William Drever of Winnipeg, Dr. Schultz quietly left the settlement and started for Duluth. It was mid-winter, there was no trail through the woods, and the journey of five hundred miles must be made on snowshoes; nevertheless the three intrepid men reached their destination safely. Dr. Schultz and Mr. Drever went on to Toronto, and their guide returned to his home. Riel did not realize that the doctor had eluded him, and parties of his followers continued to raid different parts of the colony for some time, trying to capture his implacable opponent. On one occasion they went as far as Portage la Prairie and seized property there supposed to belong to the doctor.

By February 26th the election of the twenty-four members of the new council had been completed. The English-speaking districts had chosen delegates, as Mr. D. A. Smith had urged them to do, although he had advised them to recognize no authority beyond that of the convention which had met earlier in the month. The English delegates were John Sinclair from St. Peter's, Thomas Bunn from St. Clement's, Thomas Sinclair and E. H. G. G. Hay from St. Andrew's, Dr. Bird from St. Paul's, W. Fraser from Kildonan, A. G. B. Bannatyne from St. John's and Winnipeg, James McKay from St. James, W. Tait from Headingley, Geo. Gunn from Poplar Point, John Norquay from High Bluff, and William Garrioch from Portage la Prairie. The French representatives were W. B. O'Donoghue, John Bruce, Louis Schmidt, A. Millet (dit Beauchemin), B. Millet (dit Beauchemin), Pierre Parenteau, Pierre Dauphinais, B. Tourond, Pierre Poitras, Louis Lacerte, A. Lépine and A. Harrison.

No meeting of the new council was called, however, and so Riel had an excuse for delaying the fulfilment of his oft-repeated promise to liberate his prisoners. To further impress his followers with a sense of his power and to intimidate his opponents more completely, he seems to have determined to put some of his prisoners to death. Major Boulton's life had been saved through the intervention of influential friends, and Dr. Schultz could not be recaptured; but another victim was soon found. It appears that some of the candidates, who wished to represent Portage la Prairie in the new council, attempted to solicit votes among the residents of that district who were confined in Fort Garry, and that Thomas Scott warned his fellow-prisoners to have nothing to do with candidates who were favorable to Riel. There was some disturbance, and Scott was removed to a room by himself. Afterwards he asked permission to leave the room, but his guards would not allow him to do so, and an altercation ensued. In the afternoon and evening Riel and O'Donoghue visited him, and in his discussions with them Scott failed to show that respect which the president of the provisional government and its treasurer thought due to their positions. Some time during the night Riel summoned a court-martial, composed of Lépine and six of his men, to try Scott. According to Riel's subsequent statements, Scott was accused of disorderly conduct during the autumn, with having taken part in an insurrection against the "provisional government" in December, with having taken up arms against it again in February,

with being abusive to his guards and insulting to Mr. Riel, and with inciting the other prisoners to insubordination. When the accused man was summoned before the so-called court, he stated that, not understanding French, he did not know the charge against him; yet no interpreter was provided, nor was any evidence given in his behalf. Upon this mockery of a trial he was found guilty, and by a vote of five of the seven members of the tribunal he was sentenced to be shot at noon the next day, the 4th of March.

When Scott was informed of the fate which awaited him, he thought it was no more than an attempt to frighten him; but he sent at once for Rev. Dr. Young. The clergyman came immediately, and inquiries soon convinced him that Riel meant to have the sentence carried out. There was little time to bring available influences to bear upon Riel, but everything possible was done. Dr. Young pleaded with him to spare the man's life or at least to give him time to prepare for death. Father Lestanc urged him to be merciful; Major Boulton warned him that the crime of putting Scott to death would alienate all sympathy from him and prove disastrous to his plans; Mr. D. A. Smith went to him and pleaded long and earnestly for Scott's life. But the dictator was not to be moved from his purpose. His final reply to Mr. Smith was, "I have done three good things since I commenced. I have spared Boulton's life at your instance, and I do not regret it, for he is a fine fellow; I pardoned Gaddy, and he showed his gratitude by escaping out of the bastion, but I don't grudge him his miserable life; and now I shall shoot Scott."

It was past the time fixed for the execution when Mr. Smith left Riel to report to Rev. Dr. Young that he had failed to secure even a postponement of the sentence. Dr. Young went at once to prepare the young man for death; but he had been in Scott's room only a short time, when his guards came in to say that the hour had arrived. Scott was allowed to say good-bye to his fellow-prisoners; and then accompanied by Dr. Young, he was led out to the place of execution. His eyes were covered, and he was made to kneel in the snow. There were six men in the party detailed to shoot Scott; but one of them, the father of young Parisien who lay wounded in Lower Fort Garry, is said to have refused to take a part in the execution and to have removed the cap from his gun before the order to fire was given. When the fatal word was spoken, five shots rang out, and Scott fell, pierced with three bullets. He was not quite dead, however, and one of the Metis shot him through the head with a revolver. Dr. Young asked for the body that it might be interred in the churchyard at Kildonan, and Bishop Machray made a similar request; but both were refused. Placed in a rough coffin, the body lay in the southeastern bastion of the fort until night came, but just where it was finally deposited is not generally known.

On the following day, March 5th, Murdoch McLeod, one of the prisoners from High Bluff, was singled out from his fellows and shackled. It was feared that he would be the next victim of Riel's vengeance; but beyond being kept chained, until all the other prisoners were released, and subjected to other indignities, no further punishment was inflicted on him. Riel seems to have feared a revulsion of feeling among his own people, which would have been fatal to his schemes; for the brutal murder of Scott roused as much horror and indignation among the majority of the French and Metis settlers as it did among those of British blood.

On March 5th, the day after Scott was shot, a proclamation was published "by order of the president" and over the signature of Louis Schmidt, announcing that Winnipeg had been made the capital of the North-West Territory. A few days later a notice in the *New Nation* summoned the delegates to the new council to meet on March 9th; but as few of the English members responded, the meeting was adjourned until the 15th. The following notice was then sent to each of the members of the council:

"Mr. ———:

You are hereby summoned to attend a meeting of the Council of the Provisional Government, to be held at Fort Garry on Tuesday, 15th instant, at 10 o'clock A. M.

By order of the President,  
THOMAS BUNN,  
Secretary.

Headquarters of Provisional Government,  
Fort Garry, 9th March, 1870."

Bishop Taché returned to St. Boniface on March 8th, and his arrival, which had been awaited anxiously by all classes of people, helped to improve the situation in some respects, although it complicated it in others. The bishop had left the colony during the preceding summer to pay a visit to Rome, but as soon as possible after he learned of the outbreak in the Red River Settlement, he hurried home. It was felt by all parties that his influence would go far to restrain Riel and the more impetuous of his followers; and when the bishop landed on the shores of America, he was summoned to Ottawa by the Dominion government and requested to act as its delegate to Red River—the fourth which it had sent to the Metis to induce them to lay down their arms and accept the form of government which it proposed to give them. He undertook the mission and resumed his journey as soon as possible.

In the letter of instructions which Hon. Joseph Howe, secretary of state, wrote to the bishop on February 16th, we find the following paragraphs:

"Your Lordship will perceive, in these papers, the policy which it was and is the desire of the Canadian Government to establish in the North-West. The people of Canada have no interest in the erection of institutions in Rupert's Land, which public opinion condemns; nor would they wish to see a fine race of people trained to discontent and insubordination, by the pressure of an unwise system of government, to which British subjects are unaccustomed or averse. They look hopefully forward to the period when institutions, moulded upon those which the other provinces enjoy, may be established, and in the meantime would deeply regret if the civil and religious liberties of the whole population were not adequately protected by such temporary arrangements as it may be prudent at present to make.

"A convention has been called, and is now sitting at Fort Garry, to collect the views of the people as to the powers which they may consider it wise for parliament to confer, and the Local Legislature to assume. When the proceedings of that conference have been received by the Privy Council you may expect to hear from me again, and, in the meantime, should they be communicated to you on the way, His Excellency will be glad to be favored with any observations that you may have leisure to make."



The letter also contains a few words of that adverse criticism of the actions of Mr. McDougall and Colonel Dennis, which appeared in many of Mr. Howe's official letters during the winter; and it was accompanied by copies of a number of documents—proclamations, instructions to Governor McDougall, Rev. Thibault, and Mr. Smith, letters, etc. Subsequent letters to Bishop Taché seem to have given him fuller instructions and wider powers than those contained in Mr. Howe's letter of February 16, for he believed that he was authorized to offer amnesty to all who had taken part in the insurrection, if they would retire to their homes and keep the peace. Of course the government had no knowledge of the death of Scott when it made this offer. That event took place after Bishop Taché left Ottawa and before he reached St. Boniface. It placed him in a very difficult position, especially as the lack of direct telegraphic communication between Fort Garry and Ottawa made it almost impossible for him to get advice from the government promptly; but believing that it was the best course to follow and that the minister's instructions gave him authority to take it, he included Riel and the others responsible for the death of Scott in the offer of amnesty. Many complications grew out of this action later.

The new council met on the 15th, and after the president had made his inaugural address, the following resolutions were adopted on motion of Mr. Bunn:

"1st. That we, the representatives of the inhabitants of the North-West, consider that the Imperial Government, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Canadian Government, in stipulating for the transfer of the government to the Dominion Government, without first consulting, or even notifying, the people of such transfer, have entirely ignored our rights as people of the North-West Territory.

"2d. That notwithstanding the insults and sufferings borne by the people of the North-West heretofore—which sufferings they still endure—the loyalty of the people of the North-West towards the Crown of England remains the same, provided the rights, properties, usages and customs of the people be respected; and we feel assured that as British subjects such rights, properties, usages and customs will undoubtedly be respected."

Later in the day Bishop Taché was invited to address the council and make public the messages which he had brought from the Dominion government. He pleaded for peace, and urged the English delegates to work in harmony with the French for the purpose of securing it; he assured the members that the government of Canada intended to deal generously with the North-West and to give it as full a measure of self-government as was enjoyed by the older provinces; he stated that the people's delegates would be received in the most friendly manner at Ottawa; and he concluded by asking for the release of the prisoners confined in Fort Garry.

The bishop's appeal seems to have made a deep impression upon Riel, and he consented to set his prisoners free. On the following day they were informed that they would be liberated, if they would swear not to take up arms again against the provisional government. Major Boulton advised them to take the oath, and all seem to have done so, when Lépine came to the prison to administer it. Seventeen of them, including Major Boulton, were released on the 17th;

and all the others, with the exception of Murdoch McLeod, were allowed their liberty on the following day. Major Boulton remained until McLeod was set free; then he left the fort and went to Kildonan.

Mr. Donald A. Smith, having done all that lay in his power to complete the task which he had undertaken at the request of the Canadian government, left Fort Garry on March 18th and started for Ottawa. The delegates, who had been chosen to represent the colony before the government, had been ready for some time to take their departure, but had waited for more definite instructions. Judge Black was unwilling to act as a delegate, but seems to have finally consented to do so. Father Ritchot and Mr. Alfred Scott left Fort Garry for Ottawa on March 23d, and Judge Black set out a day later. Major Boulton, having been warned by his friends that it might not be quite safe for him to remain in Kildonan, accompanied the judge on his journey to Canada.

The new council, which assembled on the 15th of March, continued to hold meetings until the 26th, attempting to formulate a constitution for the colony and to draft laws for its government. The following resolutions show some of the work accomplished:

"1st. That we, the people of Assiniboia, without disregard to the Crown of England, under whose authority we live, have deemed it necessary for the protection of life and property, and the securing of those rights and privileges which we are entitled to enjoy as British subjects, and which rights and privileges we have seen in danger, to form a Provisional Government, which is the only acting authority in this country; and we do hereby ordain and establish the following constitution:

"2nd. That the country heretofore known as Rupert's Land and the North-West, be henceforth known and styled 'Assiniboia.'

"3rd. That our assembly of representatives be henceforth styled 'The Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia.'

"4th. That all legislative authority be vested in a President and Legislative Assembly, composed of members elected by the people; and that at any future time another house called a Senate shall be established, when deemed necessary, by the President and the Legislature.

"5th. That the only qualifications necessary for a member of the Legislative Assembly shall be, that he shall have attained the age of twenty-three years; that he shall have been a resident of Assiniboia for a term of at least five years; that he shall be a householder, and have a ratable property of £200 sterling; and that, if an alien, he shall have first taken the oath of allegiance."

Among the laws proposed was one regarding hay privileges—a matter of great importance to all owners of stock in the settlement. It provoked so much discussion that it was thought wise to let the matter stand until the members could consult their constituents. Another matter which seems to have required much consideration was the oath of office to be taken by the members of the government. This was finally left to a committee composed of Messrs. Beauchemin, Dauphinais, Bruce, Bunn, Bannatyne and Tait; and on March 24th Riel, as president, took the following oath:

"I, Louis Riel, do hereby solemnly swear that I will faithfully fulfil, to the best of my ability, my duties as President of the Provisional Government, proclaimed on the 24th of November, 1869, and also all the duties which may become

connected with the office of President of the Provisional Government of Assiniboia, as they may hereafter be defined by the voice of the people."

Oaths of office were also taken by James Ross, who was to act as chief justice, Lépine, who was called the adjutant-general, and William Caldwell, who was to serve as clerk of the legislative assembly. On March 26th the council adjourned to meet a month later.

When the store of the Hudson's Bay Company in Fort Garry was closed by the rebels, the trade of the colony was greatly impeded. There was less market for the produce of the settlers, and much money was withdrawn from circulation. To meet the wishes of the people Riel opened negotiations with the company, looking to a resumption of business. Finally he wrote the following ultimatum to Governor Mactavish:

"To William Mactavish, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in the North-West:

"Sir—In reference to our interviews regarding the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company in this country, I have the honor to assure you that my great desire is to open, as soon as possible, in the interests of the people, free and undisturbed, the commerce of the country.

"The people, in rallying themselves to the Provisional Government with unanimity, prescribe to each of us our respective conduct.

"The Provisional Government, established upon justice and reason, will fulfil its work.

"By the action of the Hudson's Bay Company, its commercial interests may be saved to a certain extent, but that is entirely for your consideration, and depends upon the company itself. I have had the honor to tell you that arrangements were possible, and the following are the conditions:

"1st. That the whole of the company in the North-West shall recognize the Provisional Government.

"2nd. That you, in the name of the Hudson's Bay Company, do agree to loan the Provisional Government the sum of three thousand pounds sterling.

"3rd. That on demand, by the Provisional Government, in case arrangements with Canada should be opposed, you do guarantee a supplement of two thousand pounds sterling to the above-mentioned sum.

"4th. That there shall be granted by the Hudson's Bay Company, for the support of the present military force, goods and provisions to the value of four thousand pounds sterling, at current prices.

"5th. That the Hudson's Bay Company do immediately put into circulation their bills.

"6th. That the Provisional Government shall also retain an additional specified quantity of goods in the store of the Hudson's Bay Company.

"In accepting the above conditions, the Hudson's Bay Company will be allowed to resume its business under the protection of the Provisional Government.

"Fort Garry will be open; but, in the meanwhile, it being the seat of government, a small guard of fifty men will be retained.

"Only the buildings at present occupied by the government will be retained for government purposes.

"Such, Sir, are the conditions which the situation imposes upon us.



SIR WILLIAM WHYTE



"I have a duty to perform from which I shall not retreat. I am aware that you fully possess the knowledge of your duty, and I trust that your decision will be favorable.

"Allow me here to express my deep feeling of sympathy for you in your continued illness, and to sincerely trust that your health may be speedily restored.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

LOUIS RIEL,

*President.*

Government House, Fort Garry,

March 28, 1870."

Governor Mactavish was practically compelled to accept the terms offered by Riel; so the stores were soon opened, and business began to flow along the old channels.

About the same time, M. H. Robinson, who had acted as editor of the *New Nation*, retired to become United States consul, Mr. Malmaros having been recalled. The new editor of Riel's organ was Mr. Thomas Spence, the organizer and president of the ephemeral "Republic of Manitoba." Soon after he assumed the management of the paper it published a proclamation, issued by Louis Schmidt "by order of the President" and dated April 7. It was addressed to "the inhabitants of the North and North-West;" recited the circumstances which led to the formation of a provisional government and the work which it had done; and urged all the people of the west to keep the peace and support the provisional government in every way possible. The same number of the *New Nation* contained a proclamation over Riel's own name, dated April 9th and addressed to "the people of the North-West." He assured them that the provisional government was fully established and that the peace of the country was secured; offered amnesty to all who had been foolish enough to take up arms against his government; warned future disturbers of the peace that severe punishment would be meted out to them; announced that the public highways were open and that the Hudson's Bay Company had resumed business; and declared that the country was about to be admitted to the Dominion on equitable terms.

On April 20th Riel ordered that the Union Jack should replace the flag of the provisional government, which had been flying over Fort Garry since December 10th. This roused the wrath of O'Donoghue, who attempted to restore the ensign, bearing the shamrock as one of its emblems, to its place of honor. But Riel was determined that the British flag should remain and placed André Nault at the foot of the flagstaff with orders to shoot any one who attempted to pull it down. To satisfy O'Donoghue, however, the flagstaff standing on Dr. Schultz's property was removed and set up inside the walls of Fort Garry, and on this the banner of the provisional government was hoisted.

The second session of the provisional assembly opened on April 26th with an address from the president. On May 5th he announced the names of his cabinet—Thomas Bunn, secretary; W. B. O'Donoghue, treasurer; A. G. B. Bannatyne, postmaster-general; A. Lépine, adjutant-general; James McKay, superintendent of Indian affairs; and John Bruce, superintendent of public works. A few days later a number of laws relating to the administration of justice, the

supreme court, district courts, duties of constables, the collection of customs, postal service, intestate estates, fires, animals at large, hay privileges, roads, sale of liquor, etc., were finally passed. The names of the magistrates appointed under the new law were announced on May 7th, and on the 9th the assembly adjourned.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

### THE MAKING OF MANITOBA

Many of the people of the Red River Settlement felt that Mr. Alfred H. Scott and Father Ritchot could hardly be considered representatives of the whole community in the negotiations with the Dominion government and were most anxious that Judge Black would consent to act as the third delegate. Mr. Donald A. Smith also urged him to act, and he finally consented and left Fort Garry on March 24th. The following commission and letter of instructions were handed to the delegates on March 22nd:

“Government House, Winnipeg, Assiniboia.

“To ——

Sir—The President of the Provisional Government of Assiniboia (formerly Rupert's Land and the North-West), in council, do hereby authorize and delegate you to proceed to the City of Ottawa, and lay before the Dominion Government the accompanying list of propositions and conditions as to the terms upon which the people of Assiniboia will consent to enter into Confederation with the other provinces of the Dominion. You will also herewith receive a letter of instructions, which will be your guide in the execution of this commission.

“Signed this twenty-second day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy.

“By order,

THOMAS BUNN, *Secretary of State.*”

#### “LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS

“Sir—Enclosed with this letter you will receive your commission and also a copy of the conditions and terms upon which the people of this country will consent to enter into the Confederation of Canada.

“You will please proceed with convenient speed to the City of Ottawa, Canada, and on arriving there you will, in company with the other delegates, put yourself immediately in communication with the Dominion Government, on the subject of your commission.

“You will please observe that with regard to the articles numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 15, 17, 19 and 20, you are left at liberty, in concert with your fellow commissioners, to exercise your discretion; but bear in mind, that as you carry with you the full confidence of the people, it is expected that in the exercise of this liberty, you will do your utmost to secure their rights and privileges which have hitherto been ignored.

“With reference to the remaining articles, I am directed to inform you that you are not empowered to conclude finally any arrangements with the Canadian Government, but that any negotiations entered into between you



and the said government must first have the approval of and be ratified by the Provisional Government, before Assiniboia will become a province of Confederation.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

THOS. BUNN, *Secretary of State.*"

The List of Rights handed to the delegates to Ottawa was not identical with that adopted by the representatives of the people on the 1st of December, nor was it identical with that adopted by the convention on the 5th of February and discussed with Mr. Donald A. Smith a few days later. In both the earlier lists the admission of Rupert's Land and the North-West to Canada as a territory was contemplated, for that was the purpose of the Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory, passed by the Dominion parliament on June 22, 1869; but this third list of rights distinctly stipulates that the country is to be confederated with the Dominion as a province. From this it is plain that the plan embodied in the motion, which Riel made in the convention on February 5th and which was defeated then, had been adopted by his cabinet a little later. The list of rights delivered to the delegates sent to Ottawa contained the following clauses:

"1st. That the Territories, heretofore known as Rupert's Land and North-West, shall not enter into Confederation of the Dominion of Canada, except as a province, to be styled and known as the Province of Assiniboia, and with all the rights and privileges common to the different Provinces of the Dominion.

"2nd. That we have two Representatives in the Senate, and four in the House of Commons of Canada, until such time as an increase of population entitles the Province to a greater representation.

"3rd. That the Province of Assiniboia shall not be held liable, at any time, for any portion of the public debt of the Dominion, contracted before the date the said Province shall have entered the Confederation, unless the said Province shall have first received from the Dominion the full amount for which the said Province is to be held liable.

"4th. That the sum of eighty thousand dollars be paid annually by the Dominion Government to the local Legislature of this Province.

"5th. That all properties, rights and privileges enjoyed by the people of this Province, up to the date of our entering into Confederation, be respected, and that the arrangement and confirmation of all customs and privileges be left exclusively to the Local Legislature.

"6th. That during the term of five years the Province of Assiniboia shall not be subjected to any direct taxation, except such as may be imposed by the Local Legislature for municipal or local purposes.

"7th. That a sum of money, equal to eighty cents per head of the population of this Province, be paid annually by the Canadian Government to the Local Legislature of the said Province, until such time as the said population shall have increased to six hundred thousand.

"8th. That the Local Legislature shall have the right to determine the qualifications of members to represent this Province in the Parliament of Canada and in the Local Legislature.

"9th. That in this Province, with the exception of uncivilized and unset-

tled Indians, every male native citizen who has attained the age of twenty-one years; and every foreigner, being a British subject, who has attained the same, and has resided three years in the Province, and is a householder; and every foreigner other than a British subject, who has resided here during the same period, being a householder, and having taken the oath of allegiance, shall be entitled to vote at the election of members for the Local Legislature and for the Canadian Parliament. It being understood that this article be subject to amendment, exclusively by the Local Legislature.

"10th. That the bargain of the Hudson's Bay Company with respect to the transfer of the Government of this country to the Dominion of Canada, be annulled so far as it interferes with the rights of the people of Assiniboia, and so far as it would affect our future relations with Canada.

"11th. That the Local Legislature of the Province of Assiniboia shall have full control over all the public lands of the Province, and the right to annul all acts or arrangements made or entered into with reference to the public lands of Rupert's Land and the North-West, now called the Province of Assiniboia.

"12th. That the Government of Canada appoint a Commission of Engineers to explore the various districts of the Province of Assiniboia, and to lay before the Local Legislature a report of the mineral wealth of the Province, within five years from the date of our entering into Confederation.

"13th. That treaties be concluded between Canada and the different Indian tribes of the Province of Assiniboia, by and with the advice and co-operation of the Local Legislature of this province.

"14th. That uninterrupted steam communication from Lake Superior to Fort Garry be guaranteed to be completed within the space of five years.

"15th. That all public buildings, bridges, roads, and other public works be at the cost of the Dominion Treasury.

"16th. That the English and French languages be common in the Legislature, and in the Courts, and that all public documents, as well as Acts of the Legislature, be published in both languages.

"17th. That whereas the French and English-speaking people of Assiniboia are so equally divided as to number yet so united in their interests, and so connected by commerce, family connections, and other political and social relations, that it has happily been found impossible to bring them into hostile collision, although repeated attempts have been made by designing strangers for reasons known to themselves to bring about so ruinous and disastrous an event; and whereas, after all the troubles and apparent dissensions of the past, the result of misunderstanding among themselves, they have, as soon as the evil agencies referred to above were removed, become as united and friendly as ever; therefore, as a means to strengthen this union and friendly feeling among all classes we deem it expedient and advisable that the Lieutenant-Governor who may be appointed for the Province of Assiniboia should be familiar with both the French and English languages.

"18th. That the Judge of the Supreme Court speak both the French and English languages.

"19th. That all debts contracted by the Provisional Government of the Territory of the North-West, now called Assiniboia, in consequence of

the illegal and inconsiderate measures adopted by Canadian officials to bring about a civil war in our midst, be paid out of the Dominion Treasury; and that none of the members of the Provisional Government or any of those acting under them be in any way held liable or responsible with regard to the movement, or any of the actions which led to the present negotiations.

"20th. That in view of the present exceptional position of Assiniboia, duties upon goods imported into the province shall, except in the case of spirituous liquors, continue as at present for at least three years from the date of our entering the Confederation, and for such further time as may elapse, until there be uninterrupted railroad communication between Winnipeg and St. Paul, and also steam communication between Winnipeg and Lake Superior."

Certainly the delegates from the Red River Settlement did not go to Ottawa as suppliants; instead there was an attempt to clothe them with the dignity and authority of representatives of one government sent to conduct negotiations with another. Yet the dignity of their position did not save two of the delegates from harsh treatment when they reached the end of the tiresome journey. The continued disorder in the Red River Settlement and the failure of the government to put down the insurrection had roused a great deal of resentment among the people of Canada, and this was intensified when news of the death of Scott reached the country. The accounts of the lawlessness prevailing in the west and of the hardships endured by some of Riel's prisoners, brought by Dr. Schultz, Dr. Lynch, Colonel Boulton, Mr. Mair, Mr. Drever, and other refugees, added to the excitement. Meetings were held in Montreal, Toronto, and other places, where thousands of indignant citizens gathered to protest against the government's delay in suppressing the rebellion and bringing to justice those responsible for the murder of Thomas Scott. Almost as soon as they arrived in Ottawa, Mr. Scott and Father Ritchot were arrested on a charge of being accessories to the murder. When the case came before Judge Galt, he dismissed it on the ground that, as the warrant had been issued by a magistrate in Toronto, he had no jurisdiction; but the two delegates were immediately re-arrested on a warrant issued in Ottawa. As soon as the case came before the court, it was found that there was no evidence to support the charge, and the two men were honorably discharged on April 23rd.

As soon as Father Ritchot and Mr. Scott were free, the delegates entered upon the negotiations with the Dominion government. These were prolonged for some time, for the delegates found that the government had drafted a list of rights for the province which was to be created, and that this list was quite unlike that placed in their hands the day before they left Fort Garry. At first they were disposed to stand firmly by all the rights and privileges which they had been sent to secure, while the government seemed as determined to abide by its own list. For a time it appeared as if a deadlock might be the only result of the conference; but strong influences from several quarters were brought to bear upon both parties with a view to some satisfactory compromise. Sir Clinton Murdoch, who seems to have had some special commission from the imperial government in the matter, did much to induce the delegates to abate some of their demands and the ministers to concede more than they were willing to offer at first. The delegates modified their list of rights, and the government modified its scheme; but still the desired compromise was not

reached. The half-breed title was one of the most difficult points to adjust. The delegates maintained that the lands of Assiniboia belonged to the half-breeds and that they and their children should receive grants of land in recognition of their just claims; but the ministers argued that their only claim must be based on their Indian descent and that it could only be recognized if they consented to be treated as the Indians were. Finally the delegates and the government made a second modification in the terms on which the new province would be admitted to the Dominion, and an agreement on all the more important points was reached.

A bill incorporating the general principles upon which both parties were agreed, was drafted; and on May 2nd, Sir John Macdonald introduced the Manitoba Act in the House of Commons. The province, as delimited in the original bill, was very small, its northern boundary being on the 50th parallel of latitude, and its western boundary being east of Portage la Prairie. \* This would have excluded the English-speaking district of Portage la Prairie and made Manitoba a province in which the French element of the population predominated. The plan met with so much opposition, both from members of the opposition and supporters of the government, that the government abandoned it on May 4th, and Sir John Macdonald announced that the province had been extended both northward and westward and that the aggregate grant of land to half-breeds had been increased. The increased area gave the province a greater population and necessitated an increase in the number of its representatives in the Canadian Senate and the House of Commons as well as an increase in the subsidies granted to it by the Dominion. The debate on the bill was warm and long; but the government declined to accept further amendments, and the measure was passed. The act received the assent of the governor-general on May 12th, and on July 15, 1870, it came into effect. Thus July 15th is the natal day of the province of Manitoba.

The delegates, feeling that their mission had been accomplished when the Manitoba Act had been introduced into parliament, soon left the capital for their homes. Mr. Scott did not reach Fort Garry until July 8; but Father Ritchot arrived on June 17th, and a week later he made a somewhat informal report to the assembly. A special session of this body opened on June 23d, and the next day Father Ritchot addressed it on the subject of the work done by himself and his colleagues while at Ottawa. He pointed out the differences between the list of rights, which they had been asked to secure, and those contemplated in the original plan of the Canadian government; and he justified the concessions, which the delegates had made in order to reach an agreement. He believed that the Manitoba Act was an equitable bill and that it secured to the people of the country full recognition of their rights and a full measure of self-government. The main features of the act were known to the members of the assembly, and he believed it should be accepted as satisfactory. He and his colleagues had insisted strongly upon two points—a generous grant of land to the half-breed inhabitants and complete amnesty to all who had taken part in the rebellion. In the first matter they had been successful, for the government would set apart 1,400,000 acres of land in order to make a grant to every adult half-breed and every half-breed child in the province. They had not been successful in the other matter, for the government would not promise amnesty to the rebels.

At the conclusion of Father Ritchot's address Messrs. Bunn and Bannatyne moved that the thanks of the assembly be given to him and his fellow delegates for the valuable services which they had rendered to the country, and the motion was adopted unanimously. The president, Mr. Riel, then asked what action the assembly proposed to take in view of the report made by Father Ritchot and the information regarding the Manitoba Act previously possessed by the members. On motion of Messrs. Schmidt and Poitras the assembly resolved to accept the Manitoba Act and to enter Confederation on the terms contained in it. Later in the day it was decided, on motion of Mr. Louis Schmidt, to extend a warm welcome to the newly appointed governor, Mr. Adams G. Archibald, when he reached the capital of the province over which he was to rule. This seems to have concluded the business of the special session of the assembly, and the next turn of fortune's wheel made another session unnecessary.

The passage of the Manitoba Act removed the alleged causes of the discontent of the Metis and all ground for continuing the insurrection. Many of them, who had been prominent in the movement, naturally became anxious about the position in which they would find themselves when the country was proclaimed a part of the Dominion and a new government was established. The promise of amnesty made by the governor-general in his proclamation of December 6th was conditional. His promise was, "In case of your immediate and peaceable obedience and dispersion, I shall order that no legal proceedings be taken against any parties implicated in these unfortunate breaches of the law." But the condition had not been met, and consequently the proclamation contained no comfort for the insurgent Metis. It appears that soon after Bishop Taché returned to St. Boniface in March, he gave another promise of amnesty on behalf of the governor-general, and this, too, must have been conditional. But Riel's men had not dispersed. With the advent of June came news of the formation of a new province as a part of the Dominion and rumors of the approach of a large military force, sent to establish and preserve peace on the Red River. Stories of the treatment likely to be meted out to them by the Canadians were circulated among the Metis by interested parties and had a very disquieting effect upon them. They were in such an uncertain temper that Bishop Taché considered the situation full of danger, and on June 9th he promised, on behalf of the Canadian government, that all who had taken part in the rebellion would receive a full pardon. On the same day he wrote to Hon. Jos. Howe to report what he had done and to give his reasons for doing it. He does not appear to have been certain that the government had given him full and explicit authority for the step which he had taken, but he believed that the action was necessary and that the government had given him, by implication, authority for taking it. But inasmuch as the Red River country was not a part of the Dominion when the rebellion was in progress, the Dominion government did not feel that it had power to offer amnesty to the rebels; that could only be done by Her Majesty through her representative, the governor-general. So the government neither endorsed nor repudiated the action of Bishop Taché, who felt that his well-meant act had placed him in a very unfortunate position before his people. He went to Ottawa in connection with the matter, but the government declined to endorse the promise of amnesty. It seems, however, to have advised him to urge the leaders of the rebellion to leave the country as quickly and quietly as possible.

On July 30, 1870, the news columns of the *New Nation* contained the following paragraph: "By an order-in-council, passed on the 23rd ult., 'from and after the 15th of July, Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory shall be admitted into and become a part of the Dominion of Canada.'" The old order had changed, "yielding place to new." After years of agitation, the union with Canada was accomplished. The old order had not passed without some months of lawlessness and disturbance, but the new order was full of happy promise for the welfare of the country. If August 30th ought to be celebrated in Manitoba as the anniversary of the day on which the first weary settlers came to make a permanent home for themselves beside the Red River, then July 15th ought to be celebrated as the anniversary of the day on which the colony, that they planted in the wilderness, became a province of the Dominion, the day on which their descendants were formally accorded the right of self-government.



## CHAPTER XXXV

### THE RED RIVER EXPEDITION

The first steps toward the establishment and organization of the new province had been taken, but further organization was scarcely possible until peace was restored. Even before parliament had passed the Manitoba Act, the Dominion government had commenced preparations for sending to Red River a force of regular soldiers and volunteers strong enough to restore and preserve order there. It had informed the secretary of state for the colonies that it would be necessary to send a military expedition to the disturbed colony, and on March 5th, the day on which Riel proclaimed Winnipeg as his capital, Earl Granville cabled to Sir John Young, the governor-general of Canada: "Her Majesty's Government will give proposed military assistance, provided reasonable terms are granted Red River settlers, and provided your Government enable Her Majesty's Government to proclaim the transfer of the Territory simultaneously with the movement of the force."

The Canadian government agreed to the conditions, and preparations went forward under the direction of Lieutenant-General Sir James Lindsay, the officer appointed in April to command Her Majesty's troops in Canada. The general had resided in the country for considerable time and possessed the confidence of all classes of people. It was important that the command of the expedition should be given to an officer whose ability and prudence were equal to the somewhat difficult task set for him, for the expedition was not to be one of conquest. Earl Granville has said, "Troops should not be employed in forcing the sovereignty of Canada on the population, should they refuse to admit it." The right man was then serving in the country as deputy-quartermaster-general, and there was much satisfaction when this popular officer, Colonel Garnet Wolseley, was chosen to lead the expedition. As it was to be sent by the Canadian and British governments, acting in concert, Sir Clinton Murdoch was appointed by the latter to act with the governor-general and General Lindsay in arranging details.

On April 23d the colonial secretary sent the following dispatch to Sir John Young:

"On the following conditions the troops may advance:—

"1. Rose to be authorized to pay £300,000 at once, and Her Majesty's Government to be at liberty to make transfer before the end of June.

"2. Her Majesty's Government to pay expenses of British troops only, not exceeding 250, and the Canadian Government the rest, sending at least 500 trained men.

"3. Canadian Government to accept decision of Her Majesty's Government on dispute points of the Settlers' Bill of Rights.



"4. Military arrangements to be to the satisfaction of General Lindsay."

This dispatch shows that, at the time it was sent, the Dominion government had not paid the sum necessary to complete the transfer of the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company, although the company's officers had signed the deed of transfer more than five months earlier. However, on May 4th Sir John Rose was instructed to pay over the sum specified, and the payment was actually made a week later, or just one day before the Manitoba Act received the assent of the governor-general. On May 6th Earl Granville cabled that the expedition might start.

The force was to be made up of a detachment of regulars, two battalions of Canadian volunteers, and about 400 boatmen and teamsters. The regulars included a battalion of the 60th Royal Rifles, 350 strong, commanded by Colonel Fielden, detachments of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, 20 men each, and a number of men from the Army Service and Hospital Corps. A battery of 4 seven pounder brass mountain guns was taken. One battalion of volunteers was enlisted in Ontario, and so eager were men to join it that places could not be found for all who asked for them. This battalion was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel S. P. Jarvis. The other battalion was to be made up in Quebec; but the French people were not eager to join a force which might be used against men of their own blood in the North-West, while English people were reluctant to serve under French-Canadian officers, and so the battalion filled up slowly. The command was given to Lieutenant-Colonel Cassault. The Ontario men were to rendezvous at Toronto, and as fast as the Quebec men enlisted, they were sent to the same point and formed into companies.

It had been decided to send the expedition to Fort Garry by the route which had been followed for so many years by the fur traders of Canada. Men and supplies would be transported to Port Arthur by steamer, and from that point they would be sent forward in boats. Contracts for the building of these boats were let, and Mr. S. J. Dawson, C. E., was instructed to proceed to Port Arthur with a force of workmen and construct a wagon road from the landing to Lake Shebandowan, over which supplies might be carried. He was also authorized to engage a number of voyageurs to act as boatmen. Of the men secured as boatmen about one hundred were Caughnawaga Indians, who were experienced men; but most of the others had little practical knowledge of the work which they had engaged to do. Horses, oxen, and wagons for the transport of material of war over the road to Lake Shebandowan were purchased.

On May 3d the *Algoma* sailed from Collingwood with supplies for the expedition and a number of workmen and voyageurs on board. She was allowed to pass through the United States canal at Sault Ste. Marie and proceeded to Port Arthur without hindrance; but when the *Chicora* arrived at Sault Ste. Marie a few days later, with more men and supplies on board, the United States officials would not allow her to carry them through the canal. There was nothing to do but unload the supplies on the Canadian side of the river, haul them to a point on Lake Superior above the rapids, and load them on the *Algoma* when she returned. The *Chicora* went back to Collingwood, where Colonel Wolseley and a part of his force embarked on May 21st and set sail for Port Arthur. The *Frances Smith* sailed about the same time with more troops and supplies. When the *Chicora* reached the canal, permission to pass through it was again

refused, and some delay occurred before the United States government was induced to grant the desired permission. The *Frances Smith* was late in reaching Sault Ste. Marie, and then her captain declined to proceed further unless he were paid an exorbitant sum; so her cargo and passengers had to be disembarked. In this way a large quantity of provisions had to be stored on the Canadian side of the St. Mary's River until it could be hauled over the road leading past the rapids; and as Fenians on the American side had threatened to seize these supplies, several companies of soldiers were detained to guard them against possible raids. Finally the stores were carried across to the landing on Lake Superior and placed on several small vessels for transport to Port Arthur.

Other unexpected delays occurred after the expedition reached Port Arthur. The construction of a road to connect the port with Lake Shebandowan, fifty miles distant, had proved more difficult than had been anticipated, and little more than two-thirds of it had been built. Forest fires had destroyed parts of the road, and then heavy and frequent rains made its repair and completion almost impossible. Yet in spite of all obstacles the expedition advanced. Colonel Wolseley was tireless in his efforts to get forward. His officers caught his energy and cheerfulness and communicated them to their men. Forgetful of the toil, the rain, the mud, and the incessant plague of flies, volunteers and regulars vied with each other in willing response to the enthusiasm of their officers. Wolseley had nothing but praise for the men who went with him to the Red River. It was regarded as a very difficult expedition by all military experts, and some had pronounced it impossible; yet the spirit of his men enabled Wolseley to carry it out successfully.

While Colonel Wolseley was at Port Arthur, Mr. Donald A. Smith, who had succeeded Mr. William Mactavish as governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, reached the lake port on his way to Norway House. The colonel asked Mr. Smith to be the bearer of a proclamation to the people of Manitoba and to place copies of it in the hands of Bishop Taché, Bishop Machray, the chief factor of the company at Fort Garry, and other prominent gentlemen. He also asked these men to take such steps as would ensure the early completion of the Dawson Road from the Northwest Angle of the Lake of the Woods to Winnipeg, a distance of about ninety miles. The proclamation was as follows:

"To the Loyal Inhabitants of Manitoba:

"Her Majesty's Government having determined upon stationing some troops amongst you, I have been entrusted by the Lieutenant-General commanding in British North America, to proceed to Fort Garry with the troops under my command.

"Our mission is one of peace, and the sole object of the expedition is to secure Her Majesty's sovereign authority.

"Courts of law, such as are common to every portion of Her Majesty's Empire, will be duly established, and justice will be impartially administered to all races and all classes; the loyal Indians and Half-Breeds being as dear to our Queen as any other of her loyal subjects.

"The force which I have the honor of commanding will enter your province representing no party either in religion or politics, and will afford equal protection to the lives and property of all races and all creeds.

"The strictest order and discipline will be maintained, and private property

will be carefully protected. All supplies furnished by the inhabitants to the troops will be duly paid for. Should any one consider himself injured by any individual attached to the force, his grievance shall be promptly inquired into.

"All loyal people are earnestly invited to aid me in carrying out the above-mentioned objects.

"(Signed)

G. J. WOLSELEY, Colonel,

*Commanding Red River Expeditionary Force.*

"Prince Arthur's Landing, Thunder Bay,  
June 30, 1870."

Colonel Wolseley sent a copy of this proclamation to General Lindsay for approval, but that officer, considering that the men in charge of a military expedition to Manitoba had nothing to do with the courts of the country, requested the gentlemen to whom the proclamation had been sent, to delete its third clause before making it public, and this was done.

When it was found that it would take a great deal of time to cart the heavy boats over the poor road to Lake Shebandowan, some one suggested that they could be poled, tracked, and portaged up the Kaministiquia and Matawan rivers. The experiment was made, and in spite of the labor involved, it proved successful. Many of the boats were then taken up to the lake by that route, and consequently more teams were available for hauling supplies. Finally a short water route for the transportation of these supplies was found, and it was not necessary to complete the last few miles of the road. Colonel Wolseley had reached Port Arthur on May 25; but it was the 21st of June before all his men and his supplies reached that point, and it was the middle of July before enough supplies and a sufficient number of men had reached Lake Shebandowan to warrant a further advance.

"Hurrah for Fort Garry!" was the farewell which came floating over the waters of Lake Shebandowan from the men in the first brigades of boats as they passed westward out of sight on the evening of July 16. One of the most difficult tasks of the expedition had been accomplished, and the real advance had commenced; the weather was beautiful, and the men were in high spirits. A week later their commander set out from Lake Shebandowan in a light canoe to overtake his leading companies, and by August 1st the last brigades had started from the lake, and the expedition was then stretched along 150 miles of lakes and rivers. It was August 4 when the leading boats reached Fort Frances, and at that point Lieutenant Butler, who had arrived that morning from Fort Garry, brought Colonel Wolseley the latest information about conditions in Manitoba. The country was "full of anarchy and confusion, the French and English settlers were mutually afraid of one another, both parties in dread of an Indian outbreak, and Riel very anxious about an amnesty." The next day Mr. Joseph Monkman, the loyal half-breed who had guided Dr. Schultz to Duluth during the preceding winter, reached the Rainy River, bringing Colonel Wolseley letters from Bishop Machray and others. All urged that the expedition should advance as quickly as possible, as the conditions prevailing in the new province were alarming. Monkman reported that six boats, provided and manned by some of the loyal settlers, were on the way up the Winnipeg River to co-operate with the expedition. He had come through the woods to the Northwest Angle and thought that route practicable for the expedition, but

reports from other sources convinced Colonel Wolseley that the road was not in such a condition that he would be warranted in attempting to take his force over it. So he felt obliged to take the longer and more toilsome route by way of the Winnipeg River, Lake Winnipeg, and the Red River. He reached Hungry Hall at the mouth of the Rainy River on August 11, and there he received letters, asking him to send all available regulars and two cannon to the Red River at once, as there was great danger of an Indian outbreak. Other letters told him that the boats sent by the Red River people had reached Rat Portage.

With all possible speed the expedition crossed the Lake of the Woods, and after a short delay at Rat Portage, it commenced the descent of the Winnipeg River. Paddling over the long stretches of smooth water, running the rapids, and portaging around the numerous falls, the advance companies of the 60th Rifles reached Fort Alexander on August 20. Here Colonel Wolseley met Mr. Donald A. Smith, who had come up from Norway House to await his arrival and accompany the expedition to Fort Garry.

The latest news from Fort Garry was to the effect that Riel had called a meeting of the Metis and had urged them to make an armed resistance to the entry of the troops. It was said that several hundred men had attended the meeting, but the majority of them had no desire for a continuation of the rebellion and refused to have anything to do with the mad schemes of their leader. Believing that no serious opposition would be offered to the force, Colonel Wolseley decided to push on with the men of the 60th, without waiting for the brigades of the Ontario Rifles, most of whom were on the river behind him; and on the afternoon of the 21st the men embarked for the sail across the lake to the mouth of Red River. The river was reached about noon the next day, and that night the force camped a few miles below Lower Fort Garry. Early in the forenoon of the 23rd the fort was reached, and here all superfluous supplies were stored. With four days' provisions the men pushed forward, hoping to reach their destination by nightfall. Horses were procured for some of the men, and an advance guard and flanking parties on the left bank and scouts on the right bank kept in touch with the brigades of boats on the river. Strange to say, no definite information about the position of the expedition seems to have preceded it, and all persons likely to carry news of its arrival to Fort Garry were detained. The advance up the river was somewhat slow, and when the men camped for the night on the western bank, they were still six miles from Fort Garry.

The Red River Expedition, dispatched to bring peace and order to a small and newly organized province in the centre of North America, may have seemed a matter of minor importance to most of the world, for during those weeks of July and August, when Wolseley and his men were making their toilsome way over lakes and rivers to Fort Garry, events, destined to change all the subsequent history of Europe, were following one another with incredible swiftness there. War between France and Prussia had been declared on July 15, the day before Wolseley's first boats set off on Lake Shebandowan, and in the succeeding weeks reverse after reverse had overtaken the French armies. Before Wolseley reached Fort Alexander, Marshall MacMahon's army had been completely crushed at Woerth, Marshall Bazaine's force had been shut up in Metz, Strasburg had been invested, and the Crown Prince Frederic, with an army of

150,000 men, was on the march to Paris. The series of desperate battles around Sedan, the terrific bombardment of that fortress, the capitulation of the place and the great French army cooped up in it, and the surrender of the French emperor himself, all occurred within ten days after Wolseley reached Fort Garry. We need not wonder, then, if people in the world at large paid little attention to the advance of Wolseley's expedition.

But to the people of Manitoba the early arrival of some force, strong enough to bring peace and order to the little prairie province, seemed a matter of far more importance than any question at issue between the Emperor of France and the King of Prussia. The good government of the country, the security of their property, the safety of their homes, perhaps their very lives, depended on it. For nine months all that they prized most had been in danger; and as the weeks passed, the strain of anxious waiting grew more severe. The suspense was harder to bear because they were so few in number and so far removed from the rest of Canada. Strangely enough, none of the people seem to have known just where the relieving force was or when it would arrive.

Perhaps no one had felt the suspense more than Rev. Mr. Young, who had attended Thomas Scott to his execution, whose son had been one of Riel's prisoner's, and whose wife's health had compelled him to send her out of the country at a very dangerous time; and no one looked more eagerly for the coming of Wolseley's men. Did he have some premonition of their approach, or had some rumor that their commander's scouts had been in Winnipeg during the night of August 23rd reached his ears? We are not told; but early on the morning of the 24th he rose in great agitation and said to his son, "I am sure the troops are close at hand. Go to Burke and get two of his best horses. Take Willie Burke with you, make your way through Riel's pickets somehow, and ride down the river to meet the troops." Undeterred by the heavy rain and the danger, the two young men set off at once. Some of Riel's pickets, who had been stationed on the trail a short distance north of the village of Winnipeg, challenged them as they approached; but they rode down to the bank of the river, as if to water their horses, evaded the pickets, and galloped on to meet Wolseley's force, which had commenced the last stage of its journey to Fort Garry.

Captain G. L. Huyshe, one of Wolseley's staff officers, has told us the story of that last advance in the following words:

"The camp was pitched on the left bank, six miles by land from Fort Garry, the distance by water being eight or nine. Outlying picquets were thrown out on both sides of the river, and a chain of sentries posted around the camp. Captain Wallace's company established itself in a farmhouse about 600 yards off, with an advanced party on the main road, so that all communication between Fort Garry and the settlements in the rear of the force was cut off. It had been Colonel Wolseley's intention to march at a very early hour the next morning upon the fort, but about 10 P. M. a violent gale of wind sprung up from the N. W., accompanied by torrents of rain, which continued without intermission all night, rendering the roads nearly impassable. The unfortunate picquets and sentries looked more like drowned rats than human beings, and the men were so done up with cold and wet, that Colonel Wolseley was obliged to change his plans and continue the advance in the boats. Breakfast put a little life into the men, though everything was so wet that it was difficult



FORT GARRY GATEWAY IN WINTER



FORT GARRY GATEWAY CLOTHED IN THE VERDURE OF SUMMER

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to get the fires lit, and at 6 A. M. the men re-embarked and rowed up the river, the rain still falling in torrents. Spies had been sent into the town of Winnipeg during the night to find out the actual state of affairs, and brought news that up to that evening the rebel flag still waved over Fort Garry, and though vague rumors were afloat of the force being somewhere on the river, yet these were discredited by Riel, who with a few of his adherents still kept possession of the fort; also that Bishop Taché had arrived that day under a salute of twenty-four guns.

"At 8 A. M. on the 24th the troops disembarked at Point Douglas, two miles from the town of Winnipeg, and formed up in open column of companies. The flanking party had brought a few horses and carts, so that there was sufficient transport ready for the ammunition, engineers' tools, and hospital. The guns were limbered up behind a couple of country carts, and a few wretched ponies served to mount Colonel Wolseley and his staff. Covered by Captain Wallace's company behind as a rear guard, the force marched straight on the village of Winnipeg, the roads being ankle deep in thick mud, and the rain still pouring in torrents.

"Passing round the flank of the village, the fort appeared in sight about 700 yards off, across the open prairie. A few stray inhabitants in the village declared that Riel and his party still held possession of the fort and meant to fight. The gates were shut, no flag was flying from the flag-staff, and guns were visible, mounted in the bastions and over the gateway that commanded the approach from the village and the prairie over which the troops were advancing. It certainly looked as if our labours were not to be altogether in vain. 'Riel is going to fight!' ran along the line, and the men quickened their pace and strode cheerily forward, regardless of the mud and rain. M. Riel rose in their estimation immensely. The gun over the gateway was expected every moment to open fire, but we got nearer and nearer and still no sign; at last we could see that there were no men standing to the guns, and, unless it were a trap to get us close up before they opened fire, it was evident that there would be no fight after all. 'He's bolted!' was the cry. Wolseley sent forward some of his staff to see if the south gate were also shut; they galloped all around the fort, and brought back word that the gate opening on to the bridge over the Assiniboine river was wide open, and men bolting away over the bridge. The troops then marched in by this gateway, and took possession of Fort Garry after a bloodless victory. The Union Jack was hoisted, a royal salute fired, and three cheers given for the Queen, which were caught up and heartily re-echoed by a few of the inhabitants who had followed the troops from the village. It was still raining in torrents, and the whole place was one sea of black, slimy mud; the men were drenched to the skin, and had been so during the previous night. Officers and men were therefore temporarily housed inside the fort, instead of pitching tents on the soaking wet ground.

"Inside the fort were found several field guns, some of which were mounted in the bastions and over the gateway, a large quantity of ammunition, and a number of old-pattern muskets, many of which were loaded and capped, showing that the intention had been up to the last moment to resist the entry of the troops. It is evident that Riel would have fought it out had his men stuck to him; he is reported to have said that very morning, that 'it was as well to



be shot defending the fort, as to give it up and be hung afterwards!' The house that he and his 'Secretaries of State' had occupied was found in a state of great confusion; the breakfast things on the table not yet cleared away, documents of all kinds, and the private papers of the ex-President lying about, betokened a hasty retreat. It appeared that Riel had refused to credit the report of the approach of the troops, until he actually saw them marching around the village, and had then hurriedly galloped off about a quarter of an hour before their arrival, taking the road to Pembina accompanied by Lépine and O'Donoghue."

The advance companies of the Ontario Rifles reached Winnipeg on August 27, and the others, with the exception of one company left at Fort Frances, arrived soon after. They were quartered in Upper Fort Garry. The Quebec battalion followed closely and was stationed at the Lower Fort. The purpose of the expedition having been accomplished, the regular soldiers were sent back, the first detachment starting on August 29 and the last on September 3. One company, under Captain Buller, was sent over the Dawson Road as an experiment; the others returned over the route by which they had come. Colonel Wolseley left Fort Garry on September 10, traveling by the Dawson Road. By the first week in October all the returning troops had reached Port Arthur and embarked for Collingwood. The company of the Ontario Rifles detained at Fort Frances was sent forward to Winnipeg, and the two battalions of Canadian volunteers, under command of Colonel Jarvis, settled down to garrison duty in the two forts on the Red River.

It was not a light undertaking to move a force of 1400 men, with arms and provisions of war, over a distance of 1200 miles, when the route led through a pathless forest for about one-third of the distance; yet the task was accomplished in three months without the loss of a single life and without serious accident. Considering the difficulties to be overcome, the cost of the expedition £400,000, seems remarkably small. The British government paid one-fourth of the expense; the remainder was borne by the Dominion.

His Royal Highness, the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, issued a general order from the Horse Guards, London, complimenting General Lindsay, Colonel Wolseley, and the men upon the way the arduous task imposed on them had been carried out; and Governor Archibald wrote to the colonel, expressing his appreciation of the difficulties of the long march and the manner in which they had been overcome. But Colonel Wolseley himself generously gave most of the credit for his success to the men of his force, whose energy and good spirits made light of difficulties. They were the very men needed for the development of a new province, and it was fortunate for Manitoba that so many of them remained in the country when their term of service expired. Previous to the departure of the 60th Royal Rifles from Fort Garry, Colonel Wolseley issued the following order of the day, congratulating his troops on the success of the expedition:

"To the Regular Troops of the Red River Expeditionary Force:

"I cannot permit Colonel Fielden and you to start upon your return journey to Canada without thanking you for having enabled me to carry out the Lieutenant-General's orders so successfully.

"You have endured excessive fatigue in the performance of a service that for its arduous nature can bear comparison with any previous military expe-

dition. In coming here from Prince Arthur's Landing you have traversed a distance of upwards of 600 miles.

"Your labours began with those common at the outset of all campaigns,—namely, with road-making and the construction of defensive works; then followed the arduous duty of taking the boats up a height of 800 feet, along fifty miles of river full of rapids, and where portages were numerous. From the time you left Shebandowan Lake until Fort Garry was reached, your labour at the oar has been incessant from daybreak to dark every day. Forty-seven portages were got over, entailing the unparalleled exertion of carrying the boats, guns, ammunition, stores, and provisions, over a total distance of upwards of seven miles. It may be said that the whole journey has been made through a wilderness, where, as there were no supplies of any sort whatever to be had, everything had to be taken with you in the boats.

"I have throughout viewed with pleasure the manner in which officers have vied with their men in carrying heavy loads. I feel proud of being in command of officers who so well know how to set a good example, and of men who evince such eagerness in following it.

"It has rained upon forty-five days out of the ninety-four that have passed by since we landed at Thunder Bay, and upon many occasions every man has been wet through for days together.

"There has not been the slightest murmur of discontent heard from any one.

"It may be confidently asserted that no force has ever had to endure more continuous labour, and it may be as truthfully said that no men on service have ever been better behaved, or more cheerful under the trials arising from exposure to inclement weather, excessive fatigue, and to the annoyance caused by flies.

"There has been a total absence of crime amongst you during your advance to Fort Garry, and I feel confident that your conduct during the return journey will be as creditable to you in every respect.

"The leaders of the banditti who recently oppressed Her Majesty's loyal subjects in the Red River Settlement having fled as you advanced on the fort, leaving their guns and a large quantity of their arms and ammunition behind them, the primary object of the expedition has been accomplished. Although you have not therefore had an opportunity of gaining glory, you can carry back with you into the daily routine of garrison life the conviction that you have done good service to the State, and have proved that no extent of intervening wilderness, no matter how great may be its difficulties, whether by land or water, can enable men to commit murder or to rebel against Her Majesty's authority with impunity.

"G. J. WOLSELEY, Colonel,  
*Commanding Red River Expedition.*

"Fort Garry, 28th August, 1870."



## CHAPTER XXXVI

### THE ORGANIZATION OF A PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

When Riel and his followers fled from Fort Garry on the approach of the troops, no one was left to represent the "provisional government." Nor was there any one to represent the Dominion government; for, although the country had been federated with Canada by act of parliament, a province formed, and a lieutenant-governor appointed to organize its government, he had not yet arrived. Colonel Wolseley had come to the province, not as the representative of the government of Canada, but as the commander of a military expedition. He could not assume the function of a governor without proclaiming the country under martial law, and it did not seem either necessary or wise to do that. Until the lieutenant-governor arrived, it appeared best to assume that the province was under the government of the Hudson's Bay Company; and so Mr. Donald A. Smith, its chief officer, was asked to administer affairs until Governor Archibald reached Fort Garry.

In making his journey to the new province over which he was to preside Lieutenant-Governor Archibald followed the route taken by the troops a few weeks earlier. He came up the Red River by canoe, on the evening of September 2, and early the next morning a salute from the guns of Fort Garry announced his arrival. A few days later the formalities preliminary to the assumption of his office took place, and Manitoba's first governor commenced his duties. In handing over the reins of government, which he had held for twelve days, Mr. D. A. Smith remarked, "I yield up my responsibilities with pleasure." "I really don't anticipate much pleasure on my own account," replied the governor. Indeed his position was not an easy one. Each of the two parties among the people hoped that he would adopt its views; and when he failed to do so as fully as the party hoped, each charged him with partiality toward the other. But Governor Archibald was a prudent man and proved himself equal to most of the difficulties which confronted him.

Some of these difficulties grew out of the enmity between the Ontario volunteers and the adherents of Riel. This enmity, inflamed by the intoxicating liquor furnished so freely to some of the volunteers for several days after their arrival, led to frequent disturbances on the streets. One of these brawls occurred on September 13, and in it a resident of St. Boniface was attacked by a mob and driven into the river. When he attempted to swim to the far side, he was assailed with a volley of stones. Struck on the head with a stone, he was rendered unconscious, and was drowned. An investigation was ordered, and three men were named as those responsible for the death of the unfortunate man. Owing to the race rancour, it was not considered wise to bring them to trial at

the time, and afterwards the matter was dropped. The efforts of the officers soon checked the consumption of liquor and removed one cause of the disturbances; and as time passed, many influences tended to bring about a better understanding between the various sections of the community.

Another difficulty was one which inevitably grew out of the rebellion. Bishop Taché felt keenly the refusal of the Dominion government to endorse his promise of amnesty to the rebels. His letters to Mr. Howe having proved futile, he made a visit to Ottawa to induce the government to grant the promised amnesty. This effort, too, proved unsuccessful; but it would appear that some one acting on behalf of the government advised the bishop that the rebel leaders had better leave the country as quickly and quietly as possible. We find that he wrote Mr. Smith on August 27, urging that no steps be taken against any of the Metis for their part in the insurrection, and he wrote him again about the matter a few days later. As soon as Governor Archibald arrived, the bishop renewed his plea for a practical amnesty to the insurgents.

But this was exceedingly difficult, for many of the English-speaking people of the province insisted that the leaders of the insurrection, and especially those responsible for the death of Thomas Scott, should be brought to trial and punished. Soon after Colonel Wolseley's arrival warrants were sworn out for the arrest of Riel, Lépine, and O'Donoghue; but through the influence of Mr. Smith the execution of these warrants was delayed, and the three ex-leaders were given time to place themselves on the south side of the international boundary. After Governor Archibald arrived, the officials were again urged to arrest these men, and it would not have been a difficult task, as they seem to have come north on several occasions. There is reason to believe that Riel and O'Donoghue were present at a meeting of Metis held at La Salle river on September 17th. But race feeling ran so high that bloodshed, and perhaps a renewal of the insurrection, might have followed an attempt to arrest the Metis leaders; and in case of a trial it would have been difficult to secure unbiased evidence and an impartial verdict. The Dominion government did not wish to prolong the troubles in Manitoba, and it had to consider the effect which the trial would have upon popular opinion in Quebec. Thus it had cogent reasons for believing it best that the three leaders of the insurrection should leave the country before they were arrested. Governor Archibald took the same view, and so execution of the warrants was again delayed.

As soon as possible Governor Archibald proceeded with the work of organizing a government for the new province. He appointed Mr. Alfred Boyd, a merchant of Winnipeg, and Mr. Marc Amable Girard, a notary who had reached the province a few weeks earlier, as the first members of his executive council. The former was much respected by the English residents; the latter soon became popular with the French. The next step was to organize a provincial police force, and the task was entrusted to Captain Villiers of the Quebec battalion. Of the nineteen men sworn in as constables, several have since become prominent in the life of the province.

It was necessary to take a census of the population preliminary to dividing the province into ridings for the election of members of the legislative assembly. The work of enumeration was commenced on October 27 and was completed before the end of November. The total population was found to be 11,963. There

were 1,565 whites, 5,757 French half-breeds, 4,083 English half-breeds, and 558 Indians. Of the whites 747 had been born in the North-West, 294 in Canada, 412 in the British Isles, 69 in the United States, 15 in France, and 28 in other countries. Of the total population 6,247 were listed as Roman Catholics, and 5,176 as Protestants.

On December 13 the governor proclaimed the boundaries of the twenty-four electoral districts into which the province had been divided; writs were issued and nominations were made as soon as possible; and the first provincial elections were held on December 30. The members elected to the first legislative assembly of Manitoba were: Baie St. Paul, J. Dubuc; Headingly, J. Taylor; High Bluff, J. Norquay; Kildonan, J. Sutherland; Lake Manitoba, A. McKay; Poplar Point, D. Spence; Portage la Prairie, F. O. Bird; St. Agathe, George Klyne; St. Andrew's North, A. Boyd; St. Andrew's South, E. H. G. G. Hay; Ste. Anne, J. H. Mactavish; St. Boniface East, M. A. Girard; St. Boniface West, L. Schmidt; St. Charles, H. J. Clarke; St. Clement's, Thomas Bunn; St. François Xavier East, P. Breland; St. François Xavier West, J. Royal; St. James, E. Bourke; St. Norbert North, J. Lemay; St. Norbert South, P. Delorme; St. Paul, Dr. Bird; St. Peter's, T. Howard; St. Vital, A. Beauchemin; Winnipeg, D. A. Smith.

Governor Archibald appointed the following gentlemen on January 10, 1871, as members of the executive council: Hon. Marc A. Girard, provincial treasurer; Hon. Thomas Howard, provincial secretary; Hon. Alfred Boyd, minister of public works and agriculture; and Hon. James McKay without a portfolio. On March 10 the first legislative council was formed by the lieutenant-governor, the members being Hon. James McKay, speaker, and Hon. orables F. Dauphinais, Donald Gunn, Solomon Hamelin, Colin Inkster, J. H. O'Donnell, M. D., and Francis Ogletree.

The first session of the new provincial parliament had been called for February 2; but it was postponed several times. The opening finally took place on March 15 with the usual ceremonies, the guard of honor for the lieutenant-governor on the occasion being furnished by the Ontario Rifles. Mr. Joseph Royal was elected speaker of the legislative assembly, and both houses settled down to the business of making laws for the new province. The meetings of the legislature were held in a private residence belonging to Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne, and the government offices were in the same building. The session lasted until May 3, and when it closed, his honor had given assent to no less than thirty-six laws dealing with public affairs and seven private bills. The public bills dealt with such matters as courts, police, electoral divisions, surveys, currency, parish assessments, wills, deeds, sales of real property, roads, statute labor, animals at large, noxious weeds, the legal and medical professions, Sabbath observance, a system of public schools, etc. The private bills incorporated the Bishop of Rupert's Land, the Bishop of St. Boniface, St. Boniface College, St. John's College, the Manitoba Brick and Pottery Company, the Manitoba Brewery Company, and the General Manufacturing and Investment Company.

The elections for the Dominion house of commons had been held on March 2, Mr. Donald A. Smith being successful in Selkirk, Mr. Pierre Delorme in Provencher, and Dr. Schultz in Lisgar, while in Marquette Mr. Angus McKay and Dr. Lynch each received 282 votes and a new election was held later.

The first session of the General Quarterly Court of the province was held on May 16. Judge Francis G. Johnson presided, Mr. Thompson Bunn was clerk of the court, and Mr. John Sutherland was sheriff.

No sooner had the Dominion government established peace in Manitoba than claims for compensation began to reach it from men who had been imprisoned or expatriated and men whose property had been seized by the insurgents or whose business had been ruined by the rebellion. The Hudson's Bay Company had suffered most. It claimed about £30,000 for its losses during the Riel regime, and with this claim the company combined one for interest on the £300,000, payment of which the Dominion government had delayed so long. Many objected to giving the company any compensation, on the ground that its officials at Fort Garry had connived at the movements of the rebels; others went so far as to say that Riel had received active aid and encouragement from these officials. The company may not have done everything in its power to check the insurrection at the beginning, but it seems absurd to contend that it abetted the movement. It had nothing to gain and much to lose from the success of the Metis rebellion. On one ground or other the settlement of the company's claims was delayed, and it seems to have withdrawn them some years later.

The claims of private parties for recompense for losses growing out of the rebellion aggregated \$336,260.95, the largest single claim being that of Dr. Schultz for \$65,065, of which \$10,000 was claimed for imprisonment. Early in 1871 the Dominion parliament voted \$40,000 to meet the more pressing of these claims, and Dr. Schultz received half the amount, while \$800 was paid to those whom Riel obliged to leave the country. In July the government instructed Judge F. J. Johnson to make careful inquiry into all these claims. He did so and reported what he considered an equitable compensation for the loss sustained in each case. The government adopted his recommendations and paid the amounts awarded to the claimants by the judge, the aggregate being \$85,755.95, or little more than one-fourth of the amount originally claimed. Judge Johnson also suggested that Narcisse Marion be paid \$100 for services rendered toward the preservation of law and order, and this was done. In April, 1872, a committee of the privy council recommended that \$2,000 be paid to the parents of Thomas Scott. This recommendation was approved by the governor-in-council, and the sum was paid.

The long-continued negotiations for the annexation of Rupert's Land to Canada, the Metis insurrection, and the Red River expedition all helped to draw public attention to the new province and its great possibilities as an agricultural country. No sooner was peace restored and a government established than people began to migrate to Manitoba. These immigrants wished to take up farms; but there was no survey to guide them in locating their claims, nor was there any official with whom they could register them. Many of the new arrivals squatted on land to which the old settlers thought they had prior rights. Some of the discharged volunteers decided to remain in the country, and they, too, wished to secure a share of its fertile land. Claims were being staked out in a most unsystematic fashion. An order-in-council, dated at Ottawa on May 31, notified the people of Manitoba that it would be impossible to make a survey in time to meet the needs of the people already settled in the country and those about to enter it, but intimated that the government would respect the

rights of those who had taken up land, improved it, and were in possession of it when the survey was made. This was thought to mean that any person who had staked a claim could hold it against all comers; and so irregular claim-staking went on more rapidly than ever. The people who viewed this movement with most alarm were the half-breeds, for they feared that, if the survey were delayed very long, their choice of the 1,400,000 acres guaranteed them by the Manitoba Act would be restricted to the more remote and less fertile districts.

The government had been making plans for a survey of the province in harmony with that commenced by Colonel Dennis and summarily stopped by Riel's men. A report, embodying a system of surveys and a plan of the lands available for half-breed grants, had been presented to the Dominion parliament on March 1, 1871, and on April 12 it voted \$100,000 for surveys. A staff of surveyors was soon at work, some running division lines between sections in the districts partially occupied by settlers, others making surveys in districts where early settlement was anticipated. Mr. Gilbert McMicken was appointed agent of Dominion lands for Manitoba in the latter part of September, and his arrival in the province early in October did much to check the irregular location of claims.

The land regulations adopted by the Dominion government were very liberal. Any British subject might take up a homestead of 160 acres (a quarter-section). He was required to pay a fee of \$10 at the time his application was made and to cultivate the land for five years; these conditions filled, he received a patent for the land. The period of residence was afterwards reduced to three years, and even then he might be absent from his homestead six months out of each twelve. He was also allowed to purchase another quarter-section, called a pre-emption, at the rate of \$1.00 per acre. Certain lands, such as those reserved for the Hudson's Bay Company under the terms of the transfer of its territory to the Dominion, those reserved for the support of schools, wooded lands necessary to supply settlers with fuel, etc., were not open as homesteads or pre-emptions.

Clause 31 of the Manitoba Act had provided for the appropriation of 1,400,000 acres of ungranted lands, which were to be divided amongst the half-breeds as a step "towards the extinguishment of the Indian Title to the lands of the Province." This grant took about one-sixth of the land open for settlement in the province as then constituted. It was arranged that each head of a half-breed family would be given scrip which entitled the holder to take up a quarter section of Dominion land open for settlement, and that each half-breed boy or girl would receive a patent for 240 acres of land on reaching the age of eighteen years. Arrangements were made for drawing claims by lot and for keeping the necessary records of the claims allotted. This most generous grant of land did not benefit the half-breeds much, for most of them disposed of their rights for trifling sums to speculators, who made considerable money out of them when the farm lands of the province became more valuable.

The government was anxious to complete the work of extinguishing the Indian title by making treaties with the natives themselves. In the autumn of 1870 the Indians had asked Governor Archibald to make such treaties, and he had promised that this would be done during the following year. The Dominion government appointed Mr. W. M. Simpson as Indian Commissioner with power to arrange the terms on which the native tribes would cede the lands occupied



by them and to determine the location and extent of such reserves as would be needed for their use.

During the month of July 1871, Mr. Simpson, in company with Mr. S. J. Dawson, C. E., and Mr. Robert Pither, visited the various Ojibway tribes living between Thunder Bay and the Northwest Angle of the Lake of the Woods, and opened negotiations for a treaty. Although the agreement was partially completed, it was not signed until more than two years had passed. Mr. Simpson and his associates proceeded to Fort Garry and consulted with Governor Archibald and Hon. James McKay in regard to the best methods of arranging treaties with the Indians of Manitoba. It was deemed advisable to secure a surrender of the Indian title, not only to all lands within the boundaries of the province, but also to those timber lands on the north, which would be found necessary for the white settlers of the province, and those rich agricultural lands west of Portage la Prairie, which would be occupied by settlers at an early date. Accordingly a proclamation was issued by Mr. Simpson, asking the Indians of the first district to meet him at Lower Fort Garry on July 25, 1871, and those of the western and northern districts to meet him at the Lake Manitoba post of the Hudson's Bay Company on August 17.

The commissioner's party reached the Lower Fort on July 24. It was considered wise to impress the Indians with the importance of the occasion, and a small military force under Major Irvine was present. Few of the aborigines had arrived, however, and the first meeting was postponed until the 27th. By that date a thousand of the Indians and many half-breeds had assembled. It will be remembered that in 1817 Lord Selkirk had made a treaty with the natives for the surrender of a part of the territory which the Dominion government wished them to cede to it in 1871, and that some of them subsequently repudiated the bargain made with his lordship; so it was thought wise to open negotiations as if that treaty had never been made. The conference began with an address by Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, and then Mr. Simpson explained to the assembled people the purpose of the government in making a treaty and outlined the terms which it offered.

The proceedings occupied nine days, and during this time the Indians had to be fed at the government's expense. First they demanded the release of four Swampy Crees, who had been imprisoned for failing to carry out a contract with the Hudson's Bay Company. When Governor Archibald explained that this request could be granted only as a favor, not as a right, those present agreed to receive it as a favor and promised to observe the white man's laws thereafter. The prisoners were then set free. About two days were occupied by the different bands in choosing men to represent them in the negotiations with the commissioner. Then the demands of the Indians for reserves were so excessive that to grant them would have taken most of the province, and it took some time to convince them that such excessive grants could not be made. Then followed long discussions about reserves, the amount of treaty money to be paid, and supplies of food, clothing, etc.

At length all details were settled, and on August 3rd the treaty (No. 1) was signed by Commissioner Simpson and by the six chiefs, Mis-koo-ke-new (Red Eagle), known as Henry Prince, Ka-ke-ka-penais (Bird Forever), known as William Pennefather, Na-sha-ke-penais (Flying Down Bird), Na-na-wa-nana (Cen-



LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. G. IRVINE



ter of Bird's Tail), Ke-wa-tay-ash (Flying Round), Wa-ko-wush (Whip-Poor-Will), and Oo-za-we-kwen (Yellow Quill). Governor Archibald, Hon. James McKay, Major Irvine, and eight others signed it as witnesses. By the treaty the Indians surrendered all claims to the land within the following limits: "Beginning at the International boundary line near its junction with the Lake of the Woods, at a point due north from the center of Roseau Lake; thence to run due north to the center of Roseau Lake; thence northward to the center of White Mouth Lake, otherwise called White Mud Lake; thence by the middle of the lake and the middle of the river issued therefrom, to the mouth thereof in Winnipeg River; thence by the Winnipeg River to its mouth; thence westwardly, including all the islands near the south end of the lake, across the lake to the mouth of the Drunken River; thence westwardly, to a point on Lake Manitoba, half way between Oak Point and the mouth of Swan Creek; thence across Lake Manitoba, on a line due west to its western shore; thence in a straight line to the crossing of the Rapids on the Assiniboine; thence due south to the International boundary line, and thence easterly by the said line to the place of beginning."

Four reserves, the aggregate area of which was equal to about 160 acres for each family of five, were set apart for the Indians. One was situated near the mouth of the Red River, another near the mouth of the Winnipeg River, a third was located on the Roseau, while the fourth was on the Assiniboine above Portage la Prairie. The government was pledged to maintain a school on each reserve, if the Indians desired it. Each Indian man, woman, and child received a present of \$3.00 on the signing of the treaty, and thereafter each was to receive a yearly payment of \$3.00 in cash or its equivalent.

The treaty (No. 2) made with the Indians assembled at Manitoba Post took much less time than that made at Lower Fort Garry, for the more western Indians had learned the details of the earlier treaty and were content to accept similar terms for themselves. The treaty was concluded on August 21. It was signed by Mr. Simpson and five chiefs, while Governor Archibald, Hon. Mr. McKay, Mr. Molyneux St. John, and seven others signed as witnesses. By the first treaty the Indians had surrendered all claim to the land of a district that was almost identical with the province of Manitoba; by the second they ceded additional districts on the east, north, and west of Manitoba, whose aggregate area was twice that of the province. In return the government made provisions similar to those promised to the Indians by Treaty No. 1. Four reserves, located about Lakes Manitoba and Dauphin, were set apart, schools were to be maintained, the cash payments were to be made and presents given, and the sale of liquor to the Indians prohibited.

Some three years later it was pointed out that certain verbal promises made to the Indians at the Lower Fort and at Manitoba Post had not been included in the texts of the treaties signed at those points. These promises included a dress for each chief and one for each of his councillors, buggies for certain chiefs and councillors, several domestic animals for each reserve, and a plow and a harrow for each Indian cultivating the soil. The government then decided to revise these treaties (Nos. 1 and 2), and the yearly payment to each member of a band was raised from \$3.00 to \$5.00, while each chief and four of his leading councillors were given \$20.00 per annum, it being understood that those accept-

ing the increased payments would waive all claims against the government for non-fulfillment of the verbal promises made when the original treaties were concluded.

During the first year of the history of the province mails arrived from Canada but once per week, coming from Pembina by stage. There was a weekly mail from Fort Garry to the Lower Fort and a weekly mail from Fort Garry to Portage. No telegraph line had reached the province, and the nearest point of railway was many miles south of the international boundary. But before the close of 1871 the conditions had been greatly improved. A stage line from Abercrombie to Fort Garry had been established, and the proprietors, Messrs. Blakely & Carpenter, had contracted with the government to carry a tri-weekly mail each way between the two points. Alexander Begg was the express agent in Winnipeg, and the first stage coach of the line reached the little prairie town on September 11. On November 20 the telegraph line connecting the town with the American lines at Pembina was completed, and the first message sent over it was Lieutenant-Governor Archibald's announcement to the governor-general of Canada that Manitoba was no longer isolated so completely from the rest of the world, and the second was Lord Lisgar's congratulatory reply. Before the end of the year 1871 the Northern Pacific Railway had been constructed to the town of Brainard in Minnesota, and plans had been made for a more complete steam-boat service on the Red River.

## CHAPTER XXXVII

### “THE REPUBLIC OF RUPERT’S LAND”

Perfect harmony had not always marked the relations of Riel and O’Donoghue during the Metis insurrection. O’Donoghue was a Fenian and evidently hoped to make the brotherhood and the Metis organization mutually helpful. He desired to prevent the union of Rupert’s Land with Canada, preferring to see it annexed to the United States. But while the utterances of the *New Nation* seem to show that Riel may have been somewhat favorable to annexation during the earlier stages of the rebellion, it seems quite certain that he soon abandoned the idea and wished to maintain the country’s connection with Great Britain. Indeed in the later developments of the Metis movement Riel favored confederation with Canada, provided terms acceptable to him and his followers could be secured. While most of the demands of the Metis had been met in the Manitoba Act, their leaders were not recognized in the formation of a government for the new province. Indeed these leaders were evidently regarded as rebels. They were fugitives and little better than outlaws. To that extent the plan of their chief, Riel, had failed; so his lieutenant, O’Donoghue, decided to put his own scheme to the test.

The Metis of Manitoba were in no pleasant humor. Their insurrection had collapsed, and their “provisional government” had disappeared. As no amnesty had been proclaimed, those who had taken an active part in the rebellion were liable to arrest and punishment. The allotment of their grants of land had been delayed, and the country was being filled with Canadians. There was less opportunity than formerly to follow their old occupations of hunting and freighting. To crown all there was the enmity of the settlers who had recently come to the province. Thoughtful observers considered the situation very critical and feared that some spark might kindle the discontent of the Metis into an open flame once more. O’Donoghue and his few associates considered the time had come to establish “The Republic of Rupert’s Land.”

The abortive attempt of O’Donoghue and his Fenian accomplices to bring an armed force into Canada and secure the co-operation of the Metis is usually spoken of as a Fenian raid; but O’Donoghue tried to make it appear that the movement was a continuation of the insurrection of the previous year. In a letter, which he wrote to the speaker of the Dominion house of commons from St. Paul on February 26, 1875, he said: “The so-called Fenian raid is a misnomer. Fenianism had nothing to do with it. It was simply a continuation of the insurrection of 1869, with the same intention and by the same parties, a fact which the government of Manitoba was cognizant of for months previous. My

part in it was simply that of an agent of the people, holding a commission signed by the officers, civil and military, of the late provisional government of the French party, and authorized by a resolution of the council held at River La Salle in September, 1870, over which Louis Riel presided."

While O'Donoghue's plans may have been discussed at the La Salle meeting on September 17, 1870, and while Riel may have approved of them, it seems more than probable that he had no part in making them or directing the attempt to carry them out. An interesting document, entitled "The Constitution of the Republic of Rupert's Land," has been preserved. It is dated at St. Boniface on September 15, 1871, and appears to be in the handwriting of W. B. O'Donoghue. Six signatures are appended to it—those of W. B. O'Donoghue, John O'Neill, Thomas Curley, F. O'Byrne, Jno. J. Donnelly, and J. C. Kennedy. It provides for the government of an independent state in the Red River country, to be called The Republic of Rupert's Land. This republic was to be governed by a president and a council of ten members. Five members of the council were to represent the inhabitants of the country (i. e. the Metis), and the other five were to be chosen by "the immigrants who shall come in" (i. e. the Fenians). The representatives of "the inhabitants" were to be the first five of the six men who signed the constitution—Messrs. O'Donoghue, O'Neill, Curley, O'Byrne, and Donnelly. Mr. W. B. O'Donoghue was to be president of the republic and, *ex officio*, president of the council. Courts were to be established, and Mr. W. B. O'Donoghue was to be chief justice. The means of defence were to be provided, and Mr. W. B. O'Donoghue was to be "commander-in-chief of the army and navy of Rupert's Land."

Plans for the government of the new republic having been settled, its president, who was also the president of its council, its chief justice, and the commander of its land and sea forces, hied him south to arrange for the co-operation of the "immigrants," whose leader was "General" John O'Neill. O'Donoghue seems to have gone as far east as Chicago in search of assistance, for the six men, who were conspiring to found a new republic, had no funds. Indeed O'Donoghue did not have the means to pay his railway fare back to St. Paul. The treasury of the Fenian brotherhood seems to have been depleted at that time; but O'Neill managed to secure 250 breech-loading rifles, which had been originally provided for the attack on Canada in 1869. These were sent from their repository near Port Huron to Pembina, which was to be the rendezvous of the Fenian invaders. It remained for "Commander-in-chief" O'Donoghue, "General" O'Neill, "Colonel" Curley, and the other officers to enlist an army. This was to be done in the towns along the route from St. Paul to Pembina, and it was not anticipated that the task would be difficult. The approach of winter had thrown many men out of employment, and they knew that Riel's "soldiers" had spent pleasant months of leisure in Fort Garry two winters earlier.

The government of Manitoba was not in ignorance of the movement planned by O'Donoghue, for early in September Mr. J. W. Taylor, the United States consul at Winnipeg, had informed Governor Archibald and his ministers that the Fenians would probably invade Manitoba before the year had passed. Similar information was received by the Dominion government, and its secret service men were watching the movements of the Fenian leaders. Consul Taylor was assured that neither Dominion nor provincial authorities would object if Amer-

ican troops crossed the international boundary in order to prevent such a breach of the neutrality laws of the United States as the threatened Fenian invasion. On September 11 a full statement of the situation was forwarded to Washington, and on the 19th orders were sent to Captain Wheaton, commanding the United States troops at Pembina, to make the proposed armed intervention, if he considered it necessary. Strange to say, neither the Dominion government nor the government of Manitoba seems to have taken any other effective steps to prevent the raid and the coincident uprising. It is true that the Canadian government made Mr. Gilbert McMicken, whom it was sending to Winnipeg as its agent of Dominion lands, a commissioner of Dominion police and instructed him to gather any information possible about the movements of the Fenians. This action did little to check the raid, for the raiders reached the boundary very soon after Mr. McMicken crossed it. It is also true that Governor Archibald had requested Fathers Ritchot and Dugas to do all in their power to dissuade the Metis from joining O'Donoghue's force; but this could hardly be considered an effective measure for preventing an uprising.

As Mr. McMicken travelled through the United States he learned that a few recruits had followed O'Donoghue from Chicago, and that a few more had enlisted at Macaulayville, ~~Abercrombie~~ and Grand Forks. He passed O'Donoghue and his meagre army on the road, and did not believe the "commander-in-chief" would be able to muster more than 70 men at Pembina. They had a wagon on which their arms, ammunition, etc., were conveyed. In due time they reached Pembina. Across the river, in what is now West Lynn, stood the Pembina post of the Hudson's Bay Company. O'Donoghue's soldiers were looking for plunder, and the opportunity was not to be missed; so the post was looted.

At the trial of one of the raiders, Mr. W. H. Watt, who was in charge of the Pembina post, gave the following account of what occurred:

"About half-past seven on the morning of the 5th of October a party of armed men took possession of the place in the name of the Provisional Government of Red River. I was taken prisoner while in bed and held until our release by the American troops between two and three o'clock P. M. The men who took the place were armed with rifles and bayonets, and some with side arms. The prisoner was one of them. I saw O'Donoghue, O'Neill, Curley and Donnelly there. They were called generals, colonels and commanders-in-chief. While I was a prisoner acts of robbery were committed. A great quantity of provisions was taken out of the store and loaded into wagons in the square of the fort. They plundered the place and made prisoners of the people of the fort. They placed sentries on the gates and made themselves perfect masters of the place. When Curley and O'Neill heard of the arrival of the United States troops, the former said that the wagons with the plunder must be got out. That was Curley's last order before he fled with the rest. The rank and file were nearly all gone—some on horseback and some on foot. They scattered in all directions. While the Fenians were in the fort the commands were given in English, by all four officers. I counted thirty-seven armed men inside the square at one time. While the armed men held possession of the fort, their officers told me they had taken it in the name of the Provisional Government of Red River, and that they were going to take Fort Garry also. The Fenians crossed the river after they fled from the troops. When the Fenians were apprised by the horsemen that



the United States troops were upon them, I looked into the square of the fort and saw a great commotion among the Fenians. Each one ran hither and thither—some escaping by one gate and some by another. I soon found myself without a guard. All the generals and colonels had skedaddled except one man. That one man was O'Donoghue."

Owing to the friendly services of Consul Taylor, Captain Wheaton had acted promptly. He had taken his men across the boundary and surprised the Fenians in the act of looting the Pembina post. Several of their leaders were made prisoners. O'Donoghue was captured by two French half-breeds about five miles from Pembina on the Manitoba side of the boundary. They took him to Mr. Bradley, the Canadian customs officer at the boundary, and he handed the prisoner over to the United States officials. Before the day was over Consul Taylor received the following dispatch:

"Headquarters, Fort Pembina,  
October 5, 1871.

"J. W. Taylor, United States Consul, Winnipeg:

Sir—I have captured, and now hold 'General' J. O'Neill, 'General' Thomas Curley, and 'Colonel' J. J. Donnelly. I think further anxiety regarding a Fenian invasion of Manitoba unnecessary.

"I have, etc.,  
LLOYD WHEATON,  
*Captain Twentieth Infantry.*"

For their services in this affair both Consul Taylor and Captain Wheaton received the thanks of the British government.

The report of the presence of a body of armed men at Pembina, brought to Winnipeg by scouts on October 2, was confirmed by Mr. McMicken when he arrived in the evening. After some consultation among the authorities it was decided to issue a call to loyal citizens to enroll themselves for the defence of the country. On the morning of the 3rd the following proclamation was distributed through the settlement:

#### "PROCLAMATION

"Province of Manitoba

"Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, etc.

Sgd. ADAMS GEORGE ARCHIBALD.

To our loving subjects, the inhabitants of the Province of Manitoba,

Greeting:

"Whereas, intelligence has just been received from trustworthy sources that a band of lawless men calling themselves

#### FENIANS

have assembled on the frontier of the United States at or near Pembina and that they intend to make a raid into this province, from a country with which we are at peace, and to commit acts of depredation, pillage and robbery, and other outrages upon the persons and property of our loving subjects, the inhabitants of this province. While not unprepared to meet the emergency with our regular forces, we do hereby warn all our said loving subjects to put themselves in readiness at once to assist in repelling this outrage upon their hearths and

homes. We enjoin them immediately to assemble in their respective parishes and

ENROLL THEMSELVES.

“For this purpose we call upon all our said loving subjects, irrespective of race or religion, or of past local differences, to

RALLY ROUND THE FLAG

of our common country. We enjoin them to select the best men of each locality to be officers, whom we shall duly authorize and commission, and we enjoin the officers so selected to put themselves in immediate communication with the lieutenant-governor of our said province. We shall take care that persons possessing military skill and experience shall be detailed to teach the necessary drill and discipline. All officers and men when called into service shall receive the pay and allowances given to the regular militia. The country need feel no alarm. We are quite able to repel these outlaws if they were numerous. The handful of them who threaten us can give no serious difficulty to brave men who have their homes and families to defend.

RALLY THEN AT ONCE!

“We rely upon the prompt reply of all our people of every origin, to this our call.

“In testimony whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent, and the great seal of Manitoba to be hereunto affixed.

“Witness our trusty and well-beloved the Honorable George Archibald, lieutenant-governor of our Province of Manitoba, member of our Privy Council for Canada, etc., etc., at our Government House at Fort Garry, this 3rd day of October, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, and in the thirty-fifth year of our reign.

“By Command,

THOS. HOWARD,

*Provincial Secretary.*”

The response to this call to arms was prompt and general. On the evening of the 4th a mass meeting was held at the police station in Fort Garry, and loyal addresses were made by Rev. John Black, Rev. Archdeacon McLean, and Rev. George Young; and before another day had passed 1000 men had volunteered for the defence of the province. Mr. Stewart Mulvey, who had come to Winnipeg as an ensign in the Ontario Rifles, had enrolled a company of about 100 men, mostly members of the battalion to which he had belonged; the officials and employees of the Hudson's Bay Company had enrolled themselves in a company under command of Mr. Donald A. Smith; and a company of home guards had been formed with Mr. Cunningham as its captain and Mr. John F. Bain (afterwards a judge) as lieutenant. Companies were promptly formed among the men of Kildonan and St. Andrew's; and when the proclamation reached the western districts of the province, companies were quickly enrolled at High Bluff and Portage la Prairie. All the companies clamored for arms; but as there were only 650 rifles in Fort Garry, in addition to those belonging to the 79 men of the force still kept there, it was impossible to furnish all the ardent volunteers with weapons.

On Friday, October 5, at 1:30 P. M. an order was issued to the Winnipeg

men to parade; at 3 o'clock they were ordered to equip themselves and be ready to march in an hour; and shortly before dusk the little force, composed of about 80 men of the garrison and 120 volunteers and officered by Major Irvine and Captains Walker, Mulvey, Plainval and others, crossed the Assiniboine and marched south in a heavy rain. They had a small cannon, which gave much trouble, and twenty wagons loaded with supplies; but tents were few, and there were not enough blankets to give one to each man. After a march of five miles in the darkness and rain the force halted for the night. The next day it advanced to La Salle River, and there the men learned that the Fenians had been dispersed by Captain Wheaton's soldiers. Nevertheless, the advance was continued on the 7th until Ste. Agathe was reached. Then it was decided to turn back, and on Monday, the 9th, the weary and mud-stained men reached Winnipeg and were allowed to return to their homes.

In the meantime interesting events had taken place near Winnipeg. Riel was in the neighborhood, but Father Ritchot had declined to urge him to use his influence with the Metis against an uprising, unless Governor Archibald would promise the long-sought amnesty for their former leader. This the governor could not do, and so there was much anxiety as to the attitude of the French half-breeds. However on Saturday, October 7, Riel, Lépine, and Pierre Parenteau wrote to Governor Archibald from St. Vital to say that the Metis meant to be loyal, that several companies of volunteers were being formed among them, and that these companies would respond to a call for their services. In reply his honor thanked the three men for their loyalty and asked to be furnished with lists of the volunteers who had been enrolled. During the forenoon of the next day (Sunday) Riel addressed a number of the Metis from the steps of the church at St. Norbert, urging them to offer their services to the government; and in the afternoon many of them rode down to St. Boniface. Upon their arrival Hon. Mr. Girard went to Governor Archibald and informed him that about a hundred of the Metis had assembled at St. Boniface and wished to offer themselves for the defence of the province. Although the danger of a Fenian invasion had passed three days before, the governor went to St. Boniface, met the men who had gathered there, and thanked them somewhat effusively for their offer of service. It appears that there was talk of using some of the Metis volunteers to reinforce the garrison placed in Fort Garry, when Major Irvine's men marched away towards Pembina. This temporary garrison consisted of the St. Andrew's company under Lieutenant Hay, the High Bluff company under Captain Newcombe, and the men of the Hudson's Bay Company. But when it was suggested that they should make room for a Metis company, Lieutenant Hay and Captain Newcombe declared that their companies would lay down their arms rather than admit men of whose loyalty they were doubtful, and the project was abandoned. On Tuesday morning Mr. Royal brought over a band of about twenty-five mounted Metis scouts, captained by Pascal Breland, who offered their services to the government. Their offer was accepted, and they were sent to patrol a part of the road to Pembina; but they soon returned, as all danger of an uprising had passed.

When reports of the Fenian invasion and the uncertain attitude of the Metis reached Ottawa, the government decided to increase the small military

force maintained in Manitoba. A call for volunteers to serve in a second Red River expedition was sent through Ontario, and men enlisted readily. On October 21, 1871, 200 men, led by Captain Thomas Scott, left Collingwood by steamer. They reached Port Arthur on the 24th, and immediately commenced their toilsome journey over the route taken by Wolseley's force in 1870. By November 12 they had reached the Northwest Angle of the Lake of the Woods, where they were met by the officer appointed to command them, Lieutenant-Colonel Osborne Smith. Ice was forming on the lakes and rivers; so the men abandoned their boats and followed the Dawson Road to Fort Garry, which was reached on November 18, just four weeks after the force left Collingwood.

Three half-breeds were arrested for complicity in the attack on the post of the Hudson's Bay Company at Pembina and were charged with treason. Their trial took place at the session of the Quarterly Court which opened at Fort Garry on November 17, 1871, Judge Johnson presiding. The jury found that one of the men was not guilty; it disagreed in the case of the second, and he was discharged; but it returned a verdict of guilty against the third. He was sentenced to be hung, but was soon pardoned.

There was much dissatisfaction among some classes of the people over Mr. Bradley's action in handing O'Donoghue to the officers of the United States instead of the Canadian authorities. O'Donoghue and the other captured leaders of the Fenians were examined rather cursorily by Mr. Spencer, United States commissioner at Pembina, and were discharged on the ground that there was not sufficient evidence to warrant their detention. Probably the Ottawa government was not averse to having the matter dropped in this way, for it was relieved of further trouble with O'Donoghue, who found it advisable to reside permanently in the United States thereafter.

It was different with Riel, however, who showed no willingness to exile himself from his native land. Some have thought that one of the purposes of the concerted movement of the Fenians and the Metis was to force the government to grant amnesty to the latter; but if that were the case, the movement had failed. Nevertheless, it was of some advantage to Riel. The government suspected him of duplicity in the affair, and it recognized the great influence for or against law and order which he could still exert over the Metis; so it was more anxious than ever to induce him to leave the country. Finally it adopted the weakest and most indefensible plan taken in the whole of its vacillating policy towards the Metis insurgents, and offered to pay Riel, if he would retire from Canada. There was some negotiation, and in January, 1872, Riel agreed that he would quit the country, if he received \$1,000 and his family were supported for a year. The money was sent to Bishop Taché to be paid to Riel; but then it was objected that the amount was not adequate, and Mr. D. A. Smith was asked by Governor Archibald to advance \$3,000 more on behalf of the government. Riel then removed to the United States for a time. The sum advanced by the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company was repaid by the Dominion government after some delay.

But Riel could not refrain long from taking part in the affairs of Manitoba. The general elections for the Dominion house of commons took place in 1872, and Riel was one of the three candidates nominated for the constituency of

Provencher. The others were Hon. H. J. Clarke and Sir George E. Cartier. Before the day of the election, however, Riel and Clarke retired and gave the seat to Cartier. Sir George died soon after and left Provencher without a representative. Riel was the only candidate nominated, and so the seat went to him by acclamation in October, 1873. In the general election of January, 1874, he was elected by acclamation again. When parliament opened on March 30, he travelled to Ottawa, took the oath of office, and signed the roll as a member of the house of commons; but he was not allowed to take his seat, owing to events which had taken place in Manitoba.

It has already been stated that warrants for the arrest of Riel and the other leaders of the insurrection had been issued in Winnipeg soon after the arrival of Wolseley's troops, that these warrants were not served, and that Riel, Lépine, and O'Donoghue left the province. Lépine seems to have gone to St. Paul and to have remained there some time; but finally he returned and settled down to work on his farm. Riel and O'Donoghue appear to have flitted back and forth across the boundary until the collapse of the Fenian raid. About that time the Ontario government offered a reward of \$5,000 for the arrest of the murderers of Thomas Scott, and this was supplemented by a reward offered by the county of Middlesex.

After these rewards were offered, efforts to secure the arrest of the guilty parties were renewed; and on September 15, 1873, a warrant for the arrest of Riel, Lépine, and others was issued. Riel fled, but Lépine quietly submitted and was taken to prison. On the 23rd, the day fixed for the preliminary hearing of Lépine's case, a deputation of Metis and their friends waited on Governor Morris and protested against the trial on the ground that amnesty had been granted to the rebels; but the governor explained that it was a matter with which he had nothing to do. At the assizes in November the grand jury found a true bill against Lépine, but the case did not really come to trial for a year. The number of cases before the court, arguments on the question of jurisdiction, and the unwillingness of Justice McKeagney to try the case caused several postponements, and the actual trial did not begin until the autumn of 1874. It took place before Chief Justice Wood and lasted twenty-one days, several of the most eminent lawyers of Canada being engaged on the case. Lépine was found guilty and was sentenced to be hanged, but before the day set for his execution arrived, the sentence was commuted.

In February, 1874, four of Riel's followers were arrested for the murder of Scott, and two of them were tried. Of these one was acquitted, but the jury disagreed about the other. Before he could be tried again, the general amnesty had been proclaimed, and so the proceedings against him were dropped.

The charges against Riel and Lépine and the finding of a true bill against the latter were some of the reasons which led the house of commons to prohibit the former from sitting as the member for Provencher. On April 15, 1874, Hon. Mackenzie Bowell and Dr. Schultz moved the following resolution: "That Louis Riel, the member for the electoral division of Provencher, having been charged with murder, and an indictment having been found against the said Riel, and warrants issued by the Courts of Manitoba for his apprehension, and that the said Riel having fled from justice, and having refused to attend in his place in this House on Thursday, 9th April, be expelled from this House."

After considerable discussion the motion was carried by a vote of 123 to 68. Riel was again elected in September, 1874, but a sentence of outlawry was pronounced against him in October, and he fled to the United States.

Through all this time the agitation for a full amnesty to those who had taken part in the rebellion of 1869-70 continued. A resolution of the provincial legislature asking the imperial government to deal with the matter had been forwarded to the governor-general at Ottawa in 1872. In June, 1873, the Dominion government referred the question of an amnesty to the imperial authorities, and in July the Earl of Kimberley sent a dispatch to Lord Dufferin in which he stated that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's government, an amnesty should be granted for all offences committed during the disturbances at Red River in 1869-70, except the murder of Scott, and asked the opinion of the Canadian government upon an amnesty limited in the way suggested. The matter seems to have been a difficult one for the Dominion government, and nothing was done for more than a year. Finally on December 10, 1874, Lord Dufferin transmitted an exhaustive report upon the matter to the imperial authorities, in which he suggested that he should relieve his ministers from responsibility in the case of Lépine and deal with it himself in virtue of the power given him by the crown. The Earl of Carnarvon replied on January 7, 1875, approving of the governor-general's suggestion; and on the 15th of the month his excellency commuted the sentence of Lépine to two years' imprisonment and the forfeiture of his political rights.

In February, 1875, on motion of Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, the following resolutions were adopted by the house of commons:

"That in the opinion of this House it would be proper, considering the said facts, that a full amnesty should be granted to all persons concerned in the North-West troubles, for all acts committed by them during the said troubles, saving only L. Riel, A. D. Lépine, and W. B. O'Donoghue.

"That in the opinion of this House it would be proper, considering all facts, that a like amnesty should be granted to L. Riel and A. D. Lépine, conditioned on five years' banishment from Her Majesty's dominions.

"That an humble address be presented to His Excellency the Governor-General, embodying this resolution, and praying that he will be pleased to take such steps as may be best calculated to carry it into effect."

In this way the amnesty question was settled.



## CHAPTER XXXVIII

### ANNALS

The cession of the vast North-West Territory to Canada in 1869 and the rapidity with which many parts of the country were settled in the years which followed made it important that the whole of the boundary between it and the United States should be accurately defined and plainly marked, and so Great Britain and the United States appointed commissioners to determine the exact position of the international boundary from the Northwest Angle of the Lake of the Woods to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. Major Cameron represented Great Britain, and he was assisted by an able staff of astronomers, surveyors, geologists, and topographers, fourteen of whom were Canadians. The commissioners met at Pembina in September, 1872, decided on the plans to be followed, and commenced the work assigned to them.

Having located their starting point at the Northwest Angle, they ran a line south to the 49th parallel of north latitude and then followed this parallel due west. In the following summer the boundary was determined for a distance of 408 miles. Between the 96th and 99th meridians of west longitude it was marked by iron posts set at intervals of one mile. Surveys were made for a distance of six miles both north and south of the boundary, the British and Canadian surveyors doing the work on the north, and the United States' party doing it on the south. West of the 99th meridian mounds of stones or of earth, placed at intervals of three miles, were used as monuments to indicate the boundary. The work was resumed early in 1874, and by October the survey of the boundary line had been completed, although the work of placing monuments to mark it was not finished until the next year. During 1874 the lateral surveys were made over a strip of country only three miles north and south of the 49th parallel.

During his term as lieutenant-governor of Manitoba Hon. Alexander Morris did valuable service to the country by his efforts to conclude treaties with the Indian tribes living in districts adjacent to the province. It will be remembered that Mr. Wemyss M. Simpson, assisted by Lieutenant-Governor Archibald and others, had negotiated two treaties, known as Treaties No. 1 and No. 2, with the Indians living in the province. This was done in 1871. Earlier in the same year they had attempted to make a treaty with the tribes living between the Lake of the Woods and Lake Superior; but the demands of the Indians in that district were so unreasonable that the matter was postponed. When it became probable that the Dawson Route would be followed by settlers making their way to Manitoba, the great importance of having a treaty with the Indian bands along the route was recognized, and in 1873 negotiations with them were renewed. The demands of the aborigines were still exorbitant, but after some



delay the treaty was signed in October. It is known as the Northwest Angle Treaty, or No. 3. Lieutenant-Governor Morris, Mr. J. A. N. Provencher, and Mr. S. J. Dawson were the commissioners for the Dominion in negotiating this treaty. In June of the following year, Mr. R. J. N. Pither, Indian agent, secured the adhesion of bands of natives living around Lac Seul to this treaty.

In September, 1874, Governor Morris, Hon. David Laird, then minister of the interior and Indian commissioner, and William J. Christie, Esq., concluded a treaty with the Indian tribes living in the territory which was then west and northwest of Manitoba, but much of which is now included in the province. This is known as Qu'Appelle Treaty or No. 4. During the autumn of that year and the following summer several other tribes of Crees, Saulteaux, and Assiniboines came under the terms of this treaty.

At Norway House on September 5, 1875, Lieutenant-Governor Morris and Hon. James McKay concluded Treaty No. 5, or the Lake Winnipeg Treaty, with the Saulteaux and Swampy Crees living in the district drained by streams flowing into the northern part of Lake Winnipeg and into Lake Winnipegosis. This lay beyond the area affected by earlier treaties. Three days later several bands of Indians living along the lower Saskatchewan gave their adhesion to this treaty. Thus in less than five years after Manitoba was organized as a province the Indian title to all land within her boundaries and to all land adjoining those boundaries for some hundreds of miles east, north, and west had been extinguished, and the lasting friendship of the native tribes had been secured. The feeling of security which these treaties gave to new settlers and their influence on the prosperity of the province can hardly be overestimated. Moreover the treaties were beneficial to the Indians themselves. By keeping the various bands on the reserves selected for them, providing them with schools, encouraging them to adopt agriculture and other civilized occupations, and giving them a small yearly payment in money, the government has put many of them in the way of making some advance in civilization.

In the years which followed the organization of the province of Manitoba, the population and the prosperity of its capital increased very rapidly. The population was only about 250 in 1870; but in 1872 it had increased to 1,467, and in 1875 it was estimated at 5,000. In 1871 the government authorized Mr. Ellwood to make a survey of Main street, which up to that time had been little more than a variable prairie trail, and soon after a part of the street was graded. At that time the town seemed to have four nuclei—Fort Garry, which had been the seat of government and the centre of business for the Hudson's Bay Company; Winnipeg village, which was the centre of the "Canadians" and most of the other newcomers; Point Douglas, the old centre of the Selkirk settlers; and St. John's, which might be called the ecclesiastical centre. The residents applied for incorporation as a city in 1873. The desired bill passed the legislative assembly, but it was thrown out by the legislative council. Many people blamed the speaker of that body, Hon. Dr. Bird, for the rejection of the bill; and soon after he was enticed from his bed one night and badly maltreated by a mob. The government offered a reward for information which would lead to the arrest of those who perpetrated the outrage, but nothing came of it. In the autumn of the year the demand for incorporation was renewed, and several public meetings were held in connection with the matter, Messrs. Ashdown,



HON. ALEXANDER MORRIS  
Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, the Northwest Territories and  
Keewatin. Died in 1889.



Luxton, and others taking an active interest in it. In November of that year the bill incorporating the city became law, and on January 1, 1874, Winnipeg's history as an incorporated city began. The corner stone of its first city hall was laid on August 17, the day being made a civic holiday.

Up to 1874 the city had telegraph communication to the south only, but in that year the line was extended to Lower Fort Garry, and two years later there was a telegraph line between Winnipeg and Battleford. In 1877 the *Prince Rupert* inaugurated a steamboat service on the Assiniboine river, and the venture proved so successful that a company was formed and several boats were soon plying on that stream. In seasons of high water these boats could go as far as Fort Ellice. The story of the efforts to connect the city with the outside world by rail will be told in another chapter, also the determined efforts of the people to secure a bridge across the Red River. A bill to incorporate Winnipeg's first street railway was passed in 1882.

The population of the surrounding country was increasing year by year in spite of various drawbacks. The absence of railways was one of the most serious; but the lack of good roads and bridges was also severely felt. In 1874 grasshoppers did a great deal of damage to the crops; they renewed their depredations in the following year; and in 1876 many farmers were well-nigh ruined by them. The extent of the damage done may be estimated by the fact that by June, 1876, 45,945 barrels of flour had been imported to meet the needs of the people of Manitoba. Generous aid came to the suffering settlers from private sources, and the Dominion government advanced them about \$60,000 for the purchase of provisions and seed grain. The terms on which these advances were to be repaid afterwards formed the subject of somewhat prolonged discussion between the provincial and Dominion governments. Through the kind efforts of the United States consul at Winnipeg, Mr. J. W. Taylor, the Washington government relaxed many of its customs regulations in favor of supplies brought through the United States for the use of the unfortunate settlers in Manitoba. In spite of the ravages of the grasshoppers, there was wheat to sell in the autumn of 1876, for in October Messrs. Higgins & Young sent a small consignment to Toronto—Manitoba's first export of wheat to eastern Canada. In October of 1877 R. Gerrie sent to a Glasgow firm the first consignment of Manitoba wheat shipped to Europe, and in the following year 35,000 bushels were exported. The province was blessed with splendid crops in 1879, and in the autumn an agricultural exhibit was sent from the province to the Dominion Exhibition at Ottawa. Mr. Alexander Begg had charge of it, and it aroused a great interest in the agricultural possibilities of the prairie province.

In the autumn of 1877 Lord Dufferin, the governor-general of Canada, visited Manitoba. The vice-regal party came by rail via Chicago and St. Paul to Fisher's Landing on the Red River, and thence by steamer to Winnipeg. His excellency received a western welcome from the people of the prairie capital, and wherever he went in his many excursions through the province, he was loyally received. His acts, as well as his addresses, showed his lordship's genuine interest in the welfare of the new province and his confidence in her future.

The people of the west never lost sight of the importance of the two original routes of access to the Red River, and they cherished the hope that these routes

might be so improved that they would continue to be great channels of communication with the outside world. Of the efforts to make the fur traders' route from Lake Superior to the prairies available for general traffic some account will be given in a later chapter; in this brief allusion will be made to attempts to do the same for the northern route of the Hudson's Bay Company.

In the summer of 1875 Dr. Bell of the Geological Survey of Canada carefully explored a part of the shore of James Bay, and continued the work during the season of 1877. In 1878 the northern shore of Lake Winnipeg was surveyed, also the upper and lower stretches of the Nelson and Hayes Rivers; and in the following year the middle parts of the courses of these streams were carefully examined, and a map of the entire course of the Nelson was prepared. This work had been done for the purpose of ascertaining how far the river could be improved and utilized for heavy boat traffic between Lake Winnipeg and Hudson Bay. The expense of constructing the necessary canals and locks seemed to preclude the possibility of using the rivers in that way for many years, but the possibilities of railways from the prairies to the bay were clearly foreseen, provided the bay and straits were navigable for several months of the year. The Churchill River was carefully surveyed during the summer of 1880, and in the autumn of that year Dr. Bell took passage on the Hudson's Bay Company's ship *Neptune* at Churchill and made the voyage to England. The voyage was a long one and he had good opportunities to observe the difficulties in the way of navigating Hudson Strait late in the season. Much interest was taken in these explorations, and a mass of information regarding the country between the prairies and the bay and concerning the bay itself was collected from many sources. Several railway companies were formed to construct lines to Hudson Bay, and as the success of such roads would depend on the navigability of its waters, the Dominion government was induced to send several expeditions to the bay and strait, to collect all the data possible in regard to them. The *Neptune* under Lieutenant Gordon was sent out in 1884 and again in 1885-6, and the staff of scientists on board made valuable additions to the world's knowledge of the waters and coasts explored.

During the summer of 1881, the Marquis of Lorne, Canada's new governor-general, paid a visit to Manitoba and the North-West. His party came by steamer to Port Arthur, took an extemporized train from that point to Wabigoon, and was carried thence in canoes to a point on the Lake of the Woods. Changing to York boats, the members of the party reached a point on the new railway, and were conveyed by train to Winnipeg. Here they spent a week, and then visited many other parts of the province. Everywhere the vice-regal visitors were accorded an enthusiastic reception. Nearly two months were spent in the far west, and it was October before the party returned to Winnipeg.

In 1884 Lord Wolseley was chosen to command the expedition which was to be sent to Khartoum for the relief of General Gordon. A part of the supplies for his force were to be sent up the Nile in boats, and the commander, who had not forgotten how well the Canadians served him as boatmen in the Red River Expedition, asked that a number of them might be sent to aid him in making the ascent of the Nile. Volunteers from all parts of the Dominion were ready to respond to this appeal, and the west contributed its share. In September about a hundred men, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel W. N. Kennedy,

left Winnipeg for service in Egypt. Business men and members of the professions, as well as boatmen, had joined the party, but all did their hard work so well that they received the commendation of those in command of the expedition. Most of the men returned in the following spring.

Many of the Canadian boatmen were anxious to return home to aid their country in the restoration of peace within her own territory, for the discontent of the Metis of the Saskatchewan valley had culminated in open rebellion. There was a small half-breed settlement in the district when the country was ceded to Canada, and it was increased by numbers of people who had moved thither from Manitoba in the years which followed the Red River rebellion. There these people exhibited the same unrest and discontent which had caused so much trouble in the older settlement; there too the Dominion government showed the same inability to realize facts and to deal promptly and justly with a critical situation, which had characterized it in dealing with the Manitoba trouble in 1869-70.

As early as 1875 a number of the Metis on the Saskatchewan, led by Gabriel Dumont, had attempted to establish a government of their own; but as soon as the mounted police reached the spot Dumont's embryonic republic collapsed, and he was glad to release the prisoners he had made and restore the goods he had seized. In 1877 a petition signed by about 150 half-breeds was sent to Ottawa, asking that the established boundaries of their farms, which had been laid out after the Red River plan, be recognized by the Dominion in the sectional surveys being made by its surveyors. For seven or eight years similar petitions were sent to Ottawa from time to time. On several occasions they were supplemented by requests for grants of land to half-breed children, such as had been made in Manitoba. The government seems to have turned a deaf ear to these petitions until 1884, when the claims of some of the settlers on the North Saskatchewan were investigated and settled. On March 30, 1885, the government appointed a commission, consisting of Messrs. W. P. R. Street, A. E. Forget, and Roger Goulet, to investigate and settle the claims of other half-breeds living outside of Manitoba; but the appointment was made too late to avert the threatened storm.

Indignant at the government's delay in investigating their grievances, the Metis of the Saskatchewan sent a deputation to Montana in June, 1884, asking Louis Riel to come to their assistance. He accompanied the delegates on their return, and in September he formulated a "Bill of Rights" for the half-breeds, and it was forwarded to Ottawa. It appears that the government sent a tardy reply, promising the appointment of such a commission as that mentioned above, but there was a long delay before the answer reached the petitioners. In the meantime Riel had organized a government, and of course he was at the head of it. At his instigation the Metis took up arms in March, 1885, and secured the active co-operation of several bands of Indians. For two weeks events moved with startling rapidity. Riel plundered the stores at St. Laurent and took a number of prisoners on March 18; the fight at Duck Lake, which resulted in the loss of twenty lives, occurred on the 24th; and eight days later Riel's allies, the Indians, committed the massacre at Frog Lake.

When the news of the actual outbreak of armed rebellion reached Ottawa, the government awakened to the danger which threatened the country. General Middleton, the officer in command of the Canadian militia, was sent west

immediately to take effective measures for suppressing the insurrection. He reached Winnipeg on March 27, and before night the 90th Battalion, Winnipeg Rifles, comprising 316 officers and privates under command of Major McKeand, was on its way to the seat of the rebellion. Its colonel, Colonel Kennedy, was with Wolseley far up the Nile, but as soon as news of the outbreak reached him, he hurried away to take command of his battalion. Fate had decreed, however, that this patriotic officer should render no more service to his country, for he died of smallpox in London on his way home. The 90th Battalion was sent to Qu'Appelle and thence north to Clarke's Crossing. It took part in the battles at Fish Creek and at Batoche and in the subsequent pursuit of Big Bear and his Indians. No battalion suffered more heavily in killed and wounded than did the 90th. On March 28 the Winnipeg Field Battery, numbering 49 officers and men under command of Major Jarvis, was dispatched to the Saskatchewan; and the Winnipeg Troop of Cavalry, numbering 35, soon followed. The battery accompanied the 90th and took its full share in all the fighting.

The members of military organizations already in existence were not the only men to respond to their country's call. On March 31 Major Boulton, who was then living at Russell, received authority from the minister of militia to raise and equip two companies of Mounted Infantry; and by April 6 he was at Moosomin with 82 men, enlisted in his own neighborhood, horses, arms, and transport teams. These companies took part in the fighting at Fish Creek and Batoche and in the long pursuit of Big Bear. Lieut. Colonel Osborne-Smith was commissioned to raise a battalion in Winnipeg and the vicinity, which was called the 92d Winnipeg Light Infantry. This battalion, some 300 strong, was sent to Calgary to form a part of the column under General Strange which marched to Edmonton and thence to Fort Pitt and took part in the fight with Big Bear's braves at Frenchman's Butte. Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Scott organized a third battalion of Manitoban Volunteers, known as the 91st Battalion. It included 429 men of all ranks, its majors being D. H. McMillan (now Sir Daniel), and the late Stewart Mulvey. It did not have a chance to take part in the actual fighting, but it did good work at Troy and Fort Qu'Appelle in protecting the transport service. Local companies were formed in several towns of the province ready to lend their aid, if the country needed it. These facts furnish striking proofs of the loyalty of Manitoba to the Dominion. Before the rebellion was quelled, the province had paid heavy toll to the cause of peace, for fourteen of her sons had been killed or mortally wounded in action, and many others had been maimed for life.

The details of the campaign need not be related here, for they belong to the history of the North-West Territories. By the middle of May the rebel Metis had been defeated and Riel was a prisoner; before the end of June the insurgent Indians had been effectually cowed, and many of their chiefs, as well as the braves guilty of murder at Frog Lake and elsewhere, were lodged in jail; and by the middle of July nearly all the volunteer troops had returned to their homes. Riel had been committed to prison in Regina, charged with treason. The trial began on July 20, and although the prisoner was defended by several of the ablest lawyers in Canada, he was found guilty and was sentenced to be hanged on September 18. A respite was granted to allow an appeal to the su-



ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL. ST. BONIFACE





preme court of Manitoba and a subsequent appeal to the Privy Council on certain questions raised at the trial; but the finding of the Regina court was sustained, and Riel was executed on November 16, 1885.

Riel's body was sent to his old home in St. Vital for burial, and the interment took place in the churchyard of St. Boniface a few days later. The events of the rebellion on the Saskatchewan, Riel's trial, and his death had naturally fanned into a brief flame the few embers of the old animosity between the English and French people of Manitoba, and there was talk of a possible clash at the funeral and of the necessity of appointing special constables to keep the peace. But there was no need of such precautions. If there was any lingering animosity in the hearts of the English people, it must have died out, could they have seen the little funeral procession of Riel's relatives and friends come down the St. Vital road in the bitter cold, bearing to the old cathedral of St. Boniface the remains of the man, who, whatever his faults, had been the hero of the Metis. No more pathetic funeral has ever been witnessed in Manitoba. And if there was a sense of injury in the hearts of the Metis, it must have died out before the genuine sympathy of many of their English neighbors. Much of the old ill feeling between the two sections of Manitoba's population lies buried in Riel's grave beside the cathedral.

*Bull  
shit!*

It is difficult to form a just estimate of Riel and his aims, and his occasional letters and the journal which he kept during the time he spent on the Saskatchewan mystify rather than help the student of history. In the journal prayers, hymns, and soliloquies on moral questions are mingled with notes about the acts of his council and with military orders; some of the entries are in English, some in French, some in Latin; parts are in prose form, others are written as poetry. The whole gives few clues to the real character of the man who wrote it. He seems to have had unusual ability in some directions, but to have lacked the mental balance essential to a good leader. Under other conditions he might have done much good for his own people and the country at large; as it was, much trouble and suffering were mingled with whatever good he accomplished.

As soon as the plans for holding a World's Exposition in Chicago in 1893 had been made, the government of Manitoba decided that the fair would afford the best opportunity of advertising the resources of the province. It immediately applied for space for an adequate exhibit of the products of the country; and when this could not be secured near the Canadian exhibit within the fair grounds, the provincial government rented a site close to the main entrance, but outside the grounds, put up a building, and filled a part of it with a very interesting exhibit representative of the products and life of Manitoba. Public opinion in the province was divided in regard to the wisdom of making the exhibit in this way; but results seemed to justify it, for it appears to have helped in a marked way to increase immigration into the province, from distant countries as well as from the United States.

Hon. James C. Aikins was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba in 1882, and when his term expired in 1887, Sir John Schultz, who had occupied a seat in the Canadian senate for many years, was made lieutenant-governor of the province. When his term expired, there was delay in appointing his successor, and he retained the office until 1895. Then it was given to Hon. James Colebrooke Patterson, who like all his predecessors, except Sir John Schultz,

had been a minister in the Dominion cabinet. Sir Daniel McMillan followed Mr. Patterson in 1900, and when his term of office expired in 1905, there was general satisfaction with his appointment for a second term as lieutenant-governor. He retired in 1911 and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor D. C. Cameron.

The Boer War, which broke out in the autumn of 1899, afforded an opportunity for Canada to show her loyalty to the empire of which she forms a part. Three contingents of volunteers were sent from Canada to South Africa, and each of them contained a number of men from Manitoba, officers as well as privates. The first left for the seat of war in October; the second, which contained about fifty men from the province, was dispatched just at the end of the year; and the third was sent early in 1900. The men from Manitoba acquitted themselves well on the field.

Perhaps this practical exhibition of Canada's loyalty to the Motherland hastened the visit of the heir apparent to the British crown to Canada. Soon after King Edward VII ascended the throne the Duke and the Duchess of York, now King George V and Queen Mary, made a tour of Canada. Manitoba was included in the journey, and the royal party spent some time in the province, where the members received a reception whose warmth was a tribute to the personal worth of the noble guests as well as a mark of the loyalty of Manitoba's people.

## CHAPTER XXXIX

### POLITICAL CHANGES

The early years of Manitoba's history were characterized by frequent changes in the personnel of her governments. It was some time before the members of the legislature divided on the party lines recognized in the older provinces of Canada; but because of the racial divisions of the population, the legislature was divided into two sections, the English and the French, from the day it was first organized. At first these sections were about equal in numerical strength, and the earlier governments might be described as coalition governments, the English and French elements in them being evenly balanced. Nevertheless, there seems to have been a fairly compact opposition at times. After a few years the English members in the legislative assembly outnumbered their French *confreres*, and then the French had fewer representatives in the cabinet. It was inevitable that party government would soon follow, and that the political parties in Manitoba would adopt, with slight modifications, the policies of the liberal and conservative parties of the other provinces.

As has been said, the first cabinet of Manitoba was composed of Hon. H. J. Clarke, premier and attorney-general; Hon. Marc A. Girard, provincial treasurer; Hon. Thomas Howard, provincial secretary; Hon. A. Boyd, minister of public works and agriculture; and Hon. James McKay without a portfolio. They were sworn in on January 10, 1871. On December 9 Hon. A. Boyd resigned his portfolio, on the ground that the half-breed population of the province should be represented in the cabinet. He was succeeded by Hon. John Norquay, the member for High Bluff, who was to be a prominent figure in provincial politics for many years. Before the end of the month Hon. Mr. Girard was appointed one of Manitoba's representatives in the Dominion senate, the other being Sheriff Sutherland. In consequence Mr. Girard resigned his portfolio in the provincial government on March 18, 1872, and it was given to Hon. Mr. Howard, while the provincial secretary's portfolio was assigned to Hon. Joseph Royal.

Lieutenant-governor Archibald had not succeeded in making himself popular with all classes in the community, and the dissatisfaction of some of the people made his position doubly difficult. In the spring of 1872 he expressed a desire to give up his position, but the Dominion government persuaded him to hold it a few months longer. A rumor of what had occurred spread through the community, and the rougher element among the people who disapproved of the governor's course in public affairs burned him in effigy on the night of April 24. This rowdy-like action was severely condemned by the sober sense of the community, and an address, signed by nearly two thousand citizens, was presented

to his honor as a mark of respect and appreciation. Judge Francis G. Johnson, who had been acting as presiding judge of the general quarterly court of the province, was selected to succeed Mr. Archibald in the gubernatorial chair; but because he had not resigned the judgeship when his commission as governor was issued, some members of the Dominion parliament held that his appointment was irregular, and it was withdrawn. He bade farewell to Manitoba at the close of the general court on May 29, 1872, and his duties were assumed by Hon. Alexander Morris, who was appointed chief justice of the province on July 2, and took the oath of office on August 14; but when Governor Archibald resigned in October, Chief Justice Morris was appointed as his successor.

The general elections for the Dominion house of commons were held in 1872. Mr. Robert Cunningham was returned for Marquette, Dr. Schultz for Lisgar, Sir George E. Cartier for Provencher, and Mr. Donald A. Smith for Selkirk. Mr. Smith's opponent was Mr. A. E. Wilson. In Winnipeg, which was then a part of the constituency of Selkirk, the election day was marked by much disorder. Open voting was the rule in those days. Observers at the polls could tell pretty accurately how the vote stood, and early in the day it was plain that Mr. Smith would receive a majority in the provincial capital. This angered the element opposed to the Hudson's Bay Company and its officials, and they decided to interrupt the proceedings. As if by accident, one or two wagons loaded with axe-handles and spokes stopped near the polling-booth, and the mob promptly appropriated these handy weapons. Its opponents were driven away, the polling books seized, and the booth destroyed. The police force was unable to disperse the rioters, and Captain Plainval was seriously injured in attempting to keep the peace. Flushed with its success in Winnipeg, the mob crossed the Red River by the ferry to repeat its tactics in St. Boniface. The St. Boniface men, however, were too strong for the rioters and drove them back to the ferry. A gentleman on the Winnipeg bank, fearing that the battle would be transferred to that side of the river, cut the cable of the ferry, and the boat drifted helplessly down the stream and finally stuck in the mud on the St. Boniface shore. The rioters had been driven into the river, and all avenues of escape, except that of swimming, were cut off. They were in a bad position, but just in the nick of time a steamer came down the river, having on board a company of volunteers, which had been stationed at Pembina. The captain understood the situation at a glance and headed his ship for St. Boniface. The rioters were rescued from their perilous position and taken across to Winnipeg. Their wetting did not cool their ardor, however, and later in the day they sacked the offices of *The Manitoban* and *Le Metis*. All this did not save Mr. Wilson from defeat.

Sir George E. Cartier died on May 30, 1873, and Louis Riel was elected to the vacant seat for Provencher. In consequence of the resignation of Sir John Macdonald's government in November of that year and the formation of a new ministry by Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, another Dominion election was held early in 1874. The four members sitting in the commons for Manitoban constituencies were all returned.

Hon. H. J. Clarke, the first premier of Manitoba, did not find the position an easy one. Many people were opposed to him on personal grounds; others charged him with making the administration of justice very expensive and increasing his own emoluments thereby. There was also friction between him and



JAMES H. ASHDOWN



his provincial secretary, Hon. Mr. Royal. Nor did Mr. Clarke escape public censure for the part taken by his department in the "Gordon" case.

A man commonly called "Lord Gordon" was arrested in New York during the year 1872 at the instance of Jay Gould in consequence of some dispute about the ownership of a large amount of Erie Railway stock. He was released on furnishing bonds to the large sum of \$37,000 to appear in the courts of New York State to answer the charges against him. When the case was called, he did not appear, and his bail was escheated. Naturally angry at losing such a large sum, his bondsmen engaged two men named Michael Hoy and Owen Keegan to find the absconding prisoner and bring him back to New York. These men seem to have arranged with Loren Fletcher and G. W. Merriam, two prominent citizens of Minneapolis, and L. R. Bentley to assist in the enterprise.

In the meantime Gordon had reached Winnipeg and was enjoying life thoroughly there. In the early summer he became the guest of Hon. James McKay at that gentleman's residence in the parish of St. James. On the night of July 1, 1873, he was decoyed from the house by Hoy and Keegan, made prisoner, and hurried off to Pembina. As soon as the facts were known, the officers of the law were put on the track of the abductors, and they and their accomplices were arrested before they reached the boundary. They were committed for trial, bail being refused. The prisoners were brought to trial in September. Hoy, Keegan, and Bentley pleaded guilty and were sentenced by Judge Betournay to twenty-four hours' imprisonment. Fletcher was admitted to bail, and the crown withdrew the charge against Merriam. Gordon was to have been tried at the same assizes on charges of forgery, perjury, etc.; but the trial was postponed, and before it could be held, he had committed suicide. There was much excitement over the arrest and trial of the kidnappers, both in Manitoba and Minnesota, and in the former many blamed the attorney-general for the outcome of the affair.

There were many causes for the friction between Mr. Clarke and Mr. Royal. Trouble arose over the French printing and other matters, and probably each man wished to undermine the other's influence with the French members of the legislature. The climax came when Mr. Royal, leading the French members, opposed a redistribution bill introduced by the premier. The bill passed in November, 1873; but when the adjourned session of the assembly re-opened on July 2, 1874, Mr. Clarke announced that the redistribution act would be superseded by another which was considered more equitable. On the following day Mr. E. H. G. G. Hay and Mr. Joseph Dubuc moved a resolution of want of confidence in the ministry, which was carried by a vote of fourteen to six. The Clarke government resigned at once, and a new ministry was appointed. It included Hon. M. A. Girard, premier and provincial secretary; Hon. James McKay, president of the council; Hon. E. H. G. G. Hay, minister of public works and agriculture; Hon. R. A. Davis, provincial treasurer; Hon. Joseph Dubuc, attorney-general; and Hon. Francis Ogletree, minister without a portfolio. Mr. Davis was a hotel-keeper, who had been elected to represent Winnipeg a short time before his appointment to a cabinet position.

On December 9, 1874, the Girard ministry resigned, and Hon. A. R. Davis was called upon to form a government. It was composed of Hon. A. R. Davis, premier and provincial treasurer; Hon. Joseph Royal, provincial secretary and



minister of public works; and Hon. Colin Inkster, president of the council. Its policy was one of retrenchment in expenses. The number of ministers was reduced, the indemnity to members of the legislature was cut down, and the abolition of the legislative council was promised. The government also pledged itself to secure economy in the administration of justice, better schools, and an effective municipal system. A general election followed, in which the Davis government was sustained. Mr. Davis felt strong enough to increase his cabinet, in spite of earlier pledges, and in March, 1875, Mr. Norquay was made provincial secretary, and Mr. Charles Nolin became minister of agriculture.

On April 30, 1875, Hon. Mr. Norquay introduced into the legislative assembly the promised bill for the abolition of the legislative council. It passed the assembly, but in the legislative council itself it was defeated by the casting vote of the speaker, Hon. Dr. O'Donnell, and so that body obtained a short reprieve. In the following January the bill for its abolition was introduced again, and this time it passed both houses. Thus in 1876, after an existence of five years, Manitoba's upper house was abolished. Before this second session of the second legislature had passed, Hon. James McKay came back to the cabinet, taking Mr. Nolin's portfolio of agriculture.

Lieutenant-Governor Morris retired at the close of 1877, and the Hon. Joseph Cauchon was appointed to the vacant position. The appointment was popular with the French people of the province, but it displeased many of the English, and there was talk of making a demonstration against the new governor when he arrived. He reached Winnipeg earlier than his arrival was anticipated, owing to the serious illness of Madame Cauchon, who had come to the city some time before. He took the oath of office on the day of his predecessor's departure, and three days later Madame Cauchon died. Sympathy with the bereaved governor did much to mitigate the harsh feelings toward him; but he never became very popular with the English-speaking people of the province.

Hon. Alexander Morris came back to Manitoba in August of the next year, and was nominated as a candidate for the house of commons in opposition to Mr. Donald A. Smith. The electors of the constituency preferred their former representative, however, and he was returned when the election took place on September 26.

In October, 1878, Hon. R. A. Davis resigned the premiership of the province and retired from public life. His minister of agriculture, Hon. James McKay, gave up his portfolio at the same time. At the request of the lieutenant-governor, Hon. Mr. Norquay formed a new ministry, composed of Hon. John Norquay, premier and provincial treasurer; Hon. Joseph Royal, minister of public works; Hon. D. M. Walker, attorney-general; and Hon. C. P. Brown, provincial secretary. Later Hon. Pierre Delorme was made minister of agriculture and president of the council. People gave the retiring premier credit for carrying out his policy of economy in the public service, but he does not seem to have initiated much progressive legislation.

Having announced the leading features of his policy—local aid to railroads, extension of the boundaries of the province, an increased subsidy from the Dominion, increased aid to schools, and a system of drainage for the low lands of the country—, Mr. Norquay appealed to the electors. The elections were held



JOHN NORQUAY



on December 18, 1878, and resulted in the return of the government. It secured sixteen seats, while six were held by opposition members and two by independents. The new house met on February 1, 1878, and after sitting a few days, adjourned in order to allow Messrs. Norquay and Royal an opportunity to go to Ottawa and press the claims of the province upon the Dominion government. The business took considerable time, and the provincial legislature did not re-assemble to hear the report of its delegates until May 27. This report and the agreement to which it led will be dealt with in a later chapter.

During the spring events took place that brought the assembly to the point which it had been approaching almost from the first, division on party lines. The steady stream of immigration flowing into the province had completely destroyed the numerical balance of its English and French populations. Settlements had spread to the western boundary of the province, the fertile lands in its northwestern corner were being occupied, many good farmers were taking up lands east of the Red River, settlers were locating farms along the valley of the stream as far as the international line, and from the valley they were pushing out into the prairie to the west. Very few of these new settlers were French. The majority came from Canada and Great Britain, and few of the foreigners allied themselves with the French people of the province. As a result the French people were soon outnumbered by those of other races, and in the elections of 1878 their representatives secured but six out of the twenty-four seats in the provincial legislature.

It was soon apparent that there was friction between Mr. Royal and Mr. Norquay, just as there had been between Mr. Royal and Mr. Clarke a few years earlier. Once more the French printing seems to have been a cause of ministerial discord. Other possible causes may be found in Mr. Norquay's opinions regarding public schools and a redistribution of seats in the legislature. During the adjournment of the house, when both members of the cabinet were at Ottawa, it was rumored that, when the session was resumed, Mr. Royal would ally all the French members and the English members opposed to Mr. Norquay and thus embarrass the premier to such an extent that he would be compelled to grant the demands made by Mr. Royal on behalf of the French. In this way it was hoped to retain for them most of their former prestige in the legislature.

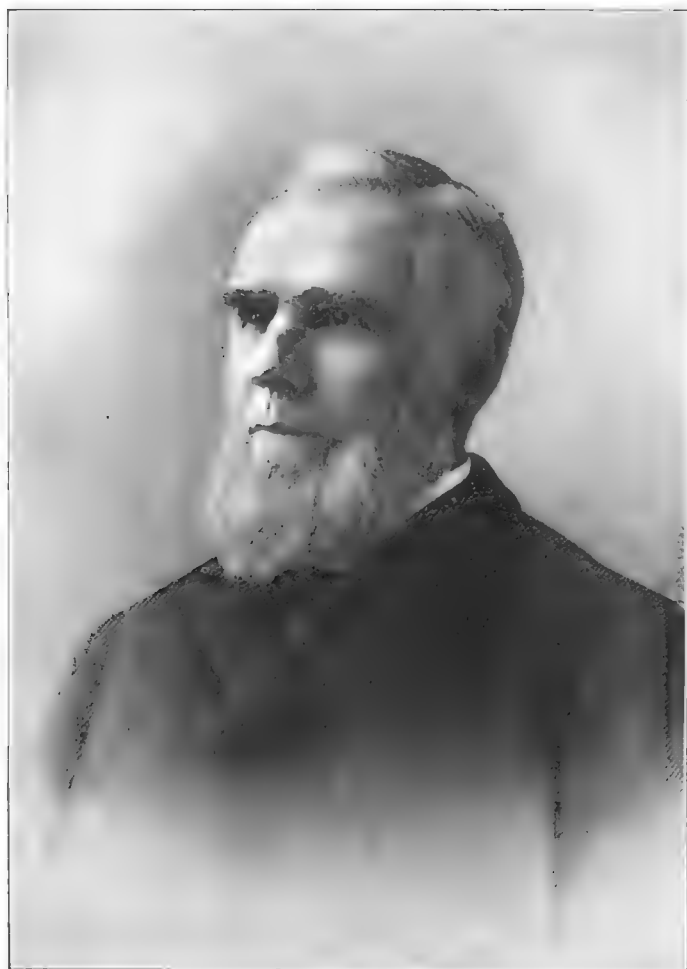
To checkmate such a move Mr. Norquay called a caucus of all the English members of the assembly, and at the meeting they pledged themselves to support a number of enactments, among which those for the abolition of the printing of public documents in French, the redistribution of seats with a due regard to the area and population of the constituencies, and a better division of the government grant to schools were prominent. Mr. Royal called a meeting of his supporters and they agreed upon certain demands, which he, as their spokesman, presented to Mr. Norquay on May 28. The premier replied on the next day by asking Mr. Royal to give up his portfolio. After consulting with his followers, Mr. Royal sent in his resignation, and that of Hon. P. Delorme followed promptly. Mr. S. C. Biggs was then chosen as minister of public works and Mr. John Taylor as minister of agriculture. In spite of Mr. Norquay's protest, "I believe that the interests of the province can be best served by eschewing party issues in our local affairs," party issues were gradually introduced into Manitoban politics from that time forward.

Having passed the promised acts for abolishing printing in French, a redistribution of seats, etc., Mr. Norquay once more appealed to the people. The elections were held on December 16, and the government was sustained by a large majority. Hon. Mr. Biggs had retired from the ministry about the time the legislature was dissolved, and Hon. Mr. Taylor was defeated in the elections; so there were two vacancies in the cabinet to be filled. Mr. Girard came in once more and took the provincial secretary's portfolio, while Mr. Maxime Goulet became minister of agriculture. In the early years of its history Manitoba rivalled the republic of France in the matter of ministerial changes. Some important measures were passed at the ensuing session of the legislature, the Drainage Act being one of them. The house was prorogued on February 14, 1880, and a few days later Mr. Norquay, accompanied by Messrs. Brown and McMicken, made another pilgrimage to Ottawa to urge the claims of the province upon the Canadian government. He was not very successful, and indeed his periodic visits to Ottawa continued for several years with results which were never quite satisfactory.

In November of 1881 there was another readjustment in the cabinet, owing to the resignation of the minister of agriculture, Hon. Mr. Goulet. Mr. Girard took his place, and Hon. A. Lariviere became provincial secretary. Early in 1882 Mr. Norquay and Mr. Lariviere went to Ottawa for another conference in regard to Manitoba's demands. The outcome of their mission was so unsatisfactory that the *Free Press*, which had previously supported Mr. Norquay, now denounced his administration for blunders and incompetence. *The Times*, a conservative paper, defended the government and advocated acceptance of the terms offered by the Dominion. When the legislature met on April 12, the tone of the member who moved the address to the speech from the throne indicated that the government had become a distinctly conservative one. During the recess an opposition had been organized under the leadership of Mr. Thomas Greenway, the member for Mountain. In defending the bargain which he had concluded with the Dominion, Premier Norquay was obliged to endorse to that extent the policy of Sir John Macdonald's government towards Manitoba; and during the debate on the speech from the throne Mr. Greenway moved a resolution which condemned the policy of the Dominion government towards Manitoba as well as the Manitoban government for accepting it. Thus the government and opposition members of the legislature divided squarely on party issues, and thereafter the political battles of Manitoba were fought between conservatives and liberals, as in the older provinces.

The elections for the Dominion parliament were held in June, 1882, and they resulted in the selection of five new members for Manitoba, Winnipeg having been made a separate constituency. In Lisgar Mr. A. W. Ross defeated Dr. Schultz; Mr. Robert Watson defeated Mr. E. McDonald in Marquette; Mr. Hugh Sutherland defeated Mr. Stewart Mulvey in Selkirk; Captain Thomas Scott was elected in Winnipeg over two opponents; and in Provencher Hon. J. Royal was elected by acclamation.

In July, 1882, Hon. D. M. Walker resigned his position as attorney-general to become a judge of the county court, and he was succeeded by Hon. Alex. M. Sutherland. Later in the year Dr. Schultz was appointed as one of Manitoba's representatives in the Dominion senate; and in December, when Lieutenant-



*H. Cuthbert*

EX-GOVERNOR OF MANITOBA



Governor Cauchon's term of office expired, Hon. James C. Aikins was appointed as his successor.

Through all these changes in Manitoba's governors, cabinets and parliamentary representatives, several important matters at issue between the province and the Dominion had been dominant in her public affairs. They grew out of the peculiar terms under which the province was confederated with Canada; and while they may be discussed in distinct chapters, they are so closely related as to be almost inseparable. Frequent readjustment of the relations between Manitoba and the Dominion lessened, but did not entirely remove, their unsatisfactory character; and even the arrangement made last year is not certain to prove a final settlement of the questions at issue. The most important of these problems have been better financial terms for the province, the extension of her boundaries, and her right to charter railways within her own territory. Other problems, not wholly unconnected with some of those named above, are the school question and the use of the French language in the legislature and the courts.





## CHAPTER XL

### BETTER TERMS

The terms upon which the money grants from the Dominion to the province were based, are contained in the following clauses of the Manitoba Act:

“24. Inasmuch as the Province is not in debt, the said Province shall be entitled to be paid, and to receive from the Government of Canada, by half-yearly payments in advance, at the rate of five per centum per annum on the sum of four hundred and seventy-two thousand and ninety dollars.

“25. The sum of thirty thousand dollars shall be paid yearly by Canada to the Province for the support of its Government and Legislature, and an annual grant in aid of the said Province shall be made, equal to eighty cents per head of the population, estimated at seventeen thousand souls; and such grant of eighty cents per head shall be augmented in proportion to the increase of population, as may be shown by the census that shall be taken thereof in the year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighty-one, and by each subsequent decennial census, until its population amounts to four hundred thousand souls, at which amount such grant shall remain thereafter, and such sum shall be in full settlement of all future demands on Canada, and shall be paid half-yearly, in advance, to the said Province.

“26. Canada will assume and defray the charges for the following services: (1) salary of the Lieutenant-Governor; (2) salaries and allowances of the Judges of the Superior and District or County Courts; (3) charges in respect of the Department of the Customs; (4) Postal Department; (5) Protection of Fisheries; (6) Militia; (7) Geological Survey; (8) the Penitentiary; (9) and such further charges as may be incident to and connected with the services which by the British North American Act, 1867, appertain to the General Government, and as are, or may be, allowed to the other Provinces.”

The clauses of the act, which deal with the special customs regulations for the province, are:

“27. The Customs' duties now by law chargeable in Rupert's Land, shall be continued without increase for the period of three years from and after the passing of this Act, and the proceeds of such duties shall form part of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada.

“28. Such provisions of the Customs' Laws of Canada (other than such as prescribe the rate of duties payable) as may from time to time be declared by the Governor-General in Council to apply to the Province of Manitoba, shall be applicable thereto, and be in force therein accordingly.

“29. Such provisions of the Laws of Canada respecting the Inland Revenue, including those fixing the amount of duties, as may be from time to time de-

clared by the Governor-General in Council applicable to the said Province, shall apply thereto, and be in force accordingly."

It will be seen from the above clauses that, after defraying the expenses specified in clause 26, the aggregate of the money grants paid to Manitoba by the Dominion would be \$67,204.50. The province had little or no revenue from other sources, for the crown lands within its borders, the minerals, the timber, and the fisheries were all controlled by the Dominion. Probably none of the men, who agreed to the terms of the act on behalf of Manitoba, realized how insufficient such a meagre income would be for the needs of a province, especially a province whose institutions were just being organized.

At the close of the first session of Manitoba's first legislature Attorney-General Clarke was appointed a representative of the province at the Immigration Conference which met at Ottawa during September, 1871. At this conference he urged that the province should receive special financial assistance from the Dominion, inasmuch as it had been left without other resources by being deprived of its public lands, minerals, and timber, but was nevertheless spending considerable sums to promote immigration—a thing done by no other province in the Dominion.

The inadequacy of the income of the province became more apparent as the population increased and new institutions were established. In 1873 the people of Manitoba, regardless of party, joined in the demand for "Better Terms." When the provincial legislature assembled on February 5, the member for Ste. Anne's, Mr. John H. Mactavish, introduced the matter, and in the discussion which followed it was plain that the members were almost unanimous in thinking that the Dominion had not dealt fairly with Manitoba. It was charged that the Ottawa government had injured the province by its dilatory policy in administering the crown lands, by its neglect of immigration, and by its niggardly appropriations for public works and buildings. It was claimed that the annual subsidy of \$67,000 was utterly inadequate to the needs of the province. The opinion of the members was formulated in the following clause of the report of the committee on public accounts: "Your committee strongly recommend that the government be requested to adopt such measures as they may deem best for the purpose of urging on the government of Canada the necessities of the position of the province, and to adopt such measures as may best tend to secure an augmentation to the present subsidy, and also the fulfilment of all promises made to this province previous to the transfer."

When the legislature was prorogued in March, Messrs. Clarke, Howard, Royal, and Bird proceeded to Ottawa, and on the 31st they submitted a memorandum to the Dominion government in which the following claims of the province were set forth:

"1. To change the terms of the financial arrangements entered into between Manitoba and the Dominion of Canada, by taking for the base of the annual Dominion subsidy the number of the population of Manitoba at an estimate of 70,000, and to be allowed the interest at the rate of 5 per cent. on the sum of \$1,943,900; to give for the support of the Government and Legislature the annual sum of \$60,000.

"2. To commence immediately to push forward as quickly as possible the construction of the Public Buildings of the Province, to wit: Parliament House,

residence of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Departmental offices, five Courts of Justice, Prisons, Penitentiary, and to provide for the erection of a Provincial library.

"3. To organize, equip, and send to Manitoba, a body of well and carefully-chosen mounted Dominion Police, over which the government of Manitoba would have control while stationed in the Province; the number to be stationed at all times in the Province not to be less than fifty, part of the expenses for the maintenance and support of the said number being defrayed by the Province.

"4. To postpone the Canadian Tariff, except on spirituous liquors, until railroad communication with Lake Superior, through Canadian territory, is established.

"5. To have the free carriage for immigrants over the Dawson Road from the port of Collingwood to Fort Garry, and the extension of the said road to the western boundary of the Province adjoining the North-West territories, and the maintenance of the same.

"6. To provide for the creation of a tribunal in Manitoba to settle all questions as to claims for occupancy of lands, the issue of patents for land, and all conflicting claims to Crown lands and questions of like character, in pursuance of the letter and spirit of the Manitoba Act.

"7. To provide immediately for the appointment of Immigration Agents in the Province, and at Duluth, Collingwood, Windsor, Sault Ste. Marie, and in Europe.

"8. To provide for a fair and just compensation for the damages done to several printing offices in September, 1872, during the Dominion election riots.

"9. To appoint a Chief Justice for the Province.

"10. To provide as soon as possible, for the extension and improvement of the postal service in the Province of Manitoba."

On April 24, the delegates from Manitoba presented another memorandum to the Ottawa government, asking for an extension of the boundaries of the province, an increase of \$60,000 in the sum allowed for the support of the provincial government and legislature, and a per capita grant based upon an assumed population of 200,000 instead of 17,000. This would have made the total subsidy paid to the province about \$213,600.

The Dominion authorities showed a disposition to grant the request contained in clause 4 of the first memorandum, and extended the period for the imposition of the special duty of four per cent. on goods imported into Manitoba until July, 1874. Spirituous liquors were not included in the articles admitted under this unusually low tariff.

The request in regard to a force of mounted police was also met in a modified form. The establishment of such a body of constabulary had been urged upon the government for some time. In 1870 Mr. Donald A. Smith had recommended that a force of mounted men should be sent into the North-West to keep turbulent Indians in check and to preserve order in the more remote districts. This became doubly necessary after the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company ceased, for traders began at once to smuggle liquor into the country and sell it to the Indians to their utter demoralization. In 1872 Captain Plainval of the Manitoba police submitted to Sir John Macdonald a plan for the organization, equipment, and distribution of a force of mounted police,

and it was so satisfactory that the premier adopted it. The act passed to establish such a force received the assent of the governor-general on May 23, 1873; and while most of the men were to be employed beyond the boundaries of Manitoba, the province had the benefit of their service where it was needed. The following clauses of the act show the conditions on which Manitoba received the protection of the force:

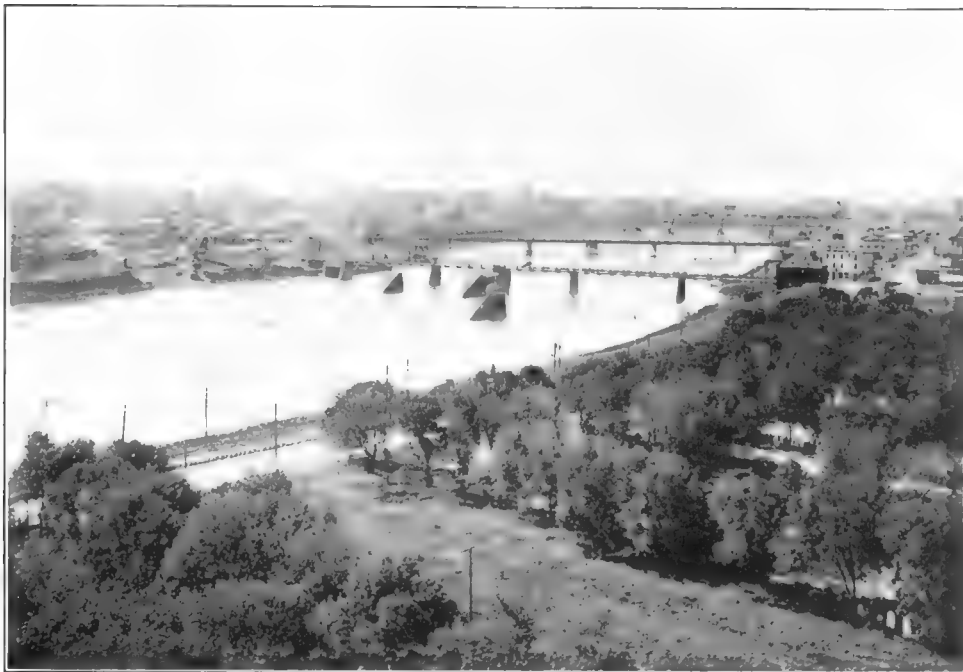
"The Commissioner and every Superintendent of Police, shall be *ex officio* a Justice of the Peace within the Province of Manitoba; and the constables and sub-constables of the Police Force shall also have and exercise within the Province of Manitoba all the powers and authority, rights and privileges by law appertaining to constables under the laws of the Dominion, for the purpose of carrying the same into effect.

"The Governor-in-Council may from time to time enter into arrangements with the Government of the Province of Manitoba for the use or employment of the Police Force in aiding the administration of justice in that Province, and in carrying into effect the laws of the Legislature thereof; and may in any such arrangement agree and determine the amount of money which shall be paid by the Province of Manitoba in respect of any such services of the said Police Force."

Colonel French was appointed commissioner of the force of mounted police, and its organization began in September. Later in the autumn about 150 men were sent to Manitoba by the Dawson Route and passed the winter in Lower Fort Garry. Early in the following year it was decided to increase the force to the full strength of 300 men, as contemplated in the act, and about 200 recruits of fine physique and character were sent west via Chicago, St. Paul, and Fargo. From the last town they marched to Pembina; and from that point the whole body started on July 10 for Fort Pelly, Fort Ellice, and other points at which detachments were to be located. Three years later there were 329 constables in the force, and they occupied eleven stations scattered over the North-West Territory as far west as Calgary and as far north as Fort Saskatchewan. It is impossible to give in the space of a few paragraphs the subsequent history of the force or to mention in detail the services which it has rendered to western Canada. These inestimable services have more than justified the high expectations of the men who first advocated the establishment of the force.

It is impossible to say what answers the Dominion government would have made to the other demands contained in the two memoranda presented by Premier Clarke and his fellow delegates. Before it had time to formulate a policy in regard to them, the so-called "Pacific Scandal" had arisen, and in the government's struggle for existence Manitoba's demands were forgotten. Before the close of the year Sir John Macdonald and his ministers had resigned, and the Mackenzie government found itself in power. Early in 1874 it was endorsed by the people's verdict at the polls, and shortly afterward delegates from Manitoba renewed the requests made a year before.

As soon as the delegates returned, the legislature was summoned to meet on July 2 to hear their report. Before it was presented, Mr. Clarke had been forced to resign, and Hon. Mr. Girard became premier. As soon as possible the reply of the Mackenzie government to Manitoba's demands for better terms



WINNIPEG, AS SEEN FROM ST. BONIFACE



THE LAW COURTS, WINNIPEG



was presented to the legislature by the new government. The requests for an extension of the provincial boundaries, for an increase in the grant for maintenance of the government, and for a per capita grant based on an assumed population of 200,000 were all refused. A paltry special grant of \$25,000 was made to tide the province over its most pressing necessities, but out of this the Dominion carefully deducted some \$10,000, which had been advanced a year or two earlier to purchase seed wheat for settlers whose crops had been destroyed by grasshoppers. The requests for public buildings for the province were refused; and the government declined to pay for damages done to printing offices during the election riots of 1872, on the ground that it was not responsible in any way. Some of the other matters had been attended to, some would be considered. The Dominion had practically refused the most important of Manitoba's demands—that for an increased subsidy—, and the province had to commence anew its struggle for better terms. The Girard government was confronted with the problem of managing the affairs of a province with an income which was wholly inadequate; and when it resigned in December, the succeeding Davis ministry could not do otherwise than adopt a policy of general retrenchment.

The first session of Manitoba's second parliament opened on March 31, 1875. In his speech from the throne the lieutenant-governor announced that the executive council, impressed with the serious financial condition of the province, had represented to the privy council of Canada that the financial arrangements fixed by the Manitoba Act placed the province in a position greatly inferior to those occupied by Prince Edward Island and British Columbia, and had urged that the financial terms of the act should be revised and that the boundaries of the province should be extended. He also announced that, as a result of these negotiations, the privy council had offered to grant the province a subsidy of \$100,000 until 1881, charging the increase to Manitoba as a debt, but that the provincial government had not considered the plan a wise one, and would ask the legislature to concur in an address to the governor-general and the privy council, asking for a revision of the existing financial relations between the Dominion and the province.

The proposed address was passed and negotiations with the Ottawa government were renewed once more. During the summer of 1875 Hon. Alexander Mackenzie invited the government of Manitoba to a conference upon the question of better terms. Messrs. Davis and Royal accordingly went to Ottawa and succeeded in affecting a modification of the terms under which the Dominion subsidy was paid. The fixed grant for the maintenance of the provincial government was not changed, but the other grants were increased, so that the total amount paid to the province would be \$90,000 per annum until 1881. A number of accounts, amounting to \$120,000, which the province owed the Dominion, were adjusted, and thus Manitoba entered upon the year 1876 with no debt. During the two remaining years of Mr. Davis' administration the province was free from financial embarrassment.

When Mr. Norquay succeeded Mr. Davis as premier of Manitoba in the autumn of 1878, he decided to announce the policy which would guide his government and appeal to the people. As stated in an address which he made to the electors of his own constituency (St. Andrew's South), the leading



features of that policy were the following: 1. The granting of charters to local railways by the provincial government, government aid in their construction, and the granting of power to municipalities to aid these railways; 2. An advance grant from the Dominion to meet the increasing needs of the schools of the province; 3. An increase in the Dominion subsidy; 4. The extension of the provincial boundaries. This platform met with popular approval, and when the general election was held in December, the government carried about two-thirds of the constituencies of the province.

The first session of the third legislature opened on February 1, 1879, and on the 7th an adjournment was made in order to give Messrs. Norquay and Royal an opportunity to confer with the Dominion government upon some of the important matters which entered so largely into Mr. Norquay's policy. The conferences lasted for several weeks, and it was not until May 27 that the legislature re-assembled to hear the report of the delegates. A further delay was caused by the ministerial crisis mentioned in the preceding chapter; and it is possible that had it not been for the excitement due to this crisis, some of the replies of the Dominion government to Manitoba's requests would have met with vigorous protests instead of tacit approval.

Manitoba's delegates had asked for the following: 1. The construction of the public buildings at Winnipeg, which had been promised by the Dominion government; 2. Its approval of Mr. Norquay's railway policy; 3. Its approval of his plan with regard to the income from school lands; 4. Provision for the drainage of marsh lands; 5. An arrangement for repayment of seed grain and provisions supplied to settlers in 1875; 6. An arrangement in regard to the expense of keeping lunatics in the penitentiary of Manitoba; 7. An advance to the province on capital account of sums to provide for the administration of justice, drainage, etc.

In its replies the Dominion promised to put in the estimates for the next session of parliament sums for the construction of a government house and a legislative building. The last was greatly needed, for the old legislative building had been destroyed by fire on the night of December 3, 1873. School lands were to be withdrawn from sale until they had reached their approximate maximum value, the sales were to be conducted by the Dominion, and it was to hold the sums received from them in trust for the province, paying to it the interest only. Satisfactory terms were offered in regard to repayments of seed grain and provisions, and the Dominion agreed to pay fifty cents per day for each lunatic sheltered in the Manitoba penitentiary, provided he came from some place outside the province, and to provide at the next session of parliament an appropriation for building a lunatic asylum near Winnipeg. The Dominion ministers did not think that the drainage of swamp lands was a necessity at that time, and they disapproved strongly of Mr. Norquay's plan of securing increased railway facilities for the settlers by chartering and aiding local lines. The request for an increased subsidy had been referred to the Hon. Leonard Tilley, minister of finance, and he had made the following recommendation, which his colleagues had adopted: "That the annual allowance of \$90,000 be increased until the end of the year 1881 to \$105,653.04, being made up as follows:—\$30,000, cost of government; \$56,000, being at the rate of eighty cents per head on an assumed popu-

lation of 70,000; and \$19,653.04, being interest on balance of capital at 5 per cent. With respect to the request that advances be made from the capital account of the province for drainage purposes, the undersigned regrets that he cannot recommend that the application be entertained."

Mr. Norquay and his followers in the legislature appear to have accepted the offers made by the Dominion government as fairly satisfactory for the time being, and they seem to have satisfied most of the electors of the province; for, when the legislature was dissolved in November and a general election held on December 16, 1879, the government was sustained by a large majority. The house met in January, 1880, and among the important enactments of the session there was a Drainage Act. To make this law operative it was necessary for the province to expend a very considerable sum of money, and therefore Messrs. Norquay, Brown, and McMicken went to Ottawa in March to ask that Manitoba be allowed to withdraw \$100,000 on capital account in order to construct drains through some of her marshy lands. They also renewed the request for public buildings. The Dominion government seemed disposed to make the advance on capital account, which had been asked, but it would do little more.

All the readjustments in the financial relations between Manitoba and the Dominion, which had been made up to this time, had been considered by provincial statesmen as temporary in character, and they expected that a general revision of them would follow the census of 1881. Mr. Norquay claimed that the great and increasing influx of settlers into Manitoba laid unexpectedly heavy burdens upon the province at the time, inasmuch as it compelled the government to expend large sums in the immediate construction of roads, bridges, and drains, and that, as the Dominion had deprived the province of the means of raising the necessary funds from its natural resources, it was only just that it should receive special grants from the Dominion treasury or else be given the public lands within its boundaries. His position was very ably stated in an address which he made in Winnipeg during the month of March, 1881.

The census of 1881 was taken, but the Dominion government showed no disposition to do more for Manitoba than had been offered a year earlier, although Mr. Norquay did not fail to renew the claims of his province. On this occasion he made a new request, namely, that swamp lands reclaimed by the provincial drainage system should be granted to the province. This was held over for consideration. But Mr. Norquay did not give up the struggle to secure for Manitoba what he considered her rights. Early in 1882 he and Mr. Lariviere went to Ottawa and, after much discussion with the Dominion ministers, secured an increase in the subsidy. The grant for legislation was raised from \$30,000 to \$50,000, the per capita grant of eighty cents a year was to be based on an assumed population of 150,000 and would therefore be \$120,000, while \$45,000 per annum would be allowed the province in lieu of her public lands. As she had withdrawn a part of the amount originally placed to her credit on capital account, the interest on this account was reduced to \$12,153. Thus the total subsidy paid by the Dominion to the province under the arrangement of 1882 was \$227,153. The Dominion declined to change the existing arrangement in regard to the school lands or to make a grant of reclaimed swamp land to the province. A request that salaries for two county judges be paid was granted.

The agreement made by Mr. Norquay and his colleague was ratified by the legislature; but it was not regarded as sufficiently satisfactory to be a permanent settlement, and before the end of the session a resolution was passed in which the right of the province to its public lands was reaffirmed. Later in the year the Dominion disallowed the railway acts passed by the provincial legislature, and this action, coupled with the Dominion's refusal to restore to the province her natural resources or to give more than a very meagre subsidy in lieu of them, roused great indignation among the people. In some quarters Mr. Norquay was severely blamed for failing to secure for the province what the people considered her just rights, and so he decided to appeal to the electors once more. Mr. Norquay once said on the floor of the house, "It is my policy to conform as far as possible to settled public opinion," and he certainly gave the public many opportunities to express its opinion at the polls. The elections took place on January 25, 1883, and twenty out of the thirty members elected were supporters of Mr. Norquay.

The new legislature met on May 17, and in moving the reply to the speech from the throne, Dr. D. H. Harrison, the member for Minnedosa, intimated that the government meant to continue the struggle for the acquisition of the public lands within the province instead of accepting a paltry \$45,000 in lieu of them. In the discussion which followed Mr. Norquay reviewed the efforts made to increase the subsidies received from Ottawa, showing that they had been raised from \$67,000 in 1871 to \$227,000 in 1882 and that the last arrangement was not final but subject to revision at any time. He meant to keep up the agitation for better terms, and he hoped to enlist the aid of the other provinces. During the session he introduced the following resolution, which was carried without a dissenting voice: "That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient in the best interests of the province, that a convention of delegates, composed of members of the Executive Councils of the several provinces of Canada, be asked to take into consideration the best means to be adopted to secure an equitable application of the general provisions of the British North America Act to the different provinces forming the Dominion, and to submit such amendments to the constitution as experience may suggest, with a view to securing greater harmony in the legislative jurisdiction of the Federal and Provincial Legislatures respectively; and also such rearrangement of the sources of revenue as will render uniform the basis upon which subsidies are granted to the provinces."

This resolution met with popular approval, although the contemplated conference of representatives of all the provinces did not take place at that time. Thenceforward the demand for more generous treatment in the matter of subsidies and public works for the province of Manitoba was always associated with demands for the possession of its public lands, for the extension of its boundaries, and for a recognition of its right to charter and aid railways within those boundaries, and to some extent the original demand was overshadowed by them. "Provincial Rights" took the place of "Better Terms" as the watchword of Manitoba in its dealings with the Dominion. Before telling the story of the attempts to secure full provincial rights, it is necessary to give an outline of the earlier efforts to secure an extension of the provincial boundaries and an outline of the struggle to secure the right of chartering provincial railways.



POST OFFICE, WINNIPEG (LEFT); OFFICE OF MANITOBA FREE PRESS (RIGHT)



LEGISLATIVE BUILDING, WINNIPEG



## CHAPTER XLI

### THE EXTENSION OF THE BOUNDARIES

The Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, which was passed by the Dominion parliament in 1869, plainly forecasts the organization of a part of the territory as a province, but it does not in any way define its boundaries. The Manitoba Act, as introduced into the house of commons by Sir John A. Macdonald a year later, provided for the establishment of a little rectangular province, whose western boundary would have been drawn east of Portage la Prairie; but the clause defining its boundaries was amended to read as follows:

"On, from, and after the day upon which the Queen, by and with the advice and consent of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, under the authority of the 146th section of the British North America Act, 1867, shall, by Order in Council in that behalf, admit Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union or Dominion of Canada, there shall be formed out of the same a Province, which shall be one of the Provinces of Canada, and which shall be called the Province of Manitoba, and be bounded as follows: that is to say, commencing at the point where the meridian of ninety-six degrees west longitude from Greenwich intersects parallel of forty-nine degrees north latitude, thence due west along the said parallel of forty-nine degrees north latitude (which forms a portion of the boundary line between the United States of America and the said North-Western Territory) to the meridian of ninety-nine degrees of west longitude, thence due north along the said meridian of ninety-nine degrees of west longitude to the intersection of the same with the parallel of fifty degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, thence due east along the said parallel of fifty degrees and thirty minutes north latitude to its intersection with the before-mentioned meridian of ninety-six degrees west longitude, thence due south along the said meridian of ninety-six degrees west longitude to the place of beginning."

Thus the meridian which formed its eastern boundary passed near White-mouth, while that forming its western boundary lay near Austin. The northern boundary was not far from Oak Point. The estimated area of the small province was about 9,500,000 acres. Although its area was so restricted, its boundaries lay well outside the limits of the districts settled at the time, and this may be the reason that the province was not made much greater when it was formed.

Possibly early additions to the area of the new province were contemplated in drafting the acts of 1869 and 1870, for they made the remaining parts of the North-West Territory appendant to Manitoba, inasmuch as its lieutenant-

governor was to be lieutenant-governor of the territories as well. When settlement began in them, some less simple form of government became necessary; and in 1872 the Canadian parliament passed an act which committed their government to the lieutenant-governor and a council. When the first meeting of this council took place in March, 1873, its members were Hon. Marc A. Girard, Hon. Donald A. Smith, Hon. Henry J. Clarke, Hon. Alfred Boyd, Pascal Breland, Dr. John Schultz, Joseph Dubuc, A. G. B. Bannatyne, William Fraser, Robert Hamilton, and William J. Christie. The lieutenant-governor was, of course, Governor Morris of Manitoba, and all his council were citizens of that province. Sessions of the council were held in Winnipeg. Parliament amended the North-west Territories Act in 1873, increasing the council and giving it wider powers; but this made little difference in the manner in which its government was carried on. It was not until 1875 that the Canadian parliament passed an act which gave the North-West Territories a government entirely distinct from that of Manitoba, and up to that time it would have been easy to add very extensive districts to the province without disturbing the machinery of their government.

The act of 1875 came into force by proclamation on October 7, 1876, and the lieutenant-governor of the territories, Hon. David Laird, and his council at once set at work upon the task committed to them. But the territory, which they were to rule, did not include all the territory left after the province of Manitoba was formed. Lying north and east of it, was a great area which had formed a part of Rupert's Land, but which was not included in the country affected by the act of 1875. By an act passed in 1876 this territory was organized as the District of Keewatin and was placed under the jurisdiction of the lieutenant-governor of Manitoba, who was to be assisted in the management of its affairs by a council. The act defines its boundaries thus: "Beginning at the westerly boundary of the Province of Ontario, on the International boundary line dividing Canada from the United States of America; thence westerly, following the said International boundary line to the eastern boundary of the Province of Manitoba; thence due north along the said easterly boundary of Manitoba to the northeast angle of the said Province; thence due west on the north boundary of said Province to the intersection of the said boundary with the westerly shore of Lake Manitoba; thence northerly, following the said westerly shore of the said lake to the eastern terminus thereon of the portage connecting the southerly end of Lake Winnipegosis with the said Lake Manitoba, known as 'Meadow Portage;' thence westerly, following upon the trail of the said portage to the westerly terminus of the same, being on the easterly shore of the said Lake Winnipegosis; thence northerly, following the line of the said easterly shore of the said lake, to the southerly end of the portage leading from the head of the said lake into Cedar Lake, known as 'Cedar' or 'Mossy Portage;' thence northerly, following the trail of the said portage to the north end of the same on the shore of Cedar Lake; thence due north to the northerly limits of Canada; thence easterly, following upon the said northerly limits of Canada, to the northern extremity of Hudson's Bay; thence southerly, following upon the westerly shore of the said Hudson's Bay, to a point where it would be intersected by a line drawn due north from the place of beginning; and thence due south on the said line last mentioned to the place of beginning."

The act creating this district also came into force by proclamation on October 7, 1876. Lieutenant-Governor Morris became its lieutenant-governor, and on November 24th the members of its council were gazetted. They were Lieut-Colonel W. Osborne Smith, Dr. Jackes, Dr. Codd, Gilbert McMicken, J. A. N. Provencher, and William Hespeler. About two years later parliament passed an act, which provided for the establishment of municipal government in portions of the District of Keewatin. Parts or all of this district could have been annexed to Manitoba without difficulty.

There were many reasons why the government of Manitoba, backed by its people, should ask for the enlargement of the province. There was the natural desire to secure for it an area somewhat proportionate to the areas of the older provinces of the Dominion. It was necessary to find more room for the army of settlers which was coming into the province. This had been so much greater than was anticipated that in the decade which followed the establishment of the province its population was multiplied by six. There was the pressing need of the province for a larger income and the hope that sooner or later it would secure control of the crown lands and other natural resources within its borders and be able to obtain a very considerable revenue from them. Nearly all the additional territory asked for would be crown land, and much of it would prove rich in timber, minerals, or fish. There was also the desire to secure, if possible, a port for the province on Lake Superior and one or more ports on Hudson Bay. After a time the extension of the provincial boundaries was desired for another reason. When the need of additional railway facilities became intolerable and the people determined that the province should secure and exercise the right to charter new lines within its boundaries, it was very evident that the larger the province the more ample would be the relief afforded settlers by its local railways.

It has been stated in an earlier chapter that the government of Manitoba sent Messrs. Clarke, Royal, Howard, and Bird to Ottawa early in 1873 to press the claims of the province for more liberal grants from the Dominion treasury and that the memorandum which these gentlemen submitted to the Canadian government on March 31st was supplemented by another on April 24th, which asked for a large addition to the area of the province. If the request had been granted, Manitoba would have been bounded as follows: "Commencing at a point where the western boundary of the Province of Ontario intersects the boundary line between the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada, thence due north along the said westerly boundary of the Province of Ontario to Hudson's Bay, thence northwesterly along the shore of the said bay to the parallel of sixty degrees north latitude, thence due west along the said parallel of sixty degrees north latitude to the meridian of one hundred degrees west of Greenwich, thence due south along the said meridian of one hundred degrees of west longitude to the boundary line between the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada, and thence easterly along the said boundary line between the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada to the place of beginning." This would have made the total area of the province nearly 300,000 sq. miles, would have added a very desirable strip of country on the west, would have brought her in touch with the provinces on the east, and would have given her ports both on Hudson Bay and on Lake Superior. Negotiations upon this matter were interrupted, however, by the troubles in



which the Macdonald government became involved soon after the demand was made; and when the Mackenzie government came into power, it declined to grant Manitoba's request.

The speech from the throne, with which Lieutenant-Governor Morris opened the first session of the second Manitoba legislature on March 31, 1875, contained this sentence: "In order, therefore, to bring about a fair adjustment of this very important question, you will be asked to concur in an address to His Excellency the Governor-General and the Privy Council of Canada, asking for a revision of the financial relations existing between the Dominion and the Province, and also for a substantial enlargement of the boundaries of Manitoba, both westwardly, easterly and northerly." Soon afterward Messrs. Davis and Royal went to Ottawa to submit the requests of the province; but while they secured a small increase in the subsidy paid by the Dominion, the boundaries of the province were not changed.

When Mr. Norquay became premier of Manitoba in October, 1878, the extension of its boundaries was one plank of the platform on which he appealed to the people in a general election. They showed their approval by giving him a large majority in the new legislature; and yet, when Messrs. Norquay and Royal went to Ottawa early in 1879 to present the demands of the province, the request for an extension of the boundaries does not appear to have been submitted. When, on their return to Winnipeg, the friction between these two members of the cabinet broke out into open opposition, the English-speaking members of the legislature rallied around the premier in caucus and signed a memorandum of the policy on which they would support him, one of its clauses being an expression of their determination to secure additional territory for the province. After the ministerial squabble had ended in the resignation of Messrs. Royal and Delorme and the appointment of Messrs. Biggs and Taylor as their successors, the legislature proceeded with the business of the session. Before it closed, an address to the governor-general was adopted, praying for an extension of the boundaries eastward to the boundary of Ontario at a point on or near Thunder Bay, northward to Hudson Bay, and westward to the 103rd meridian of longitude.

A general election was held late in 1879, and Manitoba's third legislature commenced its first session in January, 1880. Once more memorials, praying for better terms and an extension of the provincial boundaries, were adopted, and once more a delegation from the government wended its way to Ottawa. Messrs. Norquay, Brown, and McMicken presented the demands of Manitoba to the Dominion ministers in March, and while some consideration was paid to their requests for more generous grants from the Dominion, the delegates were told that the boundary question could not be dealt with until the western boundary of Ontario had been definitely settled.

In 1871 the imperial parliament had passed an act which gave the Dominion of Canada power to alter the boundaries of any province, provided the legislature of that province agreed to the changes. A fortnight after this act was passed, the Ontario government asked the Dominion government to join with it in appointing a commission to settle the western and northern boundaries of that province. This was done, Mr. E. Taché being appointed to represent the Dominion and Hon. Wm. McDougall to represent Ontario. In the instruc-



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tions issued to the Dominion commissioner it was intimated that the extreme western boundary of Ontario should be a continuation of the meridian which passes through the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and that the northern boundary should be the height of land dividing the streams which flow into the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River from those which flow into Hudson Bay; but the Ontario government claimed that the western boundary should be the meridian passing through the source of the Mississippi and that the northern boundary should lie far beyond the St. Lawrence watershed. Thus a deadlock arose, and the commission did nothing. After a time the Dominion suggested that the boundary question be referred to the judicial committee of the imperial privy council as the most competent authority on the matter, but Ontario would not consent to the plan.

In December, 1873, the Dominion government reopened negotiations for a settlement of the question, and in the following March the Ontario legislature approved of a reference either to the privy council or to a commission as the lieutenant-governor might deem wise. In June, 1874, the two governments entered into a provisional arrangement for administering the lands in the disputed district, and in November of that year they agreed to submit the boundary question to arbitration. There were delays of various kinds, but on August 3, 1878, the commissioners submitted their report. It was signed by Sir Francis Hincks for the Dominion, by Chief Justice Harrison for Ontario, and by Sir Edward Thornton, British Ambassador to Washington, as the third member of the arbitration board. It recommended that the boundary be the meridian passing through the Northwest Angle of the Lake of the Woods as far as the English River and that it should then follow the English River, Lac Seul, Lake St. Joseph, and the Albany river to James Bay. The award gave Ontario more than she had any right to expect, and so her legislature promptly passed an act to ratify the award and adopted measures for the administration of justice in the new territory; but the Dominion government declined to endorse the award of the commission. It did, however, secure the passage of an act in regard to the administration of justice in the disputed territory, which allowed the magistrates and constables of Ontario concurrent jurisdiction with those of the Dominion.

The act of the Dominion parliament, passed in 1880 with the well-meant purpose of preserving order in the disputed territory lying between Manitoba and Ontario, provided that "every crime committed in any part of the disputed territory may be inquired into, tried, and punished, within any county or district in Ontario, or Manitoba, or Keewatin, and such crime shall be within the jurisdiction of any court, judge, magistrate or magistrates, or justice or justices of the peace, or other functionaries having jurisdiction over crimes or offences of like nature, committed within the limits of the county or district in which such crime or offence is prosecuted." The committing judge or magistrate might send the prisoner to a jail in Ontario or to one in Manitoba at his discretion; a judge of the superior court of the province in which the prisoner was jailed might make an order that he be sent to another jail in either province to await trial; and if conviction followed his trial, his sentence was to be determined by the laws of Ontario or Keewatin, according as the offence or crime was charged to have been committed in Ontario or Keewatin. This

measure was intended to prevent offenders escaping the penalties for their offences through any uncertainty of jurisdiction in the districts where these offences were committed. As a matter of fact its effect was just the opposite of that intended.

Manitoba's oft-repeated request for additional territory was granted in 1881, although the addition was much smaller than that demanded. In March of that year the Canadian parliament passed an act extending the boundaries of the province on the three sides where extension was possible. Pending the settlement of the dispute between the Dominion and Ontario regarding the western boundary of the latter, the eastern boundary of Manitoba was not fixed very definitely. It was to be a line drawn due north from the intersection of the western boundary of Ontario with the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, the northern boundary was to be the centre of the road allowance along the twelfth base line in the Dominion system of survey, or about the parallel of  $52^{\circ} 51'$  north latitude, and the western boundary was to be the centre of the road allowance between the twenty-ninth and thirtieth ranges of townships west of the first principal meridian. The act came into force on July 1, 1881, and it made the total area of the province, after its eastern boundary had been fixed, about 73,956 sq. miles.

Manitoba accepted this addition to her area, subject to a final delimitation of the eastern boundary; and in May, 1881, an act was passed by the provincial legislature to provide for the government of the new territory. It was divided into six electoral districts, but no member of the legislature was to be elected for the new constituency on the east (Rat Portage) until the boundary in that direction had been fixed. In extending the laws of the original province to the added districts, power was given to the lieutenant-governor in council to proclaim such laws in force in these districts as might be deemed wise. This step was intended to allay possible dissatisfaction among settlers living in the new districts. Among other differences between the laws which had prevailed in them and the laws of Manitoba was that in the regulations which governed the sale of liquor. In the North-West Territories a prohibitory law, enacted by the Dominion parliament, was in force, while Manitoba had a licence system.

In administering the eastern addition to the area of the province there was need of the utmost caution to prevent conflict of jurisdiction between Manitoba and the Dominion on one hand and between Manitoba and Ontario on the other. Overlapping legislation and overlapping administration of the law were as likely to cause trouble there in the early eighties as in the years of the conflict between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company. It was to obviate such troubles that one clause in the act adopted by the provincial legislature in 1881 provided that: "All laws and ordinances in force in the territory hereby added to the Province of Manitoba at the time of the coming into force of this act, and all courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction, and all legal commissions, powers, and authorities, and all officers, judicial, administrative, and ministerial, existing therein at the time of coming into force of this act, shall continue therein, as if such territory had not been added to the said province; subject, nevertheless, with respect to matters within the legislative authority of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba to be repealed, abolished, or altered by the said legislature." Had the government of Manitoba

adhered to the spirit of this clause, it might have prevented much of the trouble which soon arose.

The Dominion act of 1881, which made Manitoba's eastern boundary coincide with the western boundary of Ontario, roused a determination on the part of the Ontario government to secure all the territory which would have been hers, had the award of 1878 gone into effect. This determination was strengthened by the action of the government of Manitoba, which, in August of 1881, abandoned the moderate policy adopted in May and attempted to assert its authority in the disputed district. On the 15th of the month the lieutenant-governor proclaimed the laws of Manitoba in force there; and soon after the county of Varennes was declared a judicial district, and a county court was established in it, the sittings to be held in Rat Portage. In January of 1882 the Dominion government proposed that the boundary question be submitted to the supreme court of Canada, but Ontario declined to do so unless she were practically guaranteed the territory which the commission would have given her four years earlier, and in March her legislature passed a resolution authorizing the government to take possession of the territory in dispute. A few months later this was done. Land commissioners for the district were appointed, commissions were issued to magistrates and constables in Rat Portage, and a court-house and jail were built there. In the meantime the town had been incorporated by the Manitoba government, which had also built a court-house and a jail and appointed a magistrate and constables.

The little frontier town at the foot of the Lake of the Woods was well supplied with all the machinery for the maintenance of law and order. The Dominion had appointed a magistrate and constables; Manitoba's magistrate and constables were there; and Ontario was represented by a corresponding staff of peace officers. Ontario had a court-house in the town, Manitoba had another. Each province had a jail there. Neither was very strong, and one was a mere cabin built of poles. It was so low that on one occasion a prisoner moved the rafters and made his way to liberty through the roof. The Dominion authorities wisely refrained from doing more than look after criminal cases, leaving other matters to the rival provinces.

The task of maintaining a moderate degree of order in that part of the disputed territory might have kept the three sets of peace officers fully occupied, even if they had worked in harmony. The main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway was being constructed through the district at that time, and several thousand men were employed on sections of the line lying east and west of Rat Portage. In and around the small town were many men engaged in lumbering and mining. The wilderness stretched around for many miles on all sides. Thus the conditions offered opportunities to whiskey-smugglers, which were too tempting to be neglected. There was an enormous profit to be made on the vile liquor peddled through the district, for many of the men would pay any price to obtain it. It was smuggled in by the most ingenious and varied methods, cached in the most unlikely places, and transferred from point to point with rare cunning.

Instead of uniting for the suppression of illicit whiskey-peddling and the resulting disorder, the peace officers of each province spent their energies in attempts to assert the authority of that province over the officials of the other.

The inevitable clash came over the liquor traffic. The Dominion government had withdrawn the district about Rat Portage from the operation of the Public Works Act so far as it related to the sale of liquor in the vicinity of public works. The Manitoba government then extended its license system to the district, and issued hotel and wholesale licenses to men in Rat Portage; but the Ontario officials refused to recognize these licenses, claiming that their province only had the right to regulate the traffic in liquors. The situation became acute in the summer of 1883. Prisoners arrested on the order of one magistrate were liberated by the order of another. Prisoners committed to jail by the authorities of one government were taken out by parties of men who claimed that they were merely upholding the rights of the other. Finally constables, who had made arrests on the orders of one magistrate, found themselves arrested for so doing by constables acting on the orders of another justice of the peace. A newspaper correspondent, describing the events of one July day, said, "Dominion Commissioner McCabe with two policemen, Ontario Magistrate Burdon with twenty-five policemen, and Stipendiary Magistrate Brereton, with fifteen policemen, acting on behalf of Manitoba, have been arresting each other all day; and the people have been siding, some with one party and some with another, to the imminent danger of the peace and of loss of life."

On July 28th the Manitoba jail was burned, and the government decided that sterner measures were necessary. Premier Norquay, Attorney-General Millar, Captain Constantine, chief of the provincial police, and twenty-five constables took a special train and hurried to the seat of war. They arrested a number of men on charges of breaking open the jail and releasing prisoners. These captives were brought to Winnipeg and committed to prison. On the 8th of August the Manitoba government passed an order in council which expressed its unalterable determination to keep up the fight until the rights of the province were recognized and her laws established in the disputed territory. The arrests, counter-arrests, and jail-breaking, which resembled the action of a low comedy so closely, continued for some month longer. In the meantime whiskey-peddling flourished, and lawlessness grew apace.

The district claimed by both provinces was in Manitoba's constituency of Rat Portage, subsequently called Varennes, and in the Ontario constituency of Algoma. In July, 1883, the Manitoba legislature amended the act of 1881 so that an election could be held in this constituency at any time. To make the resemblance to low comedy more exact, an election for each riding was held on September 21st, Mr. R. A. Lyon being elected to the Ontario house for Algoma and Attorney-General James Millar to the Manitoba legislature for Varennes. A month earlier some of the residents of Rat Portage had decided at a public meeting to form a municipality there under the jurisdiction of Ontario and had subsequently elected a reeve and councillors. Thus, in addition to three sets of peace officers, the town had two organizations for municipal government, and was represented in two provincial legislatures. Nevertheless the district had less of good government and more of lawlessness than any other place in Canada.

Late in the year 1883 Attorney-General Mowat of Ontario and Attorney-General Millar of Manitoba met at Toronto and agreed upon an armistice, which both governments would observe until the boundary line between the



RAT PORTAGE, 1883





provinces had been settled by the imperial privy council. Neither government abandoned any of its claims; but it was agreed that, pending the decision sought, all of the disputed territory lying east and south of the watershed which divides the streams flowing into Lake Superior from those which find their way to Hudson Bay should be administered exclusively by Ontario, while the remainder of the territory should be administered by a commission of two members, one from each province, who would have co-ordinate authority as magistrates, control the police, collect fines, etc. No other magistrates would hold commissions at Rat Portage, and the authority of both councils of that town would be suspended and its municipal affairs placed in the hands of a board of five men to be elected after the proposed agreement had been ratified by the legislatures of the two provinces concerned. The courts, judges, and sheriffs of each province were to have jurisdiction in suits brought before them. The boundary question was to be submitted to the privy council, and its decision was to be carried into effect by such provincial legislation as might be necessary.

The inter-provincial boundary case came before the privy council on July 16, 1884, Hon. Oliver Mowat appearing for Ontario and Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, Q. C., for Manitoba. The argument occupied several days, and it was not until August 11th that the highest judicial court in the realm gave its decision upon the long-disputed question under consideration. The most important clause in the decision is as follows:

"That upon the evidence their Lordships find the true boundary between the western part of the Province of Ontario and the northeastern part of the Province of Manitoba to be so much of a line drawn to the Lake of the Woods, through the waters eastward of that, and west of Long Lake, which divides British North America from the territory of the United States, and thence to the Lake of the Woods to the most northwestern point of that lake as runs northward from the United States boundary, and from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods a line drawn due north until it strikes the middle line of the course of the river discharging the waters of the lake called Lac Seul or the Lonely Lake, whether above or below its confluence with the stream flowing from the Lake of the Woods towards Lake Winnipeg. And their Lordships find the true boundary between the same two provinces to the north of Ontario and to the south of Manitoba, proceeding eastward from the point at which the beforementioned line strikes the middle line of the course of the river last aforesaid to be along the middle line of the course of the same river (whether called by the name of the English River or, as to the part below the confluence, by the name of the River Winnipeg), up to Lac Seul or the Lonely Lake and thence along the middle line of Lac Seul or the Lonely Lake to the head of that lake, and thence by a straight line to the nearest point of the middle line of the waters of Lake Saint Joseph, and thence along the middle line until it reaches the foot or outlet of that lake, and thence along the middle line of the river by which the waters of Lake Saint Joseph discharge themselves until it reaches a line due north from a line drawn due north from the confluence of the Rivers Mississippi and Ohio, which forms the boundary eastward of Manitoba."

While this decision gave most of the disputed territory to Ontario, it was assumed by many people that it gave Manitoba that quadrilateral of country lying between meridian of the mouth of the Ohio and the meridian of the

Northwest Angle and bounded on the north by the parallel of  $52^{\circ} 51'$  north latitude and on the south by the English River, Lac Seul, Lake St. Joseph, and the Albany River. Maps were drawn on this assumption, and much confusion resulted. Indeed the matter was a disputed question until it was settled that, in view of the privy council's decision, the act passed by the Dominion parliament in 1881 could not give Manitoba any territory east of the meridian of  $95^{\circ} 9'$ . This line, therefore, became the eastern boundary of the province.

Hon. Mr. Norquay seems to have anticipated the adverse decision of the privy council, for during the session of 1882 the provincial legislature was asked by the government to endorse the following resolutions:

"1. That it is the opinion of this House that it is in the interests of this Province that the boundaries thereof should be further extended:—To the west to the 102nd meridian, to the north to the 60th parallel of north latitude, so as to contain the outlets on Hudson Bay, and to the east on Lake Superior.

"2. That the public lands within the bounds of the Province as above defined, should be handed over to the trusteeship of the Provincial authorities, including forests, mines, minerals, etc., for administration for the public uses of the Province.

"3. That in the settlement of our eastern boundary, should it be found that such eastern boundary (when properly and legally defined) shall be at a point west of Thunder Bay, that the Executive be requested to commence negotiations with the rightful owners thereof, with a view of acquiring such a strip of land as may lie between such boundary and the meridian passing immediately east of Prince Arthur's Landing."

Mr. Norquay renewed this request for more territory when he made his annual visit to Ottawa in 1884. The request was not unlike that preferred by Mr. Clarke eleven years earlier. Both premiers wished to secure a port on Hudson Bay, and Mr. Norquay had a special reason for seeking it, as he hoped by chartering a railway to the bay to secure relief from the monopoly which bore so heavily on the people of the province. If the request had been granted it would have added about 180,000 sq. miles to the area of Manitoba. The reply of the Dominion ministers to the demands of the province was presented to the house on April 15, 1884. The request for additional territory was refused on the ground that the cost of administering it would probably exceed the revenue which the province could derive from it.

From this time forward the agitation for an extension of the provincial boundaries was merged into and largely overshadowed by the agitation to secure the right of the province to charter and build railways in its own territory, and the two matters can hardly be discussed separately.

## CHAPTER XLII

### THE FIGHT AGAINST RAILWAY MONOPOLY

Because of Manitoba's geographical position railway communication with the rest of the world was absolutely necessary to the growth and prosperity of the province. Until it was obtained all the goods imported by her people would be very expensive, and it would be almost impossible to find outside markets for her agricultural products; and these two facts would greatly retard the settlement of the country. Thus there were good reasons for the demand for uninterrupted steam communication between Lake Superior and Fort Garry and the demand for railway communication between Fort Garry and the railroads of the United States, which were given a prominent place in the Bill of Rights submitted to the Dominion government as a statement of the terms on which Manitoba would unite with Canada. In passing the Manitoba Act the Dominion tacitly pledged itself to provide these two lines of communication between Manitoba and the rest of the world as soon as possible; and when British Columbia came into Confederation a year later, the Dominion was formally committed to the construction of a line of railway, which would connect that province, as well as the North-West Territories and Manitoba, with eastern Canada.

From the first the people of Manitoba showed a disposition to help themselves by constructing local lines. Before the first legislature of the province had met, or even been elected, the newspapers of Winnipeg contained the following notice:

"Notice is hereby given that an application will be made, at the first meeting of the Legislature of Manitoba, for an act to incorporate a joint stock company for the construction of a railway from some point on Lake Manitoba, passing through the Town of Winnipeg, and to connect with the nearest of the Minnesota railways.

DUNCAN SINCLAIR.  
E. L. BARBER.

Fort Garry, November 18, 1870."

The charter was not granted, but the application for it shows that the people were alive to the importance of railways in the new province.

The Dominion government took prompt steps to carry out the pledges made to Manitoba and British Columbia. In 1871 it authorized Mr. Sandford Fleming, who was probably Canada's greatest engineer, to make a thorough survey of the country north of the Great Lakes in order to locate a route for the transcontinental railway which it was pledged to build. The survey was continued across the prairies and through the mountain ranges which shut

off British Columbia from the rest of the Dominion. This survey was a work of great magnitude, requiring much time and the expenditure of large sums of money. In 1872 the Dominion parliament passed an act to provide for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It was to be commenced not later than July, 1873, and was to be completed in ten years. Two companies were formed to carry on the work, but the contract was not given to either of them. When it was found impossible to amalgamate them, a third company was formed, with Sir Hugh Allan at its head; its charter was ratified by parliament in March, 1873, and the contract for the construction of the great national work was awarded to it.

The hopes which the people of the west built on this great railway scheme were not to be realized for several years. There were delays of various kinds. Before the end of 1873 the "Pacific Scandal" had developed, and Sir John Macdonald's ministry had been forced to resign; and in the interval plans for the great railroad were neglected. When the Mackenzie government found itself in power early in 1874, it made material modifications in the railway policy of the Dominion. For the time being the construction of a road north of the Great Lakes was to be held in abeyance, and lake steamers were to furnish the first link in communication between eastern and western Canada. Between Thunder Bay and the prairies the navigable lakes were to be utilized for steam communication, and these were to be connected by short lines of railway. The prairie section of the road was to cross the Red River at Selkirk, cross Lake Manitoba at the Narrows, and then follow a fairly direct line to the Yellowhead Pass. The years have proved that a part of Mr. Mackenzie's railway policy was unwise and a part wise. It was soon found impracticable to utilize the water stretches between the head of Lake Superior and the prairie, and the plan was abandoned. The line ultimately crossed the Red River at Winnipeg instead of Selkirk; and while its prairie section was diverted far south of the route chosen by Mr. Mackenzie, the existence of two transcontinental lines on what is practically his route shows how accurate were his surveyors' estimates of the great agricultural and mineral resources of the country which would have been served by the railway he proposed to build. At the time, however, the people of Manitoba were utterly opposed to the location of Mr. Mackenzie's road. It avoided the principal town of the province, and it passed so far north of the settled portions of the country that its construction would be of little benefit to the people.

The lack of railway communication with Minnesota was offset to some extent by the steamers plying on the Red River. During the summer of 1872 three of these vessels were running regularly between Winnipeg and points south of the international boundary. In 1875 several business men in Winnipeg and Minneapolis established another line of boats on the river, making a little fleet of five vessels altogether; and a year later there were seven which made regular trips between Winnipeg and points in the United States.

The fact that Minnesota and Dakota had railways, while Manitoba had none, naturally diverted immigration to those states rather than to the province lying north of them. It often happened that settlers, who left eastern Canada to come to Manitoba by way of Chicago and St. Paul, were persuaded to take up land before their original destination was reached. For a time it



CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY YARDS, WINNIPEG



VIEW OF STOCK YARDS, WINNIPEG



was hoped that this loss to the province might be checked by improving the Dawson Road and offering immigrants special inducements to travel by it. When Hon. Mr. Clarke and his fellow delegates presented a memorandum of Manitoba's demands to the Ottawa government in 1873, its fifth clause was: "To have free carriage for immigrants over the Dawson Road from the port of Collingwood to Fort Garry, and the extension of the said road to the western boundary of the Province adjoining the North-West Territories, and the maintenance of the same." The Mackenzie government made an attempt to comply with this request. In 1874 it made a contract with Carpenter & Co. to improve the road from Thunder Bay to Winnipeg, to establish a line of steamers and stages along the route, and to provide hotel accommodation for travelers. In return for generous subsidies the company was to convey passengers and freight from Thunder Bay to Winnipeg at very low rates. But the plan proved unsatisfactory in every way, and after being tried for two seasons, it was abandoned. By the end of 1875 the Dawson Road had cost Canada a little more than \$1,294,000.

About 1874 the Dominion government decided on the construction of a railway from Winnipeg to Pembina to be connected there with the line which the St. Paul & Pacific Company was building north. The contract was let to Mr. Joseph Whitehead, and the first sod of Manitoba's first railroad was turned in September, 1874; but it was a long time before the people saw the completion of the line. The line was located rather with the purpose of making convenient connection with the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway when the latter was built than with the purpose of meeting existing needs of the settlers, and there was no provision for a bridge whereby the line might be brought into Winnipeg. The importance of changing the location of this Pembina branch was mentioned in the speech from the throne delivered by Lieutenant-Governor Morris at the opening of the provincial legislature in the early part of 1875, and soon after a delegation went to Ottawa, hoping to secure changes in the line which would make it more useful to the people. The delegation reported that the Ottawa government was unwilling to change the location of the road, and Mayor Kennedy, who had hoped to secure a bridge across the Red River so that the line might be extended into Winnipeg, had to report that there was little likelihood of the railway being built west of the river for some time. Work on the Pembina branch went forward slowly.

In June, 1876, the Dominion government gave notice that it would shortly ask tenders for the construction of sections of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway between Port Arthur and the Pacific Ocean; but tenders did not come in, and in the next year the government itself undertook the construction of a part of the road west of Thunder Bay. By the end of 1878 it had 104 miles in such condition that construction trains were working on it, and other parts of the road had been ballasted. In the same year the government, convinced of the uselessness of the Dawson Road, entered into an agreement with the St. Paul & Pacific Railway Company for a continuous service between St. Paul and Winnipeg. The government agreed to complete the Pembina Branch as soon as possible and lease it to the American company for ten years. In May, 1878, a contract for the completion of the line was made with Kavanagh & Co. The work was to be completed by the end of 1879, but



it was done before the end of 1878, and the first railway train to run on Manitoban soil, a construction train of the St. Paul & Pacific Railway, steamed into Emerson on November 11. On December 9, 1878, the first regular train over the Pembina Branch reached St. Boniface. Hoping to make some money out of the line in the remaining time allowed for its completion, Kavanagh & Co. borrowed a few engines and cars from the St. Paul & Pacific Company, and attempted to maintain a service on the new road; but the attempt ended in failure.

The Mackenzie government went out of office in October, 1878, and with the return of the Macdonald government came another reversal of the railway policy of the Dominion. The plan of utilizing the water stretches west of Port Arthur was abandoned, and the main line of the railway was deflected to its present position across the prairies. Although this was probably done to meet the wishes of the imperial government, the change was welcomed by the settlers of Manitoba as one which would make the road of greater benefit to them. To secure an efficient service on the Pembina Branch the government gave Upper & Co. a contract to equip and operate the road between Selkirk and Pembina until the main line from Lake Superior could be completed. As soon as the company had equipped the line, it was to carry out the agreement of the government with the St. Paul & Pacific Company by interchanging traffic at the international boundary. In the meantime the American company would run its trains into St. Boniface over the Pembina Branch; and so in 1879 railway communication between Manitoba and the rest of the world was an accomplished fact.

The people of Winnipeg renewed their efforts to have the main line of the national railway cross the Red River at Winnipeg instead of Selkirk, but the government turned a deaf ear to their prayers. When the South-Western Colonization Railway Company secured a Dominion charter for building a railway and a bridge across the Red River, it arranged with the city of Winnipeg to provide \$200,000 for the construction of the bridge. Recognizing the determination of the citizens in the matter, the Dominion then consented to build a branch of the Pembina line to connect Selkirk with Winnipeg, if the city would construct a bridge to give the line entry to Winnipeg.

The purpose of the Macdonald government to proceed rapidly with the construction of the main line of the Canadian Pacific was frustrated by the unwillingness of capitalists to invest money in the enterprise. Sir John Macdonald and Dr. Tupper went to England in 1879, hoping to secure the promise of capital for the work, but they were not successful. Another visit was made during the following year with better results, and the government felt justified in making a contract with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for the construction of the line. After a long discussion the contract was ratified by parliament in January, 1881. It was clause 15 of this contract which caused so much trouble in Manitoba later. It reads: "For 20 years from the date hereof, no line of railway shall be authorized by the Dominion Parliament to be constructed south of the Canadian Pacific Railway, from any point at or near the Canadian Pacific Railway, except such lines as shall run south-west, or to the westward of south-west, nor to within fifteen miles of latitude 49. And in the establishment of any new province in the North-West

Territories, provision shall be made for continuing such prohibition after such establishment until the expiration of the said period." Although the ablest lawyers in the house warned the government that the Canadian Pacific Railway Act gave it no power to insert this clause in the contract and although it seemed a plain violation of provincial rights as determined by the British North America Act, the government stood by the clause and the house endorsed it.

The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway had been retarded by so many circumstances that the people of the west realized that several years must elapse before Manitoba would have direct communication by rail with eastern Canada and that the province itself must do something to provide transportation facilities for her people. When Hon. John Norquay became premier in 1878, one clause of the policy which he asked the electors to endorse was as follows: "The lack of railway facilities being severely felt by the farmers, who have no means of conveying their surplus products to market, the government will encourage local efforts in the direction of railway construction by granting power to municipalities to bonus such enterprises and by every other means in their power." In this there is a hint of the railway policy adopted soon after by the Norquay government and endorsed almost unanimously by members of the legislature and by the electors.

When Messrs. Norquay and Royal went to Ottawa early in 1879 to submit certain demands of the province, one of them was for the endorsement of its policy in regard to local lines of railway. To it the Dominion government made the following reply: "That as respects the railway policy to be pursued in that Province (Manitoba), it has been decided that the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway shall pass south of Lake Manitoba, in accordance with the suggestions of Messrs. Norquay and Royal. The Government will oppose the granting of a charter, for the present at least, for any railway in Manitoba other than the one recommended by them, from Winnipeg south-westerly to Rock Lake. The Government think it very desirable that all railway legislation should originate here, and that no charter for a line exclusively within the Province of Manitoba should be granted by its Legislature, without the Dominion Government first assent thereto." In this reply the policy of the Dominion government towards local railways in Manitoba is plainly foreshadowed; but unfortunately the members of the legislature overlooked the menace to provincial autonomy which it contained, and no voice was raised in protest.

The awakening came two years later. During the session of 1881 the provincial legislature passed an act to incorporate the Manitoba South-Eastern Railway Company, which was to build a line from Winnipeg southeasterly to a point on the international boundary, where it would connect with some road in the United States. This act was disallowed by the Dominion government in January, 1882, and the reason given was that the construction of such a line would be a breach of the contract which the government had made with the C. P. R. Company. The disallowance of this charter roused great indignation. It was denounced as a violation of the undoubted rights of Manitoba, and Mr. Norquay's government was bitterly assailed for submitting meekly to the insult and injury offered to the province. The *Free Press* which had

supported the government up to that time, denounced Mr. Norquay and his ministers as incompetents and charged them with a betrayal of the province. When the legislature met in April, Mr. Greenway, leader of the opposition, moved, as an amendment to the reply to the speech from the throne, "That this House regrets that in a matter of such vital importance to this Province as the recent disallowance, by the Dominion Government, of the South-Eastern Railway charter, granted by this legislature at its last session, that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor has not been advised to enter his protest against such interference with our provincial rights. And that in view of the great lack of railway facilities now afforded this city and province—so much felt at present—it is deeply to be regretted that the said act should have been disallowed, thereby indefinitely postponing the additional railway facilities so essential to the development of the country." The amendment expressed the general sentiment of the people at the time, but after a long debate it was voted down. The attempts of Mr. Norquay to find excuses for the action of the Dominion government was the first of a series of steps which alienated the sympathy of the people and ultimately led to the defeat of his government.

Before the session closed the legislature passed the Emerson and North-Western Railway Act, the Manitoba Tramway Act, and the General Railway Act of Manitoba; but on November 4, 1882, all three acts were disallowed by the Dominion government on the ground that they contravened the contract made with the C. P. R. Company. This second and flagrant violation of Manitoba's rights roused the deepest resentment throughout the province. Indignation meetings were held in many places to protest against the outrage, and many plans to prevent its repetition were advocated. Under the circumstances Mr. Norquay decided to dissolve the legislature and appeal to the people. The election, held on January 23, 1883, seemed to show that the electors retained confidence in him, for they returned twenty of his supporters to the legislature, while only ten opposition members were elected.

In 1883 the Dominion parliament passed an Act to Amend the Consolidated Railway Act. It declared that a number of railroads, including the Canadian Pacific Railway, "are works for the general advantage of Canada, and each and every branch line or railway connecting with or crossing the said lines of railway, or any of them, is a work for the advantage of Canada." This was an attempt on the part of the Dominion government to find more valid ground for the disallowance of Manitoba's railway charters by taking advantage of a clause in the British North America Act which says, "The exclusive legislative authority of Canada extends to such local works and undertakings as, although wholly situate within a province, are, before or after their execution, declared by the Parliament of Canada to be for the general advantage of Canada." The amending act was denounced in Manitoba as a measure intended to make the monopoly of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company more secure, and it certainly retarded the construction of local lines by other companies for several years.

Manitoba did not tamely submit to this new invasion of her rights. The provincial legislature met on May 17, 1883, and Premier Norquay took an early opportunity to reassert his determination to stand by the right of the



WINNIPEG ELECTRIC RAILWAY CHAMBERS



province to charter railways within the boundaries fixed by the Manitoba Act of 1870. The opposition would have gone a step further, and the following resolution was moved by Mr. Jackson, one of its members: "This House most humbly prays that your Honor may be pleased to present to His Excellency the Governor-General the humble protest of this House against the disallowance of recent acts of this Legislature regarding railways, and to represent to His Excellency that this House cannot but regard the disallowance of acts wholly within the legislative authority of this province as an infringement upon the rights and privileges of its Legislature; and this House begs most humbly to declare its intention of insisting upon the right of the Legislature to the free exercise of all the powers and privileges hitherto enjoyed by the Legislatures of the Provinces with reference to railways, and upon its right to authorize the construction of railways between any points within this Province and to the utmost limits thereof, save in so far as this Legislature voluntarily accepted certain limitations of its authority within the territory added to this Province in the year 1881." The resolution was defeated, but the house subsequently endorsed its spirit by passing an Act to Encourage the Building of Railways in Manitoba.

The agitation against the "monopoly clause" of the contract with the C. P. R. Company continued in all parts of the province. The burdens under which the people labored seemed doubly heavy that year. The utter collapse of "the boom" of 1882 had almost paralyzed every department of business, and the serious injury to the grain crop wrought by early frosts had left many farmers almost penniless. Never since have times been so hard in Manitoba as they were in the winter of 1883-4. Under such conditions it was only natural that organizations should be formed all over the province for the purpose of securing relief from some of the disabilities from which the people were suffering. These organizations had various names, but as their aims were practically identical, they may all be called Farmers' Unions—the name which most of them adopted. They became an influential factor in the fight for provincial rights.

A convention of delegates, representing Farmers' Unions, opened in Winnipeg on December 20, 1883, and adopted the following Declaration of Rights:

"1. The right of the local government to charter railways anywhere in Manitoba, free from any interference.

"2. The absolute control of her public lands (including school land) by the legislature of the province and compensation for lands sold and used for federal purposes.

"3. That the duty on agricultural implements and building materials be removed, and the customs tariff on articles entering into daily consumption be greatly modified in the interests of the people of this province and the North-West.

"4. That it is the duty of the provincial government to make such amendments to the Municipal Act as shall empower municipal councils to build, or assist in building, elevators, grain warehouses, and mills, within the limits of such municipalities.

"5. That it is the duty of the provincial government to appoint grain

inspectors, whose duties shall be to grade all grain brought into market at central points.

NE.

"6. That this convention is unanimously of opinion that the Hudson Bay Railroad should be constructed with the least possible delay."

Delegates were appointed to present the demands of the farmers to the provincial and Dominion governments. The deputation which waited on the provincial government was assured by Mr. Norquay that it would do all in its power to secure additional railway facilities and that it would introduce legislation to allow aid to be given to grain elevators and warehouses, but he made no reference to the acquisition of public lands. Messrs. Purvis, Mutchmore, and Martin, the delegates who went to Ottawa in February, 1884, to lay the grievances of the Farmers' Union before the Dominion cabinet, received little encouragement there. They were told plainly that no change could be made in the tariff, that the Hudson Bay Railway was not a present necessity, and that the monopoly of the C. P. R. Company would be continued until its main line was completed. These replies were presented to the delegates of the Farmers' Unions who reassembled at Winnipeg on March 5, 1884. In their indignation at the refusal of the Dominion government to grant any relief for their grievances, the members of the convention passed a resolution deprecating further efforts to secure settlers for the province unless some redress were granted. This action alienated the sympathy of many people who had previously supported the union.

When the delegates of the Farmers' Union were in Ottawa, Mr. Norquay was there, urging upon the Dominion the oft-repeated claims of Manitoba. As has been stated before, the federal ministers were not disposed to make further concessions of much practical value; and when the premier submitted their replies to the legislature in April, both sides of the house concurred in a resolution which demanded for Manitoba all the rights and privileges which had been retained by the older provinces when they were confederated. The cabinet ministers and the speaker of the house were appointed as delegates to make another presentation of the claims of the province, and their instructions were set forth in the following resolutions:

"1. To urge the rights of the Province to the control, management, and sale of the public lands within its limits, for the public uses thereof, and of the mines, minerals, wood and timber thereon, or an equivalent therefor, and to receive from the Dominion Government payment for the lands already disposed of by them within the province, less the costs of survey and measurement.

"2. The management of the lands set apart for education in this Province, with a view to capitalize the sum realized from sales, and apply the interest accruing therefrom to supplement the annual grant of the Legislature in aid of education.

"3. The adjustment of the capital account of the Province, decennially according to population—the number to be computed now at 150,000 souls, and to be allowed until it corresponds to the amount allowed the Province of Ontario on that account.

"4. The right of the province to charter lines of railway from any one point to another within the Province, except so far as the same has been limited by its Legislature in the Extension Act of 1881.

"5. That the grant of 80 cents a head be not limited to a population of 400,000 souls, but that the same be allowed the Province until the maximum on which the said grant is allowed to the Province of Ontario be reached.

"6. The granting to the Province extended railway facilities—notably the energetic prosecution of the Manitoba South-Western, the Souris and Rocky Mountain, and the Manitoba & North-Western Railways.

"7. To call the attention of the Government to the prejudicial effect of the tariff on the Province of Manitoba.

"8. Extension of boundaries."

The legislature reassembled in May to hear the answers of the Dominion government. It declined to give the province its public lands, etc., but would continue the grant of \$45,000 a year in lieu of them; it would transfer to the province all swamp lands reclaimed by the province, and it would set apart 150,000 acres of agricultural land for an endowment of the provincial university. It declined to surrender the management of the school lands, declined to extend the boundaries, and saw no sufficient reason to make special concessions to Manitoba in regard to the tariff. It offered increases in the provincial subsidies amounting to \$208,000 a year and pointed to the large amounts spent in grants to the C. P. Railway and for investigating the navigability of Hudson Bay as evidence of its desire to give the province better transportation facilities. These concessions were valuable, but they were coupled with a proviso that they must be accepted as a complete settlement of the claims urged by the delegates. That proviso was fatal to their acceptance, and the house unanimously decided not to accept them on that condition.

January of 1885 found Messrs. Norquay and Murray at Ottawa, renewing negotiations with the Dominion government. As a result of their visit the government submitted a more generous offer in final settlement of the demands of Manitoba. It included an annual grant of \$100,000 in lieu of the public lands, a capital account based on a population of 125,000, a per capita grant of 80 cents based on a population of 150,000, the transfer of the swamp lands, and a grant of 150,000 acres of land for the university. The per capita grant would be subject to readjustment at frequent intervals. The school lands would be held in trust by the Dominion government, but would be sold at such times and at such upset prices as the provincial government might recommend. The railway monopoly would be maintained until the main line of the Canadian Pacific was completed north of Lake Superior, although lines across the international boundary might not be objected to after 1886.

When the assembly met in March, Mr. Norquay moved that the terms offered by the federal government be accepted. There was a long debate, but the motion was finally carried by a vote of 17 to 9. While the house was in session a vigorous agitation against the terms offered by the Dominion was kept up in the country. Early in March the Reform Association and the Farmers' Union had held meetings in Winnipeg, and both had adopted resolutions in opposition to the settlement which Mr. Norquay proposed to make. The Farmers' Union had telegraphed a protest to the governor-general, and it subsequently sent a petition and a statement of the claims of the province to the Queen. Throughout the country there was a growing conviction that the



provincial government had surrendered the most important rights of the province—the right to her public lands and the right to charter local railways—in return for a somewhat paltry increase in her annual subsidy. Before the close of the session of the legislature Mr. Greenway moved a vote of want of confidence in the government, but prorogation took place before the house voted on the motion. Among the measures passed during the session were the Railway Aid Act, which allowed the government to advance 5 per cent. provincial bonds at the rate of one dollar per acre on any lands granted to railways and thus aid companies to secure capital for railway construction, and an Act to Aid the Construction of the Winnipeg & Hudson Bay Railway.

The railway situation was the subject of much discussion in the legislature during the session of 1886, and it was made more acrimonious by the fact that orders in council passed at Ottawa had disallowed the charters granted to the Emerson & North-Western Railway and the Manitoba Central Railway. The watchword of the opposition was found in a resolution moved by Mr. Greenway, "That the Dominion Government be requested to make arrangements with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to obtain an absolute and unconditional surrender of all rights and privileges in the matter of monopoly, and thus secure to Manitoba, and the future North-West Provinces, similar powers to those enjoyed by the other Provinces of Confédération in respect to the chartering of lines of railway." The government's amendment, which was adopted, was, "That the Government of Canada be asked to make such arrangement when the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway is completed and open for traffic through its whole length, and that in the meantime companies desiring to construct railways should avail themselves of the provisions of existing railway acts, i. e., the Railway Act of Manitoba and an Act to Encourage the Building of Railways in Manitoba." During the session the Hudson Bay Railway Act was amended so that more assistance could be given to that railway by the government, and before the year ended some forty miles of this road had been graded and laid with rails. An act for a redistribution of seats in the legislature had been passed during the session, making the total number of constituencies in the province thirty-five. A general election in December resulted in the return of twenty-one members supporting Mr. Norquay, but all candidates had pledged themselves to oppose disallowance of provincial railway charters.

When the legislature met in April, 1887, the speech from the throne indicated the determination of the government to take decisive steps towards freeing the province from railway monopoly. One was to build a government road from Winnipeg to West Lynne on the international boundary, and the other was to appeal to the imperial government against the continued disallowance of provincial railway charters by the Dominion. A bill to incorporate the Winnipeg & Southern Railway Company was introduced at once, and a few days later Mr. Norquay introduced a bill to authorize the construction of the Red River Valley Railway. This was to be a government road, open to any company that wished to take advantage of it. While the bill was under consideration President Stephen of the C. P. R. Company wrote to Mr. Norquay, threatening to withdraw his company's shops from Winnipeg, if attempts to divert the traffic of the west southward to American lines were continued; but this threat only made the people and the legislature more determined than ever to free the



VIEW OF MAIN STREET, WINNIPEG, LOOKING NORTH FROM THE OLD POST OFFICE



MAIN STREET, WINNIPEG, LOOKING SOUTH FROM THE CITY HALL



province from the monopoly which bound her. The Red River Valley Act was passed, and the bills incorporating the Manitoba Central Railway and the Emerson & North-Western Railway were re-enacted. In 1885 the legislature had passed the Public Works Act, and as more than two years had elapsed without its disallowance, it could not be disallowed by the Dominion. The provincial legislature, therefore, passed an amendment to it, providing that injunction proceedings should not apply as a hindrance to the progress of government works, and the Red River Valley Railway was proclaimed a public work within the meaning of the act of 1885. But the amending act and all the railway acts passed during the session were promptly disallowed.

The first sod of the provincial railway was turned by Hon. Mr. Norquay on July 2, 1887, and a few days later a contract for the construction of the road was let to Harris & Haney, who agreed to complete it by September 1st. But the C. P. R. Company was determined to prevent this invasion of the special privilege so carefully secured for it by the Dominion government. It constructed a spur track from one of its branches across the line of the Red River Valley road, and one injunction after another was issued to restrain the contractors from continuing the work on the Manitoba government's railway. The construction of the road went forward, nevertheless, until in September Sir John Thompson, minister of justice, asked the courts to grant an injunction against the road on the ground that it was being built across Dominion lands without the consent of the government. The application came before Judge Killam, who granted the injunction on the ground that neither the province nor the contractors had any right to build a railroad over these lands. This checked the work for a time. But other causes had combined to stop it. The provincial treasury was empty, and the efforts of Mr. Norquay and Mr. Lariviere to raise more money had failed. An empty treasury, the relentless hostility of such a powerful corporation as the C. P. R. Company, and the adverse influence of its ally, the Dominion government, deterred capitalists from advancing money to build the Red River Valley road. Mr. Norquay then tried to dispose of \$300,000 of provincial bonds to finance the road, hoping that local men would take them up, but in this he was disappointed. However a contract for the completion of the road was let, the contractor binding himself to finish it by June 1, 1888, "unless prevented from so doing by legal or military force."

In the midst of his struggles against these adverse circumstances, fate dealt Mr. Norquay its hardest blow and ended his political career. Some maintained that his downfall was the result of his own mistakes, others claimed that it was brought about through treachery on the part of some of his colleagues or on the part of ministers in the Dominion cabinet. On November 28 one of the members of the legislature, who had supported Mr. Norquay up to that time, presented a petition to the lieutenant-governor, in which he charged the premier and other members of the government with mal-administration of the affairs of the province and breach of faith with the legislature, inasmuch as they had transferred large amounts of government bonds to aid companies to build the Red River Valley and the Hudson Bay Railways without receiving any security therefor and had let contracts which had never been authorized by the legislature. Messrs. Norquay and Lariviere attempted to straighten out the tangled affairs of the government, but did not succeed; and when a caucus of the

members of the legislature, who had previously supported them, was held on December 22, the two ministers announced that they would hand their resignations to the lieutenant-governor. Dr. D. H. Harrison was asked to form a new cabinet, which was composed of Hon. Dr. Harrison, premier, provincial treasurer, and minister of agriculture; Hon. D. H. Wilson, M.D., minister of public works; Hon. C. E. Hamilton, attorney-general; and Hon. Joseph Burke, provincial secretary. The life of this ministry was limited to twenty-four days. The legislature met on January 12, 1888, and it was soon apparent that the new cabinet would not receive the support of a majority of the members large enough to enable it to carry on the government. On January 19 Dr. Harrison and his colleagues resigned, and the lieutenant-governor called upon Mr. Thomas Greenway to form a ministry.

The new cabinet included Hon. Thomas Greenway, premier and commissioner of agriculture and immigration; Hon. Joseph Martin, attorney-general and commissioner of railways; Hon. James A. Smart, commissioner of public works; Hon. L. M. Jones, provincial treasurer; and Hon. James R. P. Prendergast, provincial secretary. Two of the new ministers were returned by acclamation; the others received good majorities; and a by-election in North Dufferin, made necessary by the resignation of Dr. Wilson, resulted in the election of Mr. R. P. Roblin, a strong supporter of the new government. The people looked to Mr. Greenway as the leader most likely to put an end to disallowance; and when the legislature, which met on March 1, adjourned immediately until April 16 to allow Messrs. Greenway and Martin an opportunity to go to Ottawa for a conference with the Macdonald government on the subject of railways, the two ministers felt that they were backed by united and determined public opinion. Even the conservatives of the province supported the ministers in their demand for provincial rights. The Conservative Association of Winnipeg sent a resolution to Ottawa, declaring that "the time has passed when mere personal or political friendship, or party sentiment, can cover or smother the real state of public feeling in Manitoba and the North-West in respect to the power (assumed or otherwise), exercised by the governor-general in council, of disallowing railway charters granted by the legislature of this province. We declare that we will not submit to struggle any longer under the burden that is crushing the country to death; we therefore demand the discontinuance of disallowance and that this province be placed in the same position in regard to railways as are all the other provinces forming the Dominion of Canada." The resolution concluded by asking all members of the senate and the house of commons representing western constituencies to vote against disallowance. Sympathy with the province was growing in all parts of Canada, and many friends of the Dominion government had warned it that Manitoba should not be deprived of her rights any longer. In view of the strength of public opinion, Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues were ready to capitulate.

The C. P. R. Company had less reason than ever before to demand a continuation of its special privilege, for its financial position had greatly improved. In 1884, when it could raise no more money by the sale of its stock or its bonds, it had to apply to the Dominion government for a loan of \$22,500,000, giving a mortgage on all its property as security; and a year later it had to seek



HON. THOMAS GREENWAY



another loan from the government. But in that year it completed its main line to the Pacific, and had many miles of branch lines in operation; in the next year its contract with the government was fully completed; and in 1887 the directors were able to report that its indebtedness to the government had been met. To secure capital for a further extension of its lines it then asked the government to guarantee the interest on \$15,000,000 of its five per cent. bonds for fifty years, taking a lien on 15,000,000 acres of unsold lands as security, and the government consented, provided the company would forego its monopoly. It held out for ten years' extension of the monopoly clause, but in the face of public opinion and some government pressure, it finally agreed to surrender it. When Mr. Greenway and Mr. Martin met the legislature in April, they were able to announce that disallowance in Manitoba and the North-West had ceased. Thenceforward the construction of branch lines of railway was comparatively easy.

The new government found the finances of the province in a deplorable condition; but confidence in its resources was soon re-established, and \$1,500,000 of its bonds were sold on good terms. A part of the money thus obtained was to be used in the completion of the Red River Valley Railway as a government road, in accordance with an act of the legislature passed during the session of 1888. The C. P. R. Company then offered to lease its Emerson branch to the government, provided the Red River Valley line were abandoned, threatening to cease building branch lines in the province, if the government continued the construction. Mr. Greenway persisted, however, and the people showed their approbation in the general elections of July 11th by returning thirty-eight government supporters against five opposition members. In August the new legislature was summoned to ratify a bargain by which the Northern Pacific Railway Company acquired the Red River Valley road. The agreement provided for the construction of a branch line from Morris to Brandon. About the same time the government's policy towards the Hudson Bay Railway was modified, and the aid offered was greatly reduced. These changes in its railway policy cost the government the support of the *Free Press*.

The C. P. R. Company did not cease its efforts to hamper the construction of competing lines. When an attempt was made to build a line from Winnipeg to Portage la Prairie across a branch line belonging to the C. P. R. Company, a force of men employed by the latter and directed by some of its officials, opposed the crossing. The provincial government ordered its men to proceed with their work and sent a number of special constables to protect them. Excitement ran high, and a serious clash at "Fort Whyte" seemed imminent; but injunctions restrained the government work until the matter was settled by the courts.

In January, 1889, the legislature ratified a new bargain with the Northern Pacific Company, which saved the province \$73,000 a year, and another modification was made in the terms offered to the Hudson Bay Railway Company. Mr. Norquay criticized the government severely for its variable railway policy, and this was one of his last acts in parliament. Before the next session this man, who in seventeen years of public life had shown himself one of Manitoba's ablest sons, passed away. He died on July 5, 1889, at the age of forty-five years.





## CHAPTER XLIII

### THE SCHOOL QUESTION

Manitoba's long contest with the Dominion government over the disallowance of railway charters ended in a victory for the province; but the Dominion soon made what most people regarded as another attack on the rights of the province, and the battle was renewed in another field. The position taken by the government of Manitoba in the long controversy over the "School Question" will be understood better, if it is remembered that the "Remedial Bill," which the Dominion government introduced into the House of Commons, was regarded as an attempt to override the right of the province to make laws for the management of its public schools.

(The Act to Establish a System of Education in the Province, passed in 1871, had never been satisfactory to all the people.) The newspapers of the day pointed out some of its weaknesses when the bill was enacted, and its defects became more apparent as the years went by. When Mr. Davis became premier in 1874, he promised an amendment to the act which would make it more satisfactory; but while this removed one or two minor defects, the most serious ones remained, and dissatisfaction continued to grow. It was claimed that many of the schools were inefficient, that a large number of teachers were poorly qualified, that the machinery of administration was defective, and that the government grants were not fairly distributed. The dissatisfaction of one section of the community found an expression as early as 1876 in a resolution adopted by the Protestant section of the Board of Education on October 4th. The resolution asked that a school act be drafted which would embody the following principles:

- "1. The establishment of a purely non-sectarian system of public schools. ✓
- "2. The appointment of one or more inspectors for said schools.
- "3. The compulsory use of English text-books in all public schools.
- "4. All public schools subject to the same rules and regulations.
- "5. The establishment, as soon as practicable, of a training school for teachers.

- "6. The examining, grading, and licensing of all public school teachers by one board of examiners and subject to the same rules and regulations.

- "7. The abolition of the Board of Education in its present sectional character and the appointment of a new board without sections. ✓

- "8. The division of the school monies amongst public schools as follows:—A percentage to be divided equally among all schools, a percentage to be divided according to the average attendance, and the remainder to be placed

at the disposal of the Board of Education to be used as they see fit in the interests of education.

“9. Provisions for taking a poll whenever the same may be required.”

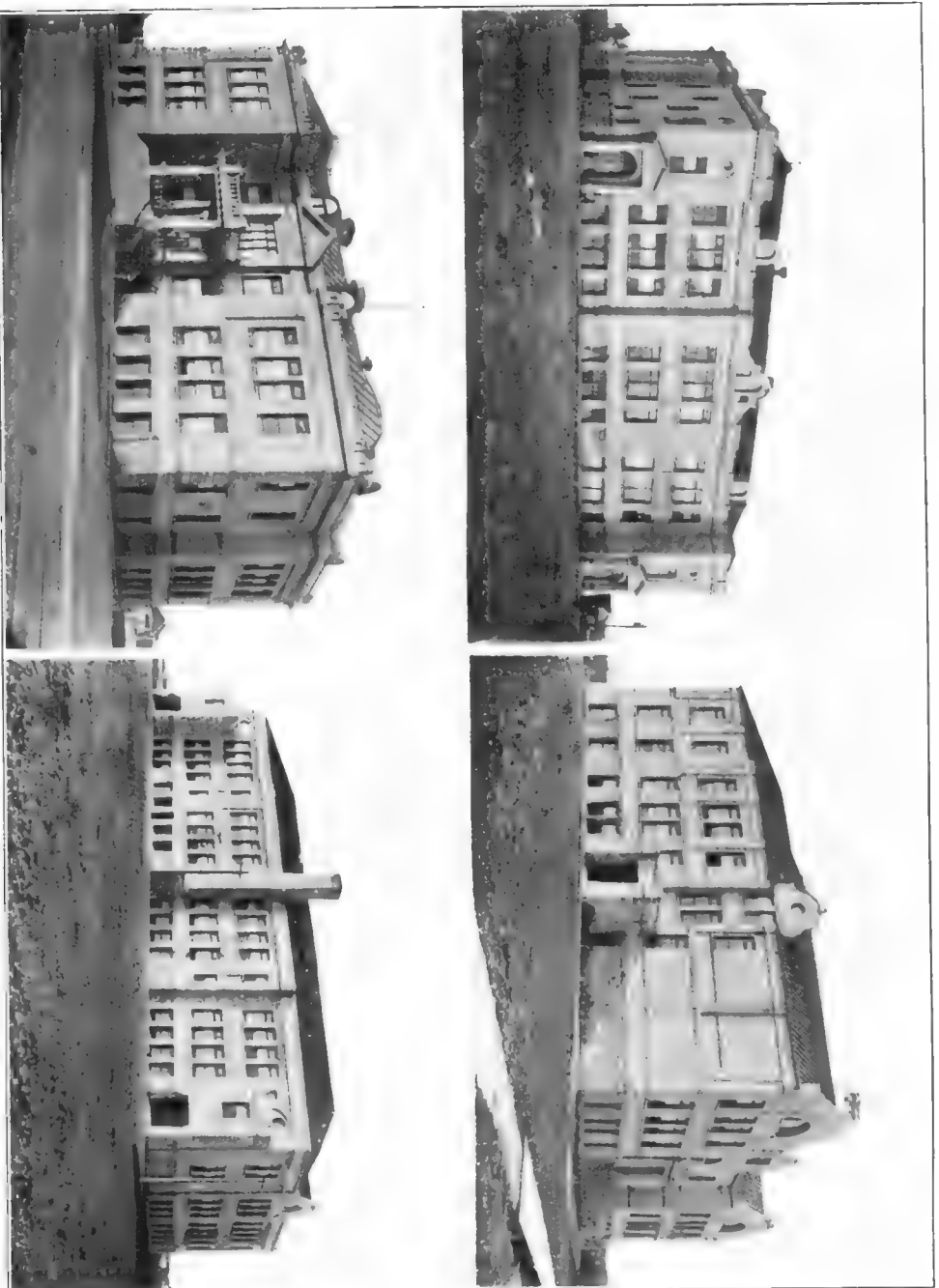
✓ The government of the day did not make the changes asked for, nor were many of them made during Mr. Norquay's premiership, although there is reason to believe that his own convictions were in favor of most of them; but soon after Mr. Greenway came into power it became known that the government intended to make radical changes in the school law of the province. At a public reception tendered to Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, M. P., at Portage la Prairie during the month of August, 1889, Hon. Joseph Martin intimated plainly some of the changes contemplated by the government, and a similar announcement was made by Hon. Mr. Smart at Clearwater about the same time. The changes suggested by the provincial ministers were in line with those which public opinion had demanded for several years.

✓ In 1890 the act of 1871 was repealed and replaced by two new laws. One of these created a Department of Education and an Advisory Board. The Department of Education consisted of the members of the Executive Council, or cabinet, and one of them acted as the head of the department. It was charged with the administration of educational affairs in general. The Advisory Board consisted of seven members, four being appointed by the Department of Education, two being chosen by the public school teachers of the province, and one being appointed by the University Council. It determined courses of study for the schools, authorized text-books, fixed the requirements for teachers, and decided what religious exercises should be held in the schools. The other law, known as the Public Schools Act, practically abolished the Protestant and Roman Catholic schools, which had existed previously, and made all the public schools of the province unsectarian national schools, subject to the same regulations, using the same text-books, and conducted by teachers having the same qualifications. It provided that these schools should be free for children between the ages of six and sixteen years, fixed the government grants for their support, and determined the sums to be collected by each municipality for the maintenance of the schools within its boundaries.

★ Ac The Public Schools Act caused much dissatisfaction among the Roman Catholic people of the province; and their dissatisfaction was greatest in Winnipeg where, previous to the passing of the act, there were a number of Roman Catholic schools, supported by taxes collected by the city and by legislative grants, as were the other city schools. The Roman Catholics of the city determined to continue their schools as Catholic schools instead of transforming them into public schools; and as no government grants could be paid and no municipal taxes levied for their support, the expense of their maintenance had to be met by subscriptions. At the same time the Roman Catholics had to pay taxes for the support of the public schools as other property-holders did. They claimed that this was unjust and that the legislature had no power to pass the Public Schools Act, inasmuch as it deprived them of certain rights and privileges guaranteed them by subsection 1 of section 22 of the Manitoba Act. The whole section is as follows:

“22. In and for the Province, the said Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provision:

“(1) Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privi-



SOME WINNIPEG SCHOOLS



lege with respect to Denominational Schools which any class of persons have by law or practice in the Province at the Union.

“(2) An appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any act or decision of the Legislature of the Province, or any provincial authority, affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education.

“(3) In case any such provincial law as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council or any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper provincial authority in that behalf, then, and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section, and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section.”

To test the matter two cases were taken into the courts. Of these the case of Barrett vs. the City of Winnipeg is most frequently mentioned. This case was appealed and again appealed until it came before the judicial committee of the privy council, which decided that the legislature of Manitoba had full power to pass the Public Schools Act and that the act did not prejudicially affect any right or privilege which the Roman Catholics had at the time the country was federated with Canada.

But subsection 2 of section 22 of the Manitoba Act seems a little wider in its application than the preceding subsection, and the Roman Catholics believed that it gave them the right to appeal to the governor-general in council against the school legislation of the province. Accordingly they sent a memorial and appeal to him in November, 1892. It was arranged to refer the question of their right to make such an appeal to the supreme court of Canada, and its five judges decided by a majority of three to two that the Roman Catholics did not have the right. An appeal from this decision was made to the privy council in 1894, and on the 29th of January, 1895, the judicial committee of that body reversed the decision of the supreme court, declared that the Roman Catholics of Manitoba had been deprived of certain rights in regard to education conferred on them after the union with Canada, and established their right to appeal to the governor-general in council for redress, although it did not assume to point out the method by which such redress could be secured.

The appeal of the Roman Catholics was brought before the governor-general in council for consideration on February 26, 1895, and was discussed for several days. The result of the deliberations was a remedial order, passed on March 19th, which required the government of Manitoba to modify the school act of 1890 so as to restore the right to maintain Roman Catholic schools in the manner provided for in the act repealed in 1890, the right to share proportionately in any grant made out of the public funds for the purposes of education, and the right of Roman Catholics to be exempted from the payment of taxes levied for the support of other schools than their own.

In May Mr. Greenway and Mr. Sifton went to Ottawa to confer with the Dominion authorities in regard to this peremptory order, but no agreement was reached; and in June the legislature met to hear and endorse the reply which the provincial government wished to make to the remedial order. This reply

did not refuse to enact the remedial legislation demanded, but it pointed out the reasons for the changes made in 1890, showed that the old and unsatisfactory conditions would be re-established by carrying out the remedial order, deprecated all haste in such an important matter, and urged that a thorough investigation should be made by the Dominion government. It offered all possible assistance in making an investigation into the whole matter. But the rejoinder of the Dominion government, received in July, practically refused an investigation and repeated in less peremptory tones the original order. It also embodied a statement, made in parliament by Hon. G. E. Foster, that if the Manitoba government failed to make an arrangement fairly satisfactory to the Catholic minority, the Dominion parliament would be summoned not later than January, 1896, to enact whatever legislation might be deemed necessary to afford that minority a measure of relief.

Late in the year the provincial government made its reply to this repeated order, urging the arguments previously made against such a reversal of its educational policy as that contemplated in the order, again inviting the federal authorities to investigate conditions in Manitoba, offering to listen to any well-founded grievance, and suggesting that any remedial legislation should originate with the provincial government and legislature. The next step of the Dominion government was to appoint Sir Donald A. Smith, Hon. Mr. Dickey, and Senator Desjardins as commissioners to arrange some compromise with the provincial government. The legislature had been dissolved in January, 1896, and Mr. Greenway's government had appealed to the people on its school policy with the result that thirty-three of the forty provincial constituencies returned members pledged to support it. With this evidence that the people of the province were behind him and his ministers, Mr. Greenway met the commissioners sent to Winnipeg by the Ottawa government. No agreement was reached, although some of the proposals made by the Dominion commissioners, as well as some of the counter-proposals made by the provincial ministers, were incorporated in the settlement made a year later. The remedial bill, which had been introduced into the house of commons, was the great obstacle in the way of an agreement, the provincial authorities contending that it should be withdrawn as a preliminary to any settlement and the commissioners promising that it would be withdrawn after an agreement had been signed. The Manitoba government was standing by the right of the province to legislate in regard to its schools.

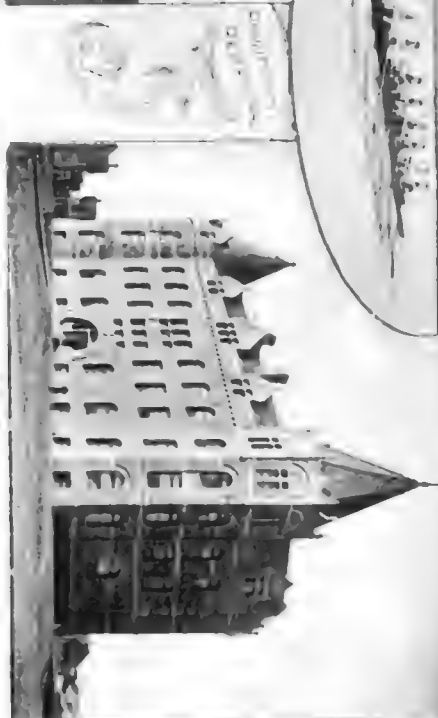
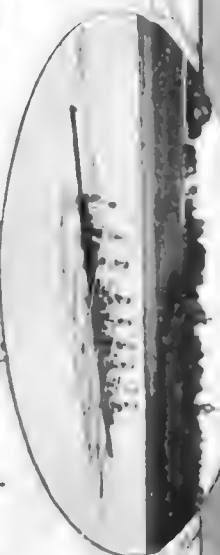
The attitude of the Dominion government on this question stirred up a political storm in parliament and throughout the country, which has hardly been equalled in the history of Canada. In Manitoba the contemplated action of the Ottawa government was regarded as another invasion of the rights of the province, and it roused indignation as strong as that caused by disallowance, while the rest of Canada showed Manitoba far more sympathy than she had ever received in her struggle against railway monopoly. There were elements in this controversy which had no place in the earlier contest. All the influence of the Roman Catholic church was exerted in favor of remedial legislation, and the demands made by the French and the Roman Catholics were regarded by people of other races and other creeds as demands for special privileges and were resented accordingly. The Orangemen and members of the Equal Rights



MANITOBA COLLEGE.



MANITOBA UNIVERSITY



SOME OF THE COLLEGES, WINNIPEG





Association took an active part in the agitation, and party lines were often obliterated as people ranged themselves in opposing ranks over remedial legislation.

If Sir John Thompson, broad-minded and judicious, had been premier of Canada, the storm in parliament might have been averted; but he had passed away on December 12, 1894, and his successor, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, did not have the complete confidence of his colleagues in the cabinet and his followers in the houses of parliament. As the agitation increased, one by-election after another resulted in the return of a member opposed to the premier's policy of remedial legislation. Then some of his ministers refused to follow his lead and resigned. Sir Charles Tupper, Canadian High Commissioner in London, came into the cabinet to help the premier pilot the party through the storm; but it was too late. Just before parliament met, seven of the ministers resigned their portfolios and were able to prevent Sir Mackenzie Bowell from forming a new cabinet. A kind of truce was finally arranged by which he was to retain the premiership until the end of the session and then surrender it to Sir Charles Tupper.

The remedial bill was introduced into the house of commons on February 11 and came up for a second reading on March 3. Its opponents led by Hon. Joseph Martin, who had become a member of the Dominion house, Hon. N. Clarke Wallace, and others, kept up an unceasing fight against it for six weeks; and in spite of the best efforts of Sir Charles Tupper, who had assumed the leadership of the commons, the bill could not be passed. April 16 had come, parliament had only another week to live, and it was absolutely necessary to vote appropriations for the public service; so the government was forced to abandon the bill. Parliament was prorogued on April 23, and having reorganized his cabinet, Sir Charles Tupper appealed to the country. The general elections, resulted in such an overwhelming defeat that no Dominion government would dare attempt remedial legislation against Manitoba.

Soon after the Laurier government came into office, negotiations with the Manitoba authorities were renewed and an agreement was reached. It was embodied in an amendment to the Public Schools Act, which was adopted by the provincial legislature in March, 1897, and came into force on August 1st. The amendment aimed to maintain the national and non-sectarian character of the schools until half-past three o'clock in the afternoon and to permit religious exercises and sectarian teaching after that hour, if parents desired it. This teaching was to be given only when authorized by a resolution of a majority of the school trustees of the district acting on a petition signed by at least ten parents or guardians in rural districts and by at least twenty-five parents or guardians in villages, towns, or cities. It might be given by a clergyman whose field included the school district, by some one approved by him, or by the teacher of the school. If the pupils of the school represented more than one religious denomination and the school building had but one room, the children of each sect would have the room in turn for religious teaching during the last half hour of the day, but if there were more than one room, the children might be divided according to religious denominations and each denomination sent to a room as far as possible. No pupil was to be required to remain after half past three o'clock for religious instruction or religious exercises, if his parent did not wish it;

and pupils were not to be segregated according to the sectarian difference of their parents for any of the secular studies pursued before half past three o'clock. In any town where the average attendance of Roman Catholic children in the school was forty or over, or in villages and rural districts where it was twenty-five or over, the trustees were required, on a petition from parents or guardians, to appoint a Roman Catholic teacher. In districts where Roman Catholics were in a majority, non-Catholic parents might secure the appointment of a non-Catholic teacher under similar conditions. If ten pupils in any school spoke French, or any language other than English, as their native tongue, the teaching of such pupils was to be conducted in French, or such other language, and English upon the bilingual system.

Such, in brief, was the amendment to the Public Schools Act, passed as a settlement of the question which had stirred the whole Dominion so deeply. It did not give the Roman Catholics of Manitoba all that they had asked, but it allowed them to bring their schools under the law as public schools, while retaining the privilege of giving a certain amount of religious instruction. It allowed a certain amount of teaching in languages other than English in districts where other languages were spoken, and it permitted the appointment of a number of Roman Catholic teachers in districts where any considerable number of Roman Catholic families resided. Some changes have been made since the amendment was passed, but it still determines the general lines on which the schools of Manitoba are conducted at present.

In nearly all parts of the province, except Winnipeg, the Roman Catholics took advantage of the amended act, and their schools became public schools. As public schools they are supported by government grants and taxes collected by the municipalities in which the school districts are situated. In Winnipeg, however, the Roman Catholic schools have not been brought under the school law and made public schools. The Roman Catholic citizens have sought again and again to have their schools taken over by the public school board, on condition that Roman Catholic children be segregated and taught by Roman Catholic teachers. As the law distinctly prohibits such segregation, the school board could not make the desired arrangement, and so the Roman Catholic people have continued their schools, supporting them by subscriptions.

The clause of the amendment, which permits bilingual teaching, has had results, which may not have been foreseen when the amendment was adopted. Full advantage of it was taken in districts where the majority of people speak French; districts in which German is the prevailing language soon followed the lead of the French communities; and the Polish and Ruthenian settlers were not slow in demanding bilingual teaching in many of the schools which their children attend. The total number of districts having public schools in operation during the year ending June 30, 1912, was 1,436, and they employed 2,369 teachers. Of the schools 125 were French-English, 43 were German-English, and 65 Ruthenian-English or Polish-English.

## CHAPTER XLIV

### A SETTLEMENT OF MANITOBA'S DEMANDS

Although the Dominion government had insisted that the settlement of Manitoba's claims which was made in 1885 should be accepted as a final settlement, the people of the province were determined that no adjustment of her claims would be considered final, unless it placed her on the same footing as her sister provinces. Both political parties agreed on that point. When Mr. Greenway became premier, his first task was to free the province from the burden of railway monopoly laid upon her by the disallowance policy of the Ottawa government; and very soon after this battle had been won, his government found itself in a contest with that of the Dominion over the school question, **and not long after this struggle had ended in a partial victory for the province, the Greenway government went out of office.**

During Mr. Greenway's premiership the long-standing matters of dispute between the federal and provincial governments—better financial terms for the province, an extension of her boundaries, and the right to control her natural resources, such as public lands, timber, mines, and fisheries—were kept in the background but were not forgotten. In 1895 the legislature had asked for a more prompt transfer of the swamp lands to which the province was entitled, and four years later it asked that the school lands be handed over to the province; but no serious attempt to secure a readjustment of the more important matters seems to have been made. The Greenway government went into power pledged to economy, and under its management the income of the province seemed fairly adequate to its needs. In 1885 the total amount which the province received from the Dominion was \$225,194, but in consequence of the terms accepted that year it rose to \$435,860 in 1886. Increased population led to small increases in the per capita grant now and then, and in 1897 the total grant was \$470,335. In the following year there was an increase due to a readjustment of the capital account of the province, and in that year the total Dominion subsidy was \$483,887.

In 1899 Mr. Greenway's government was wrecked on the same rock which had wrecked the Norquay government in 1887—provincial aid to railways. The provincial election of December, 1899, gave a majority of the seats in the legislature to the opposition. Finding that they no longer possessed the confidence of a majority of the members of the legislature, Mr. Greenway and his colleagues resigned on January 6, 1900, and the lieutenant-governor called upon Mr. Hugh J. Macdonald to form a new ministry. It consisted of Hon. H. J. Macdonald, premier president of the council, and attorney-general; Hon. J. A. Davidson, provincial treasurer, and minister of agriculture and immigration;

Hon. D. H. McFadden, minister of public works, and municipal commissioner; and Hon. Colin H. Campbell and Hon. James Johnson, ministers without portfolios. The legislature met early in the year, and a prohibitory law was one of the measures passed during the session. Before the end of the year, however, Mr. Macdonald was induced to resign the premiership in order to contest the Dominion constituency of Brandon, and Hon. R. P. Roblin became premier, and president of the council, while Hon. Colin H. Campbell became attorney-general. At the end of 1900 there was another change, Hon. Mr. Roblin assuming the portfolio of agriculture; Hon. Robert Rogers becoming minister of public works, while Hon. Mr. McFadden took the provincial secretary's portfolio.

The matter of an enlargement of the province was brought up in the legislature during the session of 1901 on the motion of Messrs. Burrows and Myers. It was a matter on which both parties in the house agreed; so the resolutions were adopted unanimously, and the memorial suggested was ordered to be sent to the federal government. The resolutions showed that, while Manitoba was smaller than most of the other provinces, she had organized a government complete enough to govern a much larger territory; that the character, resources, and needs of the country immediately west of Manitoba were almost identical with those of the province; and that in the interest of economical administration a part of that territory might well be added to Manitoba. The memorial asked that additional territory be given to the province on the west and that it be extended on the north to Hudson Bay.

In 1902 another resolution in regard to the matter was adopted by the legislature without a dissenting voice. The preamble recited the more important facts in the struggle for an extension of the provincial boundaries; pointed to the great stretch of country on the west, similar in character to Manitoba; showed the rapid growth of the province and the need of greater area; and referred to the completeness of her political, commercial, and social organizations. The resolution affirmed that, in the interest of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, the boundaries of the province should be extended so as to include parts of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan as far north as Hudson Bay. The members of the cabinet, together with Messrs. Greenway, Burrows, and Mickle, were appointed a committee to make all necessary inquiries and to interview the ministers of the Dominion and North-West governments in regard to the matter. If the resolution reached the Ottawa government, it does not seem to have elicited any response; but a conference with the government of the North-West Territories brought a prompt and decided reply from that body. It was expected that one or more provinces would soon be organized in the territories, and the people there were not willing to lessen the importance of these provinces and enhance that of Manitoba by ceding to her a portion of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan.

When it became known that two new prairie provinces would be formed in 1905, the legislature of Manitoba renewed its application for increased area. The Dominion government asked for a conference on the matter, and Hon. Mr. Campbell and Hon. Mr. Rogers went to Ottawa to press the claims of the province. After considerable discussion Mr. Laurier asked the provincial ministers to wait a few days for the reply of his government to Manitoba's demand. In the interval he introduced into parliament the bills creating the new prov-



NORMAL SCHOOL, ST. BONIFACE



GREY NUNS' ORPHANAGE, ST. BONIFACE



inces of Saskatchewan and Alberta, and the terms of the bills made it plain that the boundaries of Manitoba would not be extended on the west. Mr. Laurier's remarks in introducing these Autonomy Acts also made it plain that some of the other provinces would be considered in granting Manitoba an extension northward. He said:

"But, sir, there is another demand of the province of Manitoba which, I think, is entitled to fair consideration. Manitoba has asked to have her territory extended to the shores of Hudson Bay, and this is a prayer which seems to me entitled to a fair hearing. But the province of Manitoba is not the only one whose territory could be extended to the shores of Hudson Bay. The province of Ontario would have the same right; the province of Quebec would also have the right; and the new province of Saskatchewan would have an equal right to have her territory extended to the shores of Hudson Bay. Therefore, in the project we have to present to the house to-day, instead of including in the province of Saskatchewan that portion of territory lying north of Lake Winnipegosis and Lake Manitoba, we propose to leave that outside to be included neither in Saskatchewan nor in Manitoba, but to be dealt with at some future day. And I may say at once that I have the authority of my colleagues to make the announcement that we propose to invite the province of Ontario, the province of Quebec, the province of Manitoba, and the province of Saskatchewan to meet us here to decide whether or not it is advisable that the limits of any of these provinces be extended to the shores of Hudson Bay, and, if so, in what manner it should be done."

These remarks were made by Premier Laurier on February 21, and two days later Messrs. Campbell and Rogers wrote to him, urging the justness of Manitoba's claim for an extension westward, reiterating the request for an extension northward to the bay, and affirming that Ontario and Quebec should have no voice in the disposal of the District of Keewatin, which had been attached to the government of Manitoba for many years.

Ontario's government was quick to take the hint conveyed in Mr. Laurier's remarks and, following its traditional policy, to claim the lion's share of any new territory which Manitoba might naturally expect to receive. On March 2 Premier Whitney wrote Mr. Laurier that, if Keewatin were to be divided, Ontario would claim a part of it; and when the Ontario legislature met on the 21st of the month, the speech from the throne intimated that the Dominion government would be likely to consider Ontario's demand favorably.

On the same day, March 21, 1905, the Dominion government's reply to Manitoba was drafted. After reciting the answers of the federal government to previous demands for the extension of her boundaries, it stated that extension westward could not be entertained, inasmuch as it would meet with disfavor among the people residing in the district concerned and would not be in the interest of the country as a whole. It admitted that the demand for extension northward was not unreasonable and suggested that it might be considered after the measure for establishing the new provinces had been disposed of; and it intimated that the governments of Ontario and Saskatchewan would be invited to take part in a discussion of the proposed extension. The reply of the government of Manitoba, dated April 1, repeated many reasons why the province should receive all the additional territory asked for and denied the right of



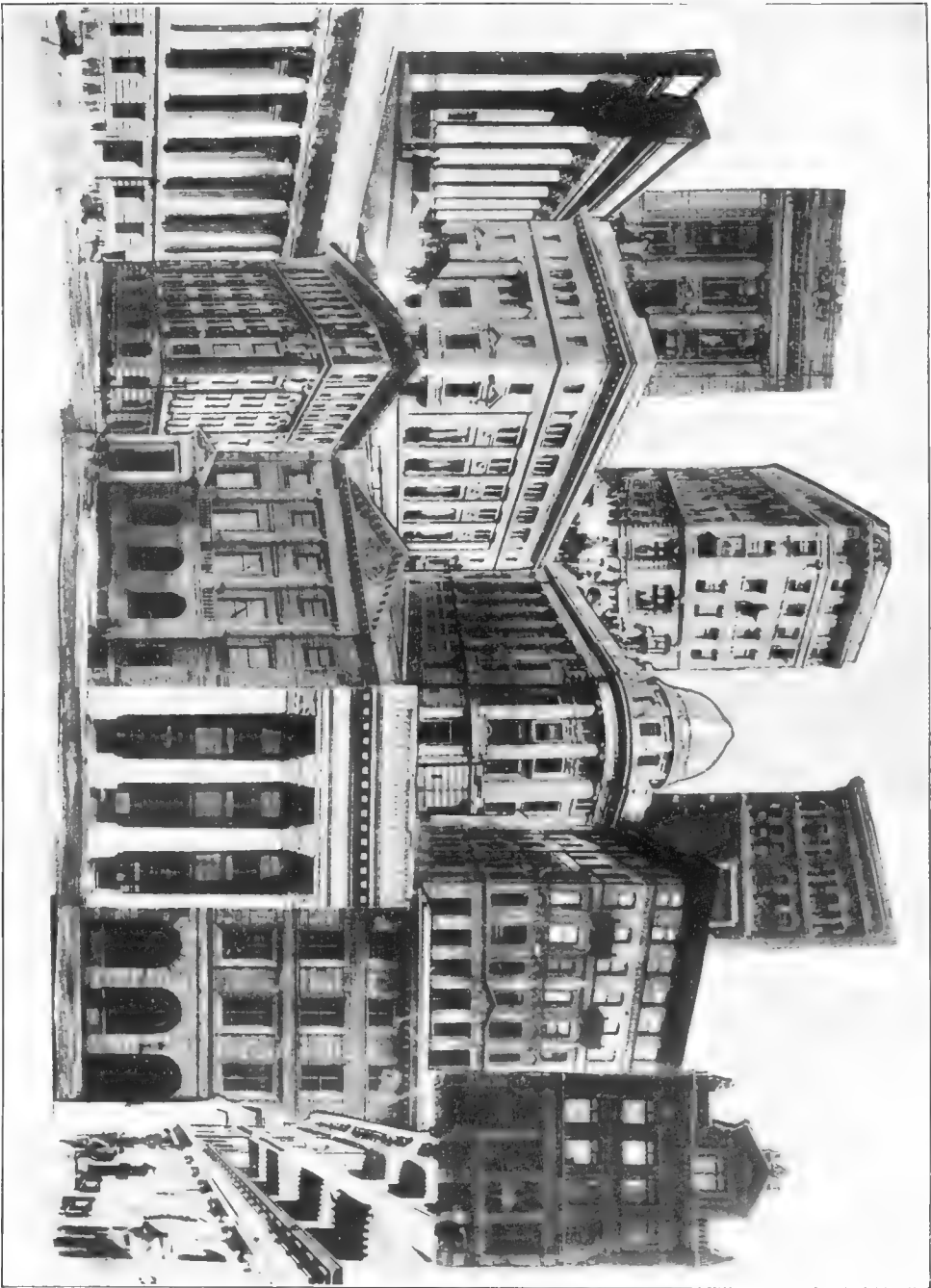
Ontario to be a party in any negotiations in connection with it. The act which created the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan out of the North-West Territories received the assent of the governor-general on July 20, 1905, and four days later a proclamation was issued, which detached Keewatin from any connection with Manitoba and added it to the remaining North-West Territory. In September, 1906, the Manitoba government again presented its claims for increased area, and later in the year, some of its members, together with representatives of Saskatchewan and Ontario, met several of the Dominion ministers to discuss the question of extension; but the discussion does not appear to have any practical results.

It was found that the subsidies, which the Dominion was giving to Alberta and Saskatchewan, were far more liberal than any which Manitoba had ever been able to secure, and so early in 1908 the oldest of the three provinces renewed the fight which had been carried on for more than a generation. Premier Roblin introduced a memorial into the legislature on January 15, which reviewed the history of the struggle for an extension of the boundaries of the province and gave a long list of reasons why the extension should be made. The accompanying petition asked for all that part of Keewatin which lies between the eastern boundary of Saskatchewan and the meridian passing through the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi and extends from the northern boundary of Manitoba and the boundary of Ontario as fixed by the privy council in 1884 as far north as the 60th parallel of latitude. It also asked for an increase in subsidies which would put the province on an equality with Alberta and Saskatchewan. The amounts suggested were: \$405,375 as interest on capital account, \$93,750 in lieu of public lands, and a per capita grant of \$375,000 until the population of the province reached 400,000, then of \$562,500 until the population reached 800,000, then of \$750,000 until the population became 1,200,000, and after that a grant of \$1,125,000.

Later in the year Mr. Roblin and Mr. Rogers went to Ottawa in connection with this petition, and on July 8 Mr. Laurier introduced a resolution into the commons that embodied the concessions which his government was willing to grant to Manitoba. A part of the resolution read:

“Be it resolved that it is expedient that the said petition should be acceded to and that upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed to by the said legislative assembly and by parliament the boundaries of Manitoba may be extended as follows: the northern boundary to be the 60th parallel of latitude, the western boundary to be the present eastern boundary of Saskatchewan to the said 60th parallel; the eastern boundary to be the present eastern boundary as far as the northeast corner of the province, thence in a straight line to the point where the 89th meridian of west longitude intersects the shore line of Hudson Bay.

“And be it further resolved: That whereas, notwithstanding the extension above described, the ungranted lands of the crown in the territory so to be added to the said province will still continue to be administered by the government of Canada for the purposes of the Dominion and the said province will not have the public lands as a source of revenue; it is just and equitable to recognize the increased cost of civil government which such extension of territory will occasion to the province, and in view of the premises to make to the said prov-



WINNIPEG BANK BUILDINGS



ince an increased allowance by money payment, the amount of which should be the subject of negotiations between the government of Canada and the government of Manitoba."

This resolution was adopted by the house of commons on July 13, 1908. Mr. Roblin objected to giving Ontario a part of the district north of Lac Seul and the Albany River, and then negotiations were dropped until the following March. On March 12 Messrs. Rogers and C. H. Campbell had a conference with Mr. Laurier and Mr. Fielding. The Dominion premier offered the province the additional territory specified in the resolution quoted above, and after some consideration the provincial ministers decided to accept it. They then asked that the province be given financial terms as good as those granted to Saskatchewan and Alberta, or else that it be put on the same footing as Ontario and Quebec as regards public lands, minerals, and timber; but the conference adjourned without a decision on these matters. Late in December Mr. Laurier suggested another conference, but Mr. Roblin's reply, dated January 8, 1910, intimated that the province would accept either alternative suggested during the preceding March, and this offer was subsequently endorsed by the legislature.

The matter stood thus for a year, but on March 17, 1911, the governor-general in council passed a minute approving of the extension proposed in 1909, and offering some increase in the subsidies paid to Manitoba. When the matter came before the provincial legislature, it was pointed out that the total grant offered would be little more than half that received by Alberta or by Saskatchewan, and on motion of Mr. Roblin and Mr. Winkler the offer was declined, and the request for an equitable grant or the ownership of the natural resources of the province was repeated. In April the Dominion made a supplementary offer of a considerable area of swamp lands, and this might have been accepted if the Dominion elections had not intervened.

The elections resulted in the defeat of the Laurier government, and soon after Mr. Borden became premier of Canada, Mr. Roblin had a conference with him in regard to Manitoba's claims, and a settlement was reached. On November 21 Mr. Roblin was able to say, "Manitoba comes into her own after forty years of struggle and effort to secure equality in the Confederation of Canada. Her claims are recognized, and she steps forward into line with her sisters in the Dominion. The boundaries remain as fixed by Sir Wilfred Laurier and accepted by Manitoba; but the subsidy, the indemnity for public domain, and other financial matters are all to be readjusted on a basis to give us equality with Saskatchewan and Alberta."

On April 1, 1912, the legislature of the province passed an Act to Provide for the Further Extension of the Province of Manitoba; and this act, which received the assent of the lieutenant-governor and came into force on April 6, formally endorses the agreement made with the Dominion. The clause of the act, which defines the present boundaries of the province, is as follows:

"The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba hereby consents that the limits of the Province be increased so that the boundaries of this province shall be as follows: Commencing where the 60th parallel of north latitude intersects the western shore of Hudson Bay; thence westerly along the said parallel of latitude to the northeast corner of the Province of Saskatchewan; thence southerly along

the easterly boundary of the Province of Saskatchewan to the international boundary dividing Canada from the United States; thence easterly along the said international boundary to the point where the said international boundary turns due north; thence due north along the said international boundary to the most northerly point thereof at or near the Northwest Angle of the Lake of the Woods; thence continuing due north along the westerly boundary of the Province of Ontario, by virtue of the Canada (Ontario Boundary) Act, 1889, Chapter 28 of the statutes of 1889 of the United Kingdom (the said westerly boundary being the easterly boundary of the Province of Manitoba), to the most northerly point of the said boundary common to the two Provinces under the said act; thence continuing due north along the same meridian to the intersection thereof with the centre of the road allowance on the twelfth base line of the system of Dominion land surveys; thence northeasterly in a right line to the most eastern point of Island Lake, as shown in approximate latitude  $53^{\circ} 30'$  and longitude  $93^{\circ} 40'$  on the railway map of the Dominion of Canada published on the scale of thirty-five miles to the inch, in the year one thousand nine hundred and eight, by the authority of the Minister of the Interior; thence northeasterly in a right line to the point where the eighty-ninth meridian of west longitude intersects the southern shore of Hudson Bay; thence westerly and northerly, following the shores of the said bay to the place of commencement; and all land embraced by the said description, not now within the province, shall, from and after the commencement of this act, be added thereto, and the whole shall, from and after the said commencement, form and be the Province of Manitoba."

The act provides that the new territory shall be subject to the laws of Manitoba and those of the Dominion, as if it had been a part of the original province. By this extension of its boundaries the province gained about 100,000,000 acres in area and 6,016 in population. The crown lands, mines, minerals, timber, waterpowers, etc., in the added territory remained in the hands of the Dominion government, and the unsold swamp lands, acquired by the province under an old arrangement, reverted to the Dominion.

The capital account of the province is fixed at \$8,107,500 less \$457,816.15 withdrawn in various ways; and on the balance the Dominion pays the province five per cent. per annum. The grant in lieu of lands is graduated, being \$562,500 per year until the population reaches 800,000, then \$750,000 until the population reaches 1,200,000, and after that it is to be \$125,000. These payments are reduced by \$15,000 each year, the interest on the estimated value of the land grant made to the university of Manitoba, and by a further sum as interest on the estimated value of the swamp lands which the province had sold before the settlement was effected. The province is also to receive a further sum of \$201,723.57 in lieu of public lands, and this is to be used in the erection of public buildings. This grant is made in consequence of similar grants to Alberta and Saskatchewan. These financial adjustments are assumed to have come into force on July 1, 1908, and the Dominion will pay the province the differences between the sums which it would have received under the new terms during the intervening four years and the sums it actually received. It is estimated that these arrears amount to a little more than \$2,000,000.

## CHAPTER XLV

### IMMIGRATION

In spite of Manitoba's isolation for two centuries after white men first reached her broad prairies, her history was influenced in many ways by the policies of the nations of Europe. The early exploration of the country was accelerated by the old enmity between Britain and France, and the competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the French fur companies was made keener by the desire for national aggrandizement. The hostility of centuries often showed itself in open war, and on more than one occasion the war was transferred to the shores of Hudson Bay, where forts were captured and recaptured by the belligerent powers. Even after the French had surrendered the whole country to the English, some of the old hostility survived to add bitterness to the struggle between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company and to form an obscure element in the causes of the Metis rebellion. The Selkirk settlers might never have come to Manitoba, if Britain had not taken a part in the Napoleonic wars; and many subsequent migrations of settlers from European countries have been prompted by a desire to escape adverse conditions at home as much as by a desire to profit by the fertility of Manitoba's plains and the riches of her woods and waters. The internal policies of Russia and Austria, economic conditions in Germany and Scandinavia, and disasters wrought by the forces of nature in Iceland have all helped in bringing settlers to Manitoba.

Up to the time of the transfer of the Red River Settlement to Canada the increase in its population had been steady but somewhat slow. The Riel insurrection, which appeared such a disaster in itself, seems to have given an impetus to immigration by drawing attention to Manitoba and its resources; and the volunteers in Wolseley's Red River Expedition were the best immigration agents the province could have had. Many of them decided to make their homes in the country when their term of service expired, and their reports about its advantages brought many settlers from eastern Canada to share in the development and progress of the new province.

The movement of settlers from eastern Canada to Manitoba was impeded for many years by lack of transportation facilities. Two routes were open to them, but both presented serious difficulties. One took them across the Great Lakes and over the Dawson Route; the other took them through the United States to the farthest point in Minnesota reached by rail and then down the Red River in flatboats or steamers. The movement of settlers from Ontario to Manitoba began in 1871. In April of that year an advance party of eight left their homes, travelled by rail to St. Cloud, Minnesota, went thence by

wagons to Fort Abercrombie on the Red River, built a flatboat there, and when the stream was clear of ice, made their way to Winnipeg. Large numbers of Ontario people followed as soon as summer came, and by August the hotels of the little town of Winnipeg could not accommodate half the new arrivals. It became necessary to fit up a shed in the rear of Bannatyne & Begg's store as an immigration hall, and there the wives and children were sheltered while husbands and fathers were selecting their farms. In October Mr. J. A. N. Provencher came to Winnipeg as immigration agent, and the information and advice, which he was able to give, were very helpful to the new settlers. Through the efforts of Premier Clarke and Consul Taylor, the government of the United States relaxed some of its customs regulations, making it easier for settlers to bring their effects through that country. The movement of people from Ontario continued in 1872, many of them taking up land west of Portage la Prairie.

A few years later several thousands of settlers found their way to southern Manitoba as a result of a change in the policy of the Russian government towards certain classes of its subjects. In 1786 Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia, invited members of the religious sect known as Mennonites to leave their homes in Prussia and settle along the lower course of the Dnieper River, offering them free transportation, free lands, freedom of religion, and exemption from military service. Many accepted the offer, and several hundred families had settled in the district before the empress died in 1796. Fearing a loss of their privileges, these people induced her successor, Paul I, to confirm them by a charter, still preserved at Chortitz. The concessions thus secured encouraged more of the Mennonite brethren to migrate to southern Russia, and a new settlement was formed along the Molotchna River near the Sea of Azov, and about 1860 a third settlement was established in the Crimea. Other German people followed the Mennonites, and by 1870 Germans formed a large element in the population of southern Russia. Nearly all these people were farmers, and their industry and thrift had made them the most prosperous people in the country.

Their success roused the envy of other people living in that part of the Russian empire and led to a demand for the cancellation of the special privileges enjoyed by the Mennonites; and about 1870 a treaty was made between Russia and Germany, by which the latter renounced her guardianship over the German inhabitants of southern Russia. The Russian government then required the Mennonites to become full Russian citizens, allowing those who were unwilling to do so ten years in which to dispose of their property and find homes elsewhere. The order spread consternation among the Mennonites. If they remained, they were liable for service in the army—a thing forbidden by the rules of their religion—their children would be educated in the Russian schools, and certain valuable privileges would be withdrawn; and if they went elsewhere, they could hardly hope to dispose of their property except at a great loss. Appeals to St. Petersburg failed to move the government, and while some of the Mennonites decided to conform to the new order of things, the more conservative among them felt that they must migrate to some country where they could live in conformity with the tenets of their religion. They therefore sent delegates to various parts of the world, looking for a country in which soil and climate were somewhat similar to those of southern Russia and where military service would not be compulsory.



MANITOBA AGRICULTURAL SCENES





As the Mennonites seemed to be people almost certain to succeed as new settlers on the prairies of the west, both the United States and Canada made efforts to secure them. In 1872 a delegate from one of the Mennonite settlements in Russia visited Manitoba in company with Mr. Jacob Y. Shantz, a prominent member of one of the Mennonite churches of Ontario; and a year later, when Hon. William Hespeler visited the Mennonite colonies in Russia as an agent of the Dominion government, this delegate was able to confirm his accounts of the soil and climate of Manitoba. Mr. Hespeler's most effective work appears to have been done in the villages along the Molotchna, where the Mennonite people were rather more conservative than in other districts. One result of his visit was the appointment of a deputation of twelve men, some representing the Mennonite settlements in Russia and others communities in West Prussia, to visit America and select localities best suited for the people who had decided to emigrate. The names of the delegates were Jacob Buller, Leonard Suderman, William Ewert, Andreas Schrag, Tobias Unruh, Jacob Peters, Heinrich Wiebe, Cornelius Buhr, Cornelius Toews, David Classen, Paul Tschetter, and Lawrence Tschetter; and one of them, Mr. Suderman, has written an account of their trip. These men left their homes early in the spring of 1873 and journeyed, via Berlin, Hamburg, and Liverpool, to New York. There they separated, some to inspect one part of the country, some another. Messrs. Buller, Unruh, and Suderman, accompanied by Mr. Hespeler, went to Ontario. Mr. Shantz joined them, and the party then went west to Manitoba by way of Chicago, St. Paul, and Fargo, being joined at Fargo by the other members of the deputation. They spent about three weeks in examining different parts of Manitoba and then went south to examine various districts of the United States.

On their return to Russia the delegates reported that the district about half way between Winnipeg and the international boundary was well adapted for a Mennonite colony, and early in 1874 many people in the settlements along the Molotchna and the Dnieper sold their property and applied for passports to America. Alarmed at the number of people who wished to emigrate, the Russian government offered some concessions in regard to military service to the Mennonites; but while these offers checked the exodus, they did not stop it. In some cases whole villages went away together.

A large percentage of these people came to Manitoba in large or small parties. One party, which had made Toronto their rendezvous, numbered 504 persons when it embarked on the train there. The movement continued all the year, the ships of the Allan line alone bringing 230 families across the sea. The Dominion government had reserved twenty-five townships in Manitoba for the Mennonites, eight being on the east side of the Red River some twenty-five miles south of Winnipeg, the others being on the west side of the river and nearer to the international line. The influx of Mennonite settlers during 1875 was much greater than that of the previous year, but in 1876 the tide slackened, and by the end of that year it had practically ceased. In 1874 the Mennonites coming to Manitoba numbered 1,368, in the next year 4,637 arrived, but in 1876 the number fell to 1,141. In August, 1879, the total Mennonite population of Manitoba was estimated at 7,383.

The Mennonites of Manitoba settled in villages, containing from five to thirty families each. Their houses were built close together along both sides of a wide

street, with gable ends facing this street. Most of them had flower and vegetable gardens attached to the lots on which the houses stood. The farms were located about the village, and were so laid out that the owners shared equally in the poor land as well as the good. A certain amount of land was set apart as a common pasture for the cattle belonging to the inhabitants. Each village had a school, and in the smaller villages it also served as a church; but in the larger villages there was a special building for religious services. Nearly every village had a blacksmith's shop, and the larger villages had mills and stores. The Mennonites were to be exempt from military service, they were given absolute freedom in religious matters, and they were left practically free to carry out their own system of village government.

Many of the Mennonites who came to Canada were very poor, and it was necessary to advance them money to enable them to begin farming on the unbroken prairie. Their co-religionists in Ontario formed a committee, with Mr. J. Y. Shantz at its head, to raise money to be lent to their brethren in Manitoba, and they also gave security for a loan of \$96,000 made by the Dominion government. It is estimated that the total amount of money advanced to the new Mennonite settlers in Manitoba was not less than \$175,000, and it speaks well for the thrift and honesty of these settlers that all those loans were repaid before twenty years had passed. Some of those who settled on the east side of the Red River did not secure very good land, and a few became discouraged and moved away; but practically all of those who remained on their lands prospered, and some of them grew rich.

While the Mennonites of southern Russia were migrating to countries where they would be free to live in conformity with the rules of their religious creed, the inhabitants of the northwestern outpost of European civilization, Iceland, were seeking other lands because nature continued to devastate their own. More than eighty per cent. of the people of the island were raisers of cattle and sheep; but frequent earthquakes and volcanic eruptions had destroyed so much of the pasturage that it became more and more difficult for many of the inhabitants to make a living, and they began to look toward countries where opportunities might be better.

Emigration from Iceland to America began about 1870; but during the next two or three years very few people left the island, and most of these found homes in Wisconsin, although one or two made their way to Ontario. The letters written by these wanderers to their friends and the newspapers of their native land roused a great interest there; and when a meeting of people who had made up their minds to emigrate was held at Akureyri in July, 1872, the majority decided that they would go to Ontario. There were 180 people in the party, and while a few went to Wisconsin, the most of them went to the Muskoka District and took up farms in the bush country. Another party, numbering 365, left Iceland during the summer of 1874. It appears that many of these people had paid their passage money to a Norwegian shipping firm, which failed just before the party left home. After paying for their passage a second time, these people had little money with which to make a start in a new and strange country. Some of them located in Nova Scotia, but the majority went to Ontario and were sent to the neighborhood of Kinmount, where they might obtain employment in building a new line of railway. The contractors suspended work before spring

came, however, and the Icelanders found themselves in a very difficult position. Rev. John Taylor, a clergyman living near them, interested himself in these worthy people and went to Ottawa, hoping to induce the government to adopt a scheme for settling them in Manitoba. Lord Dufferin, the governor-general, seems to have approved of the plan, and finally the government adopted it.

On May 30, 1875, the Icelanders held a meeting at Kinmount and selected delegates to go to Manitoba and find, if possible, a suitable home for them. The delegates were Captain S. Jonasson, Mr. Skafti Arason, Mr. Christian Johnson, and Mr. Einar Jonasson. These men left for the west on July 2, and on the way they were joined by Mr. S. Christopherson, a delegate from the Icelanders living in Wisconsin. They went to Moorhead by rail and thence to Winnipeg by steamer, arriving on July 16. After a careful examination of the country the delegates decided that a district on the west side of Lake Winnipeg would suit their countrymen. Many of them had been cattle-raisers and fishermen at home, and the country immediately west of the lake seemed well adapted for cattle-raising, while the lake itself furnished abundance of fish. The lake and the Red River afforded water communication with Winnipeg, and the site of the settlement would not be far from the proposed Canadian Pacific Railway, which was to cross the river at Selkirk and run northwesterly to the Narrows of Lake Manitoba. Moreover, the district selected had not been occupied by settlers of other nationalities.

Three of the delegates went east to make their report, and the others remained in Manitoba to make preparations for the coming of the new settlers. Late as it was, 250 of the Icelanders in the vicinity of Kinmount decided to move to the shore of Lake Winnipeg before winter set in. They were joined by others on the journey, and when the *International* landed the party in Winnipeg on October 11, it comprised 85 families, numbering 285 souls. Flatboats were secured in Winnipeg, and having loaded their supplies upon them, the immigrants embarked and started for their destination on the 17th. They floated slowly down the Red River, reaching its mouth on the morning of the 21st, and then the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer, the *Colville*, towed them across the lake and landed them near the site of the present town of Gimli just as the sun went down. They had been thirty-two days on the journey from Kinmount. On the way some of them had occupied themselves in making nets, and before darkness fell these nets were set in the lake which was to furnish the people a large part of their living for several years. A long and severe winter set in almost immediately, yet the Icelanders managed to build log houses in which they found shelter; and in a short time the colony became self-supporting. A few of the Icelanders in this first party remained in Winnipeg, the pioneers of several thousands of their countrymen now residing in the city and taking a high place in all departments of its life.

A second party of Icelanders reached Winnipeg on August 11, 1876, having come directly from their native land. Mr. John Dyke, an immigration commissioner of the Canadian government, had aided them in making sailing arrangements; and as many of them were poor, the government had to assist them in making the passage. It also advanced them supplies for a month after their arrival. Most of the members of this party settled among their friends beside Lake Winnipeg.

Before the end of 1876 misfortune overtook the Icelandic colony. Smallpox broke out at Gimli and spread rapidly through the settlement. At that time Gimli lay in the District of Keewatin and north of the Manitoban boundary, and the Dominion government had not appointed a council for the district. As soon as the report of the outbreak of the epidemic reached Ottawa, a council was appointed, and this council and the government of Manitoba took concerted measures to check the spread of the disease. The settlement was quarantined, and a company of soldiers was sent from Winnipeg to points east and west of the mouth of the Red River to enforce the quarantine. Dr. Lynch and others volunteered for service among the afflicted people, and by the end of the year they seemed to have the epidemic well under control. It broke out again, however, and carried off many of the settlers before it was completely stamped out.

The smallpox epidemic does not seem to have retarded Icelandic immigration to any extent. A third party came out in 1878 and settled at Gimli, and each succeeding year added to the Icelandic population of the province. By 1885 they had extended their settlement from the shore of Lake Winnipeg to that of Lake Manitoba, and five years later they reached the Narrows. The movement in a northwesterly direction continued, and in another decade there were Icelandic settlements beside Lakes Dauphin and Winnipegosis and in the valley of the Swan River. All the Icelandic immigrants, however, did not settle in districts where woodland and meadow alternate and where lakes and streams are abundant. Many of them took up land in districts suited for grain-growing and mixed farming. A large number settled in the municipality of Argyle in 1881 and the following years, others located in the municipality of Stanley, and still others near the western boundary of the province. Many found occupation in the towns, especially Winnipeg, Selkirk, Brandon, Baldur, and Glenboro. By the end of the century the total Icelandic population of Manitoba was estimated at 10,000, and natural increase and continued immigration have probably doubled it since. Speaking to the Icelanders during his tour of Manitoba in the summer of 1877, Lord Dufferin said, "I have pledged my official honor to my Canadian brethren that you will succeed;" and they have fully redeemed the governor-general's pledge.

The act, which embodied the policy of the Mackenzie government in regard to the Canadian Pacific Railway, was passed by the house of commons in the spring of 1874. According to it, the main line might be built as a government work or it might be given to contractors. In the latter case, the contractors would receive twenty thousand acres of land per mile as part payment for their work. As a result large areas of public land in Manitoba were held as railway reserves and were not open to immigrants seeking farms. This greatly impeded the progress of the country, but in spite of the protests of the people and their representatives in parliament the Ottawa government did not modify its policy until 1877. Then a change in the law opened railway reserves to actual settlers, although the man who bought these railway lands, as well as the man who had squatted on them previous to their reservation, was left in much uncertainty as to the amount which must ultimately be paid for them.

But in spite of the uncertainty about the location of the national railroad, the restrictions in regard to Dominion lands, and the occasional ravages of grasshoppers, the population of Manitoba grew rapidly. There was a steady influx



A GROUP OF HAMIOTA RESIDENCES



of settlers from the older provinces of Canada as well as from the countries of Europe. Many large parties arrived during 1878, the first reaching Winnipeg by steamer on April 17. In the sixth large party, which arrived in October, there were 480 families. Individual settlers and small groups of immigrants continued to come to the country throughout the summer, and the number of new arrivals in Winnipeg was so far in excess of the accommodation provided for them that it was necessary to use the barracks at Fort Osborne as an annex to the immigration hall. The great demand for land induced several business men of Winnipeg to open real estate offices.

When the conservative party returned to power at Ottawa, the policy of the Dominion government in regard to lands set apart to aid in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was changed once more. By regulations adopted on August 1, 1879, settlers were debarred from taking homesteads and pre-emptions in the belt of country extending for five miles on each side of the main line, although they were allowed to purchase lands in this belt at \$6 per acre. In the more distant belts of the railway reserve, homesteads and pre-emptions might be taken, and the land might be bought outright at much lower rates than were charged for it in the inner belt. There was so much opposition to these rules that they were cancelled in October and replaced by others which permitted settlers to take homesteads and pre-emptions in all parts of the railway reserve; but even after this change, the policy of the government was not conducive to the rapid settlement of the vacant lands of the province.

The completion of the railway from St. Vincent to Winnipeg in the autumn of 1878 tended to offset the somewhat illiberal land policy of the government, and the next year brought a large influx of settlers to Manitoba. The movement from Ontario was larger than ever before, many of the best farmers of the counties of Huron, Bruce, Grey, and Wellington selling their holdings there in order to take up land on the western prairies. Parties arrived at St. Boniface almost daily, and many of their members brought considerable capital. Some of these men took up land in the district east of Winnipeg, others selected farms in southern Manitoba, while many went west to locate somewhere near the main line of the railway. The Hudson's Bay Company placed some of its land in the market on very favorable terms, and yet the number of homesteads and pre-emptions taken during 1879 exceeded that for the two preceding years. Settlement made rapid progress in the two succeeding years, and we are told that in 1881 the total area of the occupied lands of the province was 2,384,337 acres, of which 250,416 acres were cultivated and 230,264 acres were under crop.

In March, 1882, the Dominion government withdrew all even-numbered sections of land within one mile on each side of the Canadian Pacific Railway from pre-emption and homestead entry, and in July all the lands south of the twenty-four mile belt were withdrawn. It was alleged that this was done to prevent speculators from securing large quantities of land along the branch lines which would soon be built; but in the following year legislation was enacted to accomplish this purpose, and then the even-numbered sections south of the railway belt were once more opened to entry for homesteads and pre-emptions. As the railway and its branch lines were extended through the province, the railway company came into possession of great areas of land, much of which it wished to have settled as soon as possible; and so the company became an active immi-



gration agent and helped to increase the tide of immigration setting toward Manitoba.

The rapid increase in the population of the province, and the consequent increase in its capital and the amount of business transacted throughout the country resulted in prosperity unknown before; prosperity led to speculation; and speculation culminated in "the boom" of 1882. A mania for buying and selling real estate seized the people. The prices of lots in the city of Winnipeg were forced up to many times their real value, the prices of lots in the smaller towns were similarly inflated, and farms were subdivided into lots where towns could never be expected to grow. In many cases lots were sold in towns which never existed save on paper. A similar unwarranted inflation pervaded all departments of business. It could not last, and after a few months the crash came. Many men, who dreamed that they had become rich, woke to find themselves ruined. During 1883 and a few of the succeeding years business in Manitoba was at low ebb, and it was a long time before the country recovered from the disastrous effects of "the boom."

About this time the west received from Russia another addition to its population. The Jews in that country were placed under many restrictions, not because of their race but on account of their religion. If a Jew forsook his religion and united with the orthodox national church, all the privileges of full Russian citizenship were open to him; but as long as he adhered to the faith of his forefathers, he was subject to many disabilities. He was obliged to pay taxes, but he could not own land; he was compelled to serve in the army, but he could not obtain an officer's commission in it; he could not hold any government office; he could not enter any of the professions, except that of medicine; he could not reside outside of certain restricted districts. Under such conditions it was difficult for most of the Jews to live in comfort, impossible for them to live in content.

Anxious as they were to move to some country where they would not be so heavily handicapped in the race of life, poverty kept most of the Russian Jews from emigrating. The time came, however, when they received assistance from other countries. Aided with money from the Mansion House Fund, to which Baron Hirsch was a generous contributor, and directed by the London (Eng.) Board of Guardians, quite a large party of Russian Jews came to western Canada in 1882. Most of them were mechanics; and while some of them remained in Winnipeg to enter such callings as were open to men with such limited capital, many went further west and formed an agricultural colony in the neighborhood of Whitewood, Sask. The majority of the people who came in this first large party, those who located in the city as well as those who became farmers, met with success; and since 1882 a steady stream of Jewish people has flowed into the west. The majority of them have come from Russia, all parts of that country being represented, although in recent years the disturbances in the southern provinces have increased the proportion from that part of the empire.

These people receive direction and help from the Jewish Colonization Society, and this organization lends money to those who prove themselves worthy of assistance in that way. As far as possible they are sent to the agricultural colonies, of which there are seven or eight in Saskatchewan and Alberta; but a number of them remain in the cities and towns of Manitoba. The Jewish popu-

lation of Winnipeg received a considerable addition in 1896 because of the persecution of these people in Roumania, and the disturbances in Russia which followed the Russo-Japanese war caused an increased influx from that country. The Jewish population of Winnipeg alone is estimated at more than 12,000, and it has many able representatives in business, the professions, and public life.

It must not be supposed, however, that all of Manitoba's Jewish settlers have located in the cities and towns. There is an agricultural settlement north of Shoal Lake, founded in 1906 and known as Bender Hamlet, in which the houses form a little village while the farms are scattered around it. The people in this colony brought with them the communal system with which they were familiar in Russia. Another colony was established near Pine Ridge, about eighteen miles northeast of Winnipeg, in 1910. Most of the people in it are market-gardeners and dairymen, each man owning his little farm. New Hirsch is another settlement of Jewish farmers, established in the district east of Lake Manitoba during 1910.

Hoping to relieve the distress among the Crofters in some parts of the western highlands of Scotland, Lady Cathcart and other benevolent persons devised a plan for settling them on farms in southern Manitoba and other parts of western Canada. The first party was sent out in 1883, and another followed in 1884. Substantial aid in cash, stock, and implements was given to them; but the conditions in a newly settled prairie country were so strange to these people that they made little progress for a long time. Some of them ultimately attained success, but many failed utterly.

It is probable that the success of Scandinavian settlers in Minnesota and Dakota led some of their friends at home to emigrate to Manitoba. As a rule the Swedish people have not come to the province in large parties, nor have they settled in colonies, although there are a few exceptions. About 1884 quite a large party of Swedes arrived in Winnipeg, and soon after, acting on the advice of some of their fellow-countrymen, they formed an agricultural colony about twenty miles north of Minnedosa. A similar colony was established on Swan River thirty years later; but most of the Swedish farmers settle in districts inhabited by people of other nationalities.

The collapse of the land "boom" of 1882 and the succession of poor crops which followed seriously retarded immigration to Manitoba for some time, but in 1886 conditions began to improve. The Dominion government made another modification in its land regulations during the year, allowing more freedom in making entries for homesteads, giving more time in which to commence cultivation and erect a dwelling, and facilitating the issue of patents. The privilege of taking second homesteads was withdrawn, and pre-emptions were to be discontinued after 1890. On July 1, 1886, the completion of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway from Montreal to Vancouver was marked by the arrival of the first transcontinental train in Winnipeg. The completion of the road north of the Great Lakes made it much easier for both Canadian and European settlers to reach the west. The census of 1886 gave Manitoba a population of 108,640. The area of land occupied was 4,171,224 acres, 751,571 acres being under cultivation.

On September 15, 1898, two Russian families arrived in Winnipeg and reported themselves to the immigration commissioner, Mr. W. F. McCreary.

They proved to be the scouts of an army of immigrants, the precursors of a movement without parallel in the history of the Canadian west. They belonged to the religious sect called Doukhobors, and had come to Manitoba, seeking suitable districts for colonies of their co-religionists, whose peculiar tenets had brought them into such serious and long-continued conflict with the authorities of the Russian government that they had decided to migrate to some other country. The two Russian families were accompanied by Mr. Aylmer Maude and Prince Hilkoﬀ, and the immigration officers had been instructed to give them all possible assistance in securing information about Manitoba and the Territories. They made a thorough examination of the parts of the country in which considerable areas of land were open for homesteading, and finally selected two districts in which to establish Doukhobor settlements. One lay entirely in the present province of Saskatchewan; the other was in the Thunder Hills district near the upper aﬄuents of the Assiniboine and Swan Rivers, partly in Saskatchewan and partly in Manitoba.

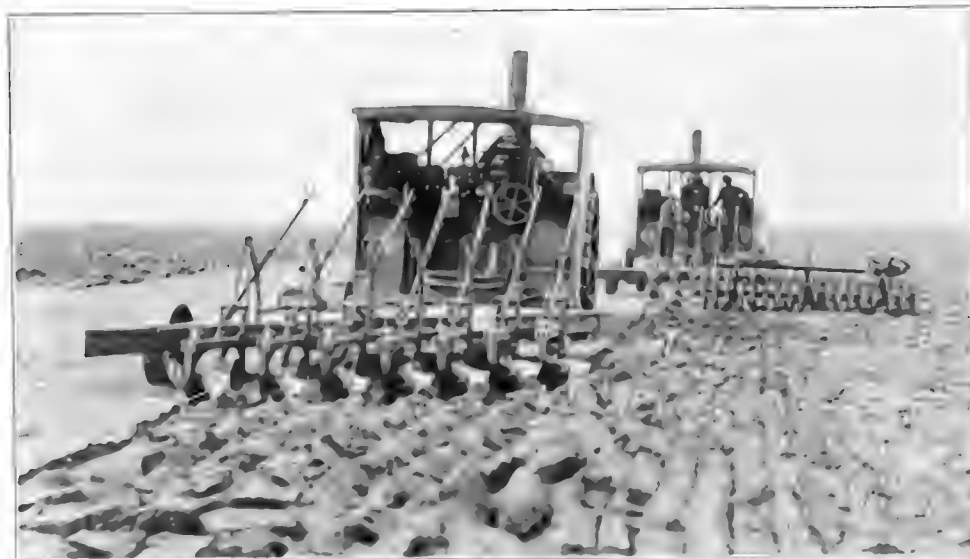
In a few weeks a remarkable migration began. The Doukhobors came by thousands, apparently without regard to the season of the year, the possibility of getting on their reserves, or the chance of obtaining employment or even shelter. The first party, which reached Winnipeg on January 27, 1899, included 2,076 persons. They were housed in the immigration hall, an old building which had once been a school, and other available places. Although there seemed to be no more shelter for these people, 1,973 arrived in February, 1,036 came in May, and 2,335 in the early part of July. The first two parties had come via Hamburg, but the third took ship at the Island of Cyprus and sailed directly to Canada. The people in it brought tents with them, and the government was not required to find shelter for them; but for the members of the last party no place could be found in Winnipeg, and they had to be sheltered in the old round-house of the Canadian Pacific Railway at East Selkirk. The total number of Doukhobors who came to Winnipeg during the year was 7,427.

The Doukhobors were an agricultural people, but as soon as they arrived in Manitoba both men and women accepted any employment which could be secured. Some of the men were sent forward to their reserves, and, under the direction of experienced axemen provided by the government, they erected houses for the rest of the immigrants. These houses were built of logs and roofed with sods, while the walls were plastered with clay both inside and outside. Most of them were heated with the Russian stove. As fast as the cabins were completed the people were moved to their reserves, and the earlier arrivals had time to dig up and plant small patches of their farms. Practically all of the Doukhobors who took up land settled in villages, and while some applied for individual homesteads, the great majority adopted the communal system which they had known in Russia. In the settlement near the Thunder Hills, which was known as the "North Colony," there were 13 villages, containing 151 houses and an aggregate population of about 1500. A few hundreds of Doukhobors located in other parts of Manitoba.

From a material standpoint most of these peculiar people were successful, but few of them proved desirable settlers. The strange religious pilgrimages in which the more fanatical sometimes indulged, their intractability, their unwillingness to become Canadian citizens and to fulfill all their homestead duties,



BREAKING THE PRAIRIE



THE SAME TASK, AS ACCOMPLISHED WITH MOTOR TRACTORS



and their determination not to conform to some Canadian laws gave constant trouble to the authorities and made the Doukhobors a menace to good order in the community. Many of them left their lands and went elsewhere, but they have proved troublesome settlers wherever they have located. The experiment of transplanting thousands of a peculiar religious sect and placing them in isolated colonies in a new country is interesting to the student of sociology and history, but it is safe to say that the government will not repeat it.

The last decade of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of another migration of Slavonic people to Manitoba. These immigrants came from the provinces of Galicia and Bukowina, which lie beyond the Carpathian Mountains and form the northeast corner of the Austrian Empire. Most of them were peasant farmers, who wished to improve their circumstances by moving to a country where they could secure cheap land. Many of them brought a little money with them, and these usually took up land at once; the others found employment for a time in the towns, on railways under construction, or in the woods, but in most cases their ultimate purpose was to become owners of farms. These people began to come to Manitoba about 1896, some obtaining land at once, others accepting any employment offered to them. In the next year a small colony was established in the neighborhood of Yorkton, Saskatchewan, and in 1898 another party arrived and settled in Manitoba. The success of these pioneers of Ruthenian emigration so encouraged their friends at home that in 1899 about 3,500 of them came out and settled in the province. They arrived rather late in the season, but most of them who took up land were able to raise some potatoes and other roots, and very few of them required assistance from the government. About 3,000 of these people came to Manitoba in 1900, and each year since has brought a larger or smaller addition to the Ruthenian population.

As the Ruthenians reached Manitoba after all the government land on the open prairie had been taken up, they were obliged to look in the less desirable districts for homesteads and land which could be bought at a low price. For this reason most of them are living in the rougher, wooded areas bordering on the open prairie. They are found along the eastern side of the province in the districts drained by the Brokenhead and Whitemouth Rivers; they live in the district lying north of the older Icelandic settlements between Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba; they have settled around Lake Dauphin and on the slopes of the Riding Mountains; they have farms in the neighborhood of Shoal Lake and Russell; and they have several settlements near Sifton, Ethelbert, and other places in the country lying west of Lake Winnipegosis.

Coming during the same period as the Galicians, other Slavonic immigrants have helped to swell the population of Manitoba. Quite a large number of Bohemians, who migrated from their own country to Galicia years ago, have moved from it to this province. Several thousand Polish people, seeking a country where their energy would have a wider field, have settled in Manitoba. The majority of both Bohemian and Polish immigrants are anxious to become land-owners, and they have naturally located in the districts settled by their race-relatives, the Galicians. While the majority of these Slavic people have gone on the land, a considerable number live in the cities and towns, and the Slavic population of Winnipeg must number several thousands.

Many German people have settled in Manitoba, but they have seldom come from their native country in large parties. Some of them locate in the towns, but most of them become farmers, and many have taken up land in the districts occupied by Ruthenians. The number of immigrants coming from France has not been so large as might be expected. For the most part they have settled in parts of the country previously occupied by French-speaking people, although a few new districts have been largely settled by them. Considering the very dense population of Belgium, Manitoba has received few settlers from that country. The Belgians generally settle among the French people of the province. The population of Manitoba includes several thousand Italians, although few of them have become agriculturists. They seldom have the means to begin farming when they reach the country, but they are very industrious and economical and soon achieve success in other occupations.

It must not be inferred that these foreign immigrants were the only settlers who came to Manitoba during the past twenty-five years. The number of English-speaking settlers has generally exceeded that of the foreign immigrants. Each succeeding year has brought thousands of them from Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces, from Great Britain and Ireland, and from the United States. They have changed the untilled prairies to well-kept, fruitful farms, built the towns of the province, developed her industries, moulded her institutions, and guided her progress; and her future destiny is in their hands.

## CHAPTER XLVI

### THE INCREASE OF TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES

The trade routes of a country and the sites of its cities are generally determined by nature rather than by the deliberate plans of its inhabitants. This has been true in Manitoba. Long before the Indians came to the country, routes of travel and trade had been marked for them by the forces of nature. The Red River, Lake Winnipeg, and the Nelson River afforded a line of communication between the broad valley of the Mississippi on the south and the great sea on the north; the intersecting waterways on the east gave access to the Great Lakes; while the Assiniboine, the bifurcated Saskatchewan, and the Churchill Rivers led across the great plains to the distant western mountains. Primarily these were canoe routes, and some of them have remained such for the Indians; but even after the natives had obtained horses, the trails to the south and west followed the old canoe routes. When the white man came, he adopted the lines of travel and the methods of transportation which his red brother had found best suited to the conditions prevailing in the country. When he introduced new means of transportation, he adhered closely to the old routes. The canoe might be superseded by the York boat, and the York boat by the river steamer, but the newer craft followed the old courses on river and lake. The pack-horse gave place to the Red River cart and the dog-train, but they followed the old trails across the plains to the south and west and through the forests of the north and east.

Even the first railways, which came after long waiting, followed the old routes laid out by nature centuries before engineers and surveyors appeared with chain and level. Manitoba's first railway ran along the Red River to the south; the second followed the old canoe route to Lake Superior somewhat closely; and its westward extension followed the Assiniboine. The next road ran to the southwest, giving access to some of the districts formerly reached by canoes on the Souris River or by ponies following the trails along its valley. Years passed, and two railways have been built to take the place of the canoes, boats, and trains of Red River carts which once traversed the long leagues between Fort Garry and the Upper Saskatchewan. One railway is being constructed, and others are planned, to follow in a general way the old water routes to Hudson Bay. Port Nelson and Churchill, so long the objective points of canoes, York boats, and dogsleds, laden with peltries, will soon be terminals of railways, over which trains will carry the golden grain of the prairie to the sea.

An outline of the early history of the Canadian Pacific Railway has been given in Chapter XLII. The Pembina branch was planned by the Mackenzie government in 1874 as a link to connect Winnipeg with the railroads of Minnesota; but several years passed before it was completed. The first spike in the



road was driven on September 29, 1877, the last on December 3, 1878, and six days later the first train to pass over the road arrived in St. Boniface, which was the terminus of the line until the Louise bridge across the Red River was completed. As other parts of the eastern division were completed by the government they were taken over by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and in the meantime it was pushing forward the construction of its main line to the west and a branch line to the southwest. By 1881 it had completed 163 miles of the road west of Winnipeg, and that city had railway communication with Rat Portage on the east and Brandon on the west, as well as St. Vincent on the south. By the end of 1882 the western line had been extended to a point 586 miles beyond Winnipeg; 100 miles of the Pembina Branch had been built and 65 miles were in operation; 13 miles of the Gretna Branch had been constructed; and the company had acquired and was operating the Stonewall Branch, 22 miles in length.

By the close of another year 956 miles of the main line west of Winnipeg had been completed, and Manitoba had railway communication with the eastern border of British Columbia, as well as three of the North-West Territories. During the same year the main line east of Winnipeg was completed to Port Arthur, and this made Manitoba's long isolation from eastern Canada a thing of the past.

Before the end of 1885 the Manitoba South-Western Branch had been completed for a distance of 120 miles. The Manitoba & North-Western Railway, a semi-independent line running northwesterly from Portage la Prairie and serving a very productive district, was begun in 1883, and by the end of 1885 130 miles of the road were in operation, and it was giving railway facilities to an important part of the province which was not served by the Canadian Pacific Railway. In five years more the North-Western was extended to Yorkton in Saskatchewan. Both of these new roads drew land grants of 6,400 acres per mile from the Dominion government and became important factors in the settlement of the unoccupied lands of the province. The Souris Branch of the C. P. R. was extended considerably during the year 1890, and the Glenboro and Melita Branches were completed. In the following year the Souris Branch was pushed forward 82 miles, and in 1892 an extension of 47 miles carried the line to Estevan. During the same year 18 miles of railway between Deloraine and Napinka were built, and 32 miles were constructed on the Pipestone Branch.

In the past twenty years the C. P. R. Company has extended its lines widely in the newer provinces, but it has not neglected Manitoba. In 1900 it acquired the Manitoba and North-Western and the North-West Central. Both lines were soon extended and made integral parts of the C. P. R. system in the west. In taking over these lines the C. P. R. Company acquired their land grants, a total of 1,396,800 acres. In the same year it made provision for building the lines from Waskada to Snowflake, from MacGregor to Varcoe, from Molson to Lac du Bonnet, and the line from Selkirk to the western shore of Lake Winnipeg. These lines have been constructed, older branches have been extended, and new branches have been built in various parts of the province. The Lac du Bonnet branch added 66 miles and the MacGregor-Varcoe line 55 miles to the railways of Manitoba. The Stonewall branch has been extended to Arborg, 56 miles; the West Selkirk line now reaches to Gimli; a branch has been built from Lauder to Tilston, 28 miles; 41 miles of road have been constructed between



UNION STATION, WINNIPEG



UNION BANK BUILDING, WINNIPEG (LEFT); CITY HALL (RIGHT)



Forrest and Lenore; and the main line has been extended directly from Molson to Winnipeg to avoid the detour to East Selkirk. A few miles of the line connecting Reston with Wolseley and a small part of the Kirkella Extension are in Manitoba.

Every new line of railway within Manitoba, which affords additional facilities for marketing her products and bringing to her people the imports they must use, becomes a factor in the development of the province. But, as Manitoba is situated in the middle of the continent and, until recently, has been shut off from the sea, every railroad connecting the province with the rest of the continent may be essential to her progress. For similar reasons the deepening of the St. Lawrence canals, the construction of new locks at Sault Ste. Marie, and the extension of the season of navigation on the Great Lakes are all matters in which the people of Manitoba have a vital interest. Thus the establishment of a steamship service by the C. P. R. Company was an event of importance for Manitoba. This department of the company's business was first organized in 1882, when it purchased three steamships—the Alberta, Athabasca, and Algoma—and placed them on the Great Lakes to do a part of the carrying trade of the west. In 1886, one year after its main western line was completed, the company placed three ships on the Pacific; and a few years later it established a steamship service on the Atlantic. The development of this department of its business has kept pace with the increase in its railway traffic, and it now employs more than twenty steamers in its ocean service, while more than forty of its vessels are plying on the lakes and rivers of Canada. Although none of these ships are to be found on Manitoba waters, the C. P. R. fleet is an important factor in the carrying trade of the province.

We have already given some account of the circumstances under which the government of Manitoba found it necessary to build the Red River Valley Railway, of the subsequent transfer of the road to the Northern Pacific Company, and of the construction of a branch from Winnipeg to Portage la Prairie and another from Morris to Brandon. In 1889 the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Company was operating 266 miles of road north of the international boundary. During Mr. Greenway's premiership the railways of Manitoba were increased by 1,100 miles, and a part of this was due to additions made to the Northern Pacific lines. Soon after Mr. Roblin became premier, the government re-acquired the rights of the Northern Pacific Railway Company in the Red River Valley Railway and its branches and transferred them to the Canadian Northern Railway Company, a new factor in the development of Manitoba's transportation facilities.

In 1895 Messrs. Mackenzie & Mann, railway contractors, acquired the charter of the Lake Manitoba Railway and Canal Company, and in the following year they began to build a railroad from Gladstone in a northwest direction. Before the end of the year they had 100 miles of road in operation, and in 1897 and extension of 25 miles took the line to Winnipegosis. In 1898 these enterprising men, having secured the charter of the Manitoba and South-Eastern Railway, began to build that road, and completed 45 miles of it within the year. They also bought the Port Arthur, Duluth and Western Railway and the rights of the Ontario and Rainy River road. Then, at a point on the latter some nineteen miles west of Port Arthur, they began the construction

of a line which would meet the Manitoba and South-Eastern. The completed road connected their Manitoba lines with Lake Superior and formed a link in another trans-continental railway.

In 1899 Mackenzie & Mann and the various companies whose charters they had acquired were combined in the Canadian Northern Railway Company. In that year the line running from Gladstone was extended to a point 195 miles from the town, and the extension made in the following year took it beyond the boundary of Manitoba, while a branch, 25 miles in length, was built from Dauphin to Gilbert Plains. In the same year the South-Eastern was pushed forward to Rainy River.

On January 15, 1901, the Canadian Northern Railway Company leased from the provincial government the lines which it controlled. These included the Red River Valley Railway with its branches to Portage la Prairie and Brandon, the Portage and North-Western Railway, and the Waskada and North-Eastern Railway. The lease was to run 999 years. During the first ten years the company was to pay the government an annual rental of \$210,000, during the next ten years an annual rental of \$225,000, and \$300,000 a year thereafter. The company had the option of purchasing the 354 miles of leased lines at any time for \$7,000,000. The government retained a conditional control over freight rates on certain commodities, which could be fixed by order of the lieutenant-governor in council. To aid the company in the construction of new lines the government agreed to guarantee the interest on the company's bonds to the extent of \$8,000 per mile in open, prairie country and \$20,000 per mile in the rocky region lying between Winnipeg and the Rainy River. Public opinion was divided in regard to the wisdom of the bargain which the government had made with the Canadian Northern Company; but reductions in the freight rates on wheat shipped to Port Arthur, on cattle and other products of the farm, and on lumber helped to reconcile the people to the change in the railway policy of the government.

The arrangement with the provincial government gave the C. N. R. Company railway connection between Winnipeg and the south, connection between Winnipeg and the fertile country about Portage la Prairie, and access to the productive district of which Brandon is the centre. Only 19 miles of road had to be built to connect the lines terminating at Portage la Prairie with those terminating at Gladstone. This was done early in 1902, and about the same time the road to Port Arthur was completed; and from that time forward the Canadian Northern Railway Company, possessing a fairly complete system of lines connecting the chief points of Manitoba with the head of Lake Superior, found itself in a position to do a large part of the transportation business of the province. The government's guarantee of interest on the company's bonds assisted it in securing capital for the prosecution of its enterprises and hastened the construction of new lines. During 1902 the 19 miles of road between Gladstone and Beaver, 33 miles on the Neepawa Branch, and 44 miles on the Carman Branch were built; and at the close of the year Premier Roblin could say that owing to the encouragement given by his government, 330 miles had been added to the railways of Manitoba, although portions of the new lines were not fully completed. The total mileage of the Canadian Northern system at the close of 1902 was 1,250 miles, and during the year its trains



FORT GARRY HOTEL, WINNIPEG



had carried 12,000,000 bushels of grain to Port Arthur. The company was planning to extend its lines widely and to establish a system of grain elevators as soon as possible.

During 1903 the company constructed 44 miles of road between Neepawa and McCleary Junction, 20 miles on the Rossburn Branch, and an extension of 20 miles on the Carman Branch. In the next year the main line was extended 71 miles to Kamsack, and the northern branch was pushed on 107 miles to Melfort, while the Oak Point Branch, 54 miles in length, was completed and turned over to the company.

In 1905 the legislature of Manitoba authorized the government to give the Canadian Northern Company special aid by guaranteeing the interest on \$1,000,000 of 4% bonds, the proceeds of which would be used for the construction of terminals in Winnipeg, and by guaranteeing the interest on bonds to the extent of \$10,000 per mile for the construction of 189 miles of new branch lines in the province. These included a line from Carberry to Brandon, a line running east from Emerson, and a short branch running east from Winnipeg. The line from Brandon to Arizona Junction, 77 miles, the line from Clanwilliam to Rossburn, 58 miles, and the line from Greenway to Adelpha, 51 miles, were built during the year; and at its close the C. N. R. Company had 2,400 miles of road in operation.

The Manitoba government gave the C. N. R. Company special aid again in 1906 for the construction of 35 miles of branch railways. During that year and the one which followed the company steadily extended its old lines and built new ones in various directions, and by the end of June, 1908, it was operating 1,427 miles of railroad in Manitoba alone. In the same year it obtained access to Duluth—a matter of some importance to Manitoba, as has been proved on more than one occasion since when there has been congestion of wheat consigned to Port Arthur and Fort William or when the west has been threatened with a coal famine.

The steady extension of the main line of the Canadian Northern Railway through the Yellowhead Pass towards the Pacific coast and the extension of its other western lines in the provinces of Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia are matters in which Manitoba is interested. So, too, are the construction of the company's line north of Lake Superior and its acquisition of various lines in eastern Canada. The co-operation between the C. N. R. Company and a steamship company operating on the Great Lakes facilitates transportation to and from Manitoba, and the company's line of Atlantic steamships does the same thing for the province in a less direct way.

For a thousand miles the main line of the Great Northern Railway runs almost parallel with the international boundary and scarcely a hundred miles south of it. From the main line a score of branches tap the productive country to the north. Beyond the boundary lies a country equally productive, and it was almost inevitable that some of the branches of the Great Northern would be extended to secure a share of the carrying trade of this rich Canadian country. This was done without land grants or subsidies from the government. A branch line to St. John, just south of the boundary, was pushed north 73 miles to reach Brandon; another branch, running to Walhalla, was extended to Morden, a distance of 14 miles; a third branch was extended from Neche to Portage la



Prairie, 78 miles; while from Emerson access to Winnipeg was secured over the Canadian Northern line, originally built as the Red River Valley Railway, until the Great Northern Company could complete its own line to Manitoba's capital.

The Northern Pacific Railway Company evidently came to the conclusion that it had made a mistake in surrendering its rights in Manitoba to the government and withdrawing from the railway business of the province, for in recent years it has been bidding again for a share of the country's transportation and has been running its trains from the south to Winnipeg over the Canadian Northern line.

The rapid development of the west and the possibilities of the northern parts of Ontario and Quebec made additional railway connection with eastern Canada necessary, and in 1902 there was considerable discussion about another transcontinental road. On March 27, 1903, a petition was presented to the house of commons at Ottawa, asking for the incorporation of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company with power to build a railroad from Moncton in New Brunswick to Port Simpson on the Pacific. The road was to pass through Quebec, Winnipeg, and Edmonton, and branches were to run to Port Arthur, Brandon, Regina, and Calgary. A bill to provide for the construction of the National Transcontinental Railway was introduced into the Dominion parliament by Sir Wilfred Laurier on July 31. It provided for the construction of the road in two divisions. The first or eastern division, extending from Moncton to Winnipeg, was to be built by the government of Canada. The work would be commenced at once and completed as soon as possible. When completed, this part of the line would be leased to the Grand Trunk Pacific Company for fifty years. For the first seven years the company would pay no rental, but thereafter it would pay a yearly rental equal to 3% on the cost of construction. The government reserved the power to give other companies running rights over this eastern division of the transcontinental road. The western division, extending from Winnipeg to Prince Rupert, was to be constructed, operated, and maintained by the company, and it was to be completed in five years. No land grant was to be made to the company, but the government was to guarantee the interest on its 3% bonds to the extent of \$13,000 per mile over the prairie section of the road and \$30,000 per mile over the mountain section. The company was to provide the rolling stock for both divisions of the line. There was strong opposition to the bill, both in parliament and throughout the country, and more than one cabinet change took place in consequence; but the bill passed and came into effect in October, 1903.

As soon as the necessary surveys for the national transcontinental road could be made, construction began at several points and was pushed forward energetically. The government built its division eastward from Winnipeg; and the company, starting at Portage la Prairie, pushed its division westward across the plains. The year 1907 was remarkable for railway building in western Canada. In March of that year it was estimated that 5,800 miles of railway would be under construction between the Great Lakes and the Pacific before the end of December. Of this mileage 1,400 miles would be undertaken by the C. P. R. Company, 1,500 by the C. N. R. Company, and 1,900 miles by the G. T. P. Company and the Dominion government. By September 3,011 miles were under

actual construction. By October 40 miles of rails had been laid on the Lake Superior section of the Grand Trunk Pacific road and 135 miles on the western division, while three-fourths of the line between Winnipeg and Edmonton had been graded. From Portage la Prairie to Rivers, about 100 miles, the road was ready for traffic. By the end of the year 800 miles of grading had been completed and some work done on 200 miles more, 470 miles of track had been laid, and 200 miles of the road had been ballasted.

At the close of 1908 the western division of the national transcontinental line had been practically completed to the North Saskatchewan; rails had been laid between Portage la Prairie and Winnipeg; and trains were running over 660 miles of the road west of the latter city. As soon as possible the branch line from Superior Junction to Port Arthur was completed, and the Grand Trunk Pacific could aid in transporting the wheat crop of the prairies to the head of the Great Lakes. By the end of 1911 the road was in operation from Port Arthur, through Winnipeg, Portage la Prairie, Saskatoon, and Edmonton, to Fitzhugh, a distance of 1,472 miles. The road has since been pushed through the Yellowhead Pass, parts of the British Columbia section have been built, and the eastern sections are nearing completion. Some of the branch lines of the western division have been built, and others are under construction. That in which Manitoba is most interested is the line from Harte to Brandon, with its probable extensions west and south. The Grand Trunk Pacific has now more than 300 miles of road in operation in the province of Manitoba.

The possibility of navigating the lakes and rivers of Manitoba with steamboats was evident to the pioneers at an early date, and the Hudson's Bay Company took the lead in placing steamers on the Red River. The first vessel used on the river was the *Anson Northup*, renamed the *Pioneer*, but it was soon superseded by a large steamer, the *International*. This vessel reached Winnipeg on her first trip on May 26, 1862. A brief sketch of the development of steamboat navigation on the Red River has been made in earlier chapters; and we have merely to add the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company also led the way in placing a steamer on Lake Winnipeg and that its vessel, the *Northcote*, was the first steamboat to navigate the Saskatchewan River. Another company placed one or more steamers of light draft upon the Assiniboine. They frequently ascended the river as far as Brandon, and in seasons of high water sometimes went much farther.

The greatest obstacles to the navigation of Manitoba's magnificent stretch of inland waters were the rapids at the mouth of the Saskatchewan and St. Andrew's Rapids on the Red River. More than thirty years ago the people of Manitoba began to urge the Dominion government to construct a dam and a lock by which the difficulty of taking vessels over St. Andrew's Rapids would be obviated; but governments came and went at Ottawa, and the petitions sent to them accomplished little for the improvement of navigation on the Red River. Surveys were ordered and reports made, but actual construction of works at the rapids was postponed from year to year. In the meantime, however, considerable dredging was done in the various channels by which the river reaches Lake Winnipeg. Previous to 1893 most of this work was done on the western channel, but the flood of that year left such a large deposit of sediment in this outlet that it was abandoned and dredging operations commenced on the eastern

channel. The dredges could hardly do more than remove the sediment brought down by the stream, and in August, 1897, the whole plant was so badly damaged by a gale that little more could be done that summer. In the next year the work was resumed, and it has been continued since.

Public opinion in Manitoba in favor of the construction of a lock at St. Andrew's finally became so strong that the Dominion government could not postpone serious consideration of the matter, and in 1899 it made plans for extensive works to improve navigation on the Red River. These included a dam and a lock at St. Andrew's Rapids. The surveys were made and the plans drawn by Mr. Arthur St. Laurent. The dam was to be 800 feet long and high enough to raise the water in the river above it 21 feet. It was to be built of concrete faced with granite, to have movable sections of iron by which the flow of water could be regulated, and to be traversed by an iron service bridge resting on the piers. The lock was to be 215 feet long, 45 feet wide, and to have 9 feet of water on the sills. The contract was let to Kelly Bros., and work began on January 18, 1900.

The bed of the river was cleared for a distance of 1,500 feet, several hundred cubic yards of rock were removed, and by September, 1903, the excavation for the lock was almost completed; but early in 1904 the government suspended the work and ordered new plans to be drawn. These new plans were not completed until August 1, 1906. They provided for material changes in the dimensions of the permanent and movable parts of the dam, for some modifications in the lock, for entrance piers of a new design, and for a railway bridge along the dam. Many of the changes were suggested by the action of a spring freshet in 1904. The new plans did not render all the work done under the old ones entirely useless, although the river had filled up a part of the excavation for the lock during the long period in which work was suspended. New tenders were called for September 10, 1906, and the new contract was awarded on October 11. Some preliminary work, undertaken by the government before it let the contract, was commenced on August 14. The contractors set to work without delay, removing earth from the lock pit and hauling material for the construction to be done during the next summer. During the winter of 1906-7 a complete hydrographic survey of the Red River was made and much valuable information secured.

By the close of 1909 the excavation had been done, and much of the masonry of the dam and lock had been completed. The entrance piers were under construction, the lock gates were ready, and a part of the movable dam had been built. In a short time the dam and lock were ready for use, and vessels of considerable draft could pass readily between Winnipeg and the lake. The completion of this important work has given quite a marked impetus to traffic between the city and various points on Lake Winnipeg.



ST. ANDREW'S DAM AND LOCK, ON THE RED RIVER



## CHAPTER XLVII

### THE GROWTH OF TRADE

With the close of the Riel rebellion in 1870, the little village of Winnipeg caught its breath, and started on the first mile of the road which was to lead not only to its being the capital of Manitoba, but also the largest city west of the Great Lakes and the centre of the trade which in 1912 furnished the unprecedented record of bank clearings to the amount of \$1,527,391,110. Standing at the very gateway of the prairies, Winnipeg has been a natural centre for the establishment of manufactories and for the distribution of goods to the districts further west. When the Hudson's Bay Company ceased to be the only source of supplies, and others were entering the trade, the means of transport was mainly by Red River cart across the prairies to St. Cloud, Minnesota, or by Red River boat to the same place. From the time that General Wolseley arrived in Winnipeg and crushed the first Riel rebellion, the idea of a permanent road to eastern Canada became firmly fixed in the western mind. Long before the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed between Manitoba and eastern Canada, it had been built to the Great Lakes, where it connected with a line of steamers, thus opening a means of communication between east and west for seven or eight months in the year.

Manitoba developed, the cheapness of transportation by the lakes produced a condition of trade which was somewhat peculiar. As has been said Winnipeg was a natural distributing point, and immediately trade, other than that of the Hudson's Bay Company, was opened up, the merchants recognized the importance of getting in supplies for shipment further west. Until the Canadian Pacific Railway was built to the head of the lakes, this had to be done for the most part by ox cart from Minnesota, and later by the first railroad which ran in from the south; but as soon as there was railway communication between Winnipeg and the head of the Canadian Lakes, the trade in wholesale supplies commenced, and the conditions, which made it desirable to bring in large quantities of goods during the season of open water, led to the establishment in Winnipeg of the largest wholesale jobbing houses in Canada. Indeed there are few of equal size in any of the western states. This applies to all classes of merchandise, and is especially noticeable in the matter of heavy goods, such as hardware. Taking advantage of the lower lake freights, every wholesale house brings in sufficient supplies during the summer to last it until the next season. This fact alone has promoted the development of Winnipeg to a very marked degree.

Trade in Manitoba, while it now reaches out to practically every branch of industry, began first of all with furs; but as settlement extended beyond the narrow district of the Red River, the trade in furs was exceeded by that in

grain. Grain raising began with the coming of the Selkirk settlers, but it was not general throughout Manitoba until the early seventies. There were patches of grain grown in and about the Red River, and small beginnings of grain growing were made on the Portage plains; but with the coming of the Mennonites in 1872, 1873, and 1874 grain raising was undertaken on an extended scale. These people, who are German by descent, came to western Canada from the steppes along the Black Sea in Russia. They were attracted by the plains north of the international boundary and, settling there, engaged in the production of grain, especially wheat.

The grain trade of Manitoba may be said to have opened in 1876, for on October 21st of that year, Messrs. Higgins and Young sacked 827 bushels of wheat and shipped it on a Red River steamer to St. Cloud, and thence by rail to Steele Bros., Toronto. This wheat was sold for seed at \$2.50 a bushel. On the 17th of October in the following year the first shipment of wheat was made from Manitoba directly to Great Britain. This shipment was made by Robert Gerrie, one of the early pioneer merchants, and was sent to Barclay & Brown, of Glasgow, Scotland. It also went out by Red River steamer and through the United States. It was seven years later, namely, in the fall of 1884, that a shipment was made by an all Canadian route to Great Britain. This was made by Thomas Thompson, now head of the firm of Thompson & Sons, of the Winnipeg grain exchange, but at that time resident in Brandon. This shipment of wheat, which consisted of 1000 bushels in sacks, went through Winnipeg to Port Arthur by rail, from Port Arthur to Owen Sound by boat, and thence by rail and boat to Glasgow. It reached Glasgow only twenty-one days after it left Brandon. These were the tentative beginnings of an export trade which has grown to gigantic proportions, but is still considered as being in its infancy.

With this first export movement by an all Canadian route, came the first provision for an export trade. This was in the form of an elevator erected by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company at the head of the Great Lakes. This building is still standing, is known as Elevator "A" of Canadian Pacific Railway system, and has a capacity of 1,500,000 bushels. When it was projected, the papers of eastern Canada were full of scorn at the idea that it would ever be filled. Today the elevator capacity at the head of the Great Lakes has grown to 30,000,000 bushels; but it is entirely inadequate to present requirements, and it is being increased as rapidly as steel and fire-proof brick can be put together.

Manitoba being a prairie country, there was no need of preparation before beginning to cultivate; all that was necessary was to plough and sow. This condition, which made the raising of large quantities of grain within the second year of settlement possible, also made the development of storage facilities necessary. In those early days, the Canadian Pacific Railway was the one railroad, and having been built at great cost, it was questionable whether there was ever going to be freight enough to make it pay. The railway company was not anxious to increase its liabilities by the erection of warehouses to handle crops as it did to handle ordinary package freight. It therefore offered free sites at its various stations to men who were willing to erect elevators for the storage and handling of grain, and this developed what are known today as line elevators, that is, numbers of elevators at various points in the country owned by a single company. In the start the railway company guaranteed the owners of elevators



ROYAL ALEXANDRIA HOTEL AND CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY STATION, WINNIPEG





that it would not accept grain which was not loaded through their houses. At that time there was no system of checks on charges for elevating and loading the grain, or on the amount of dockage which the elevator companies might make on the grain.

As early as 1881 grain commission houses had been established in Winnipeg. In 1883 an attempt was made to organize the trade; but this was not successful, and it was not until the crop of 1887 was ready for market, that a grain exchange was successfully organized. The crop of that year, 12,351,724 bushels, was very greatly in excess of local requirements. A meeting was called, and a grain exchange organized, of which D. H. McMillan, now Sir Daniel McMillan, was the first president. The trading was confined to cash business only; but the exchange secured option markets by wire from Minneapolis and Chicago, and on these was based to a very great extent the Winnipeg price. Almost simultaneously with the establishment of the first grain commission house an inspection system had been inaugurated under the Dominion government, this system being based on that in vogue in eastern Canada under the general inspection act. The Grain Inspection Act of Canada has been a very important factor in the development of the western grain trade. From 1887 onward, there was a steady increase in the export trade, all of this wheat being sold on the British market on the certificates of inspection given at Winnipeg, and this system has been pronounced by British buyers the best inspection system in the world.

Twelve years after the date of the first shipment of grain from Winnipeg, namely, at the end of 1888, there was a well established inspection department, a grain exchange organized to do an active cash trade, elevators at all important points in the province, and a steadily growing activity. Matters went along in this way for ten years, but the fact that the railway companies compelled the farmers to ship through the local elevators led to very serious abuses. The farmers were entirely at the mercy of the owners of elevators, and discontent with the conditions became so serious that they petitioned the Dominion government for relief. A royal commission was appointed in 1898 to inquire into the whole question of the handling of western grain. This committee, after careful investigation, made a report, and on this report the Manitoba Grain Act was based. Among many radical changes, this act provided that the farmers should have the privilege of loading their grain directly into cars without putting it through the elevators, and that for this purpose, the railway companies must establish loading platforms. The office of warehouse commissioner was created, the special duty of this official being to see that elevator companies complied with the act. This act was a good one, but not perfect, and later it was found necessary to amend it, especially in the matter of distribution of cars. The amendment provided that cars should be distributed *pro rata*, according to the registration of names on a car order book, which the railway companies were compelled to keep at each railway station. In 1912, a new act was passed, which is known as the Canada Grain Act. This provided for a commission to have supervision over the entire business of handling grain. It brings many new elements into the business, and of course its effect on the grain trade is yet unknown.

Money to move the crop is one of the great factors in the commercial life of Manitoba. Practically all the financing for the crop, not only of Manitoba, but

also of the entire Canadian west, is done through the Winnipeg banks. The first shipments of grain were bought and paid for, probably with no such thing as a line of credit being thought of; but in 1912 the banks at Winnipeg provided the sum of \$36,000,000 for lines of credit to elevator and milling companies. The grain firms establish lines of credit with Winnipeg banks, and these banks send to their branches in the country money to handle the trade.

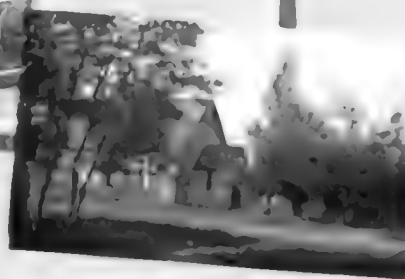
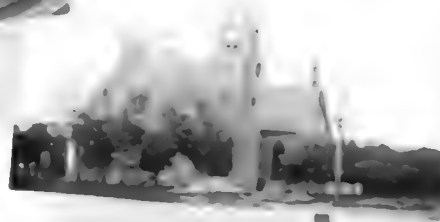
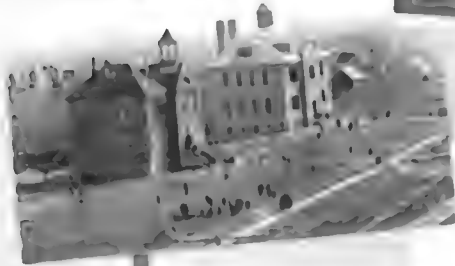
In spite of the privilege of loading their own cars, the farmers still do the bulk of their grain trade through the elevators. A man may sell his load of grain to the owner of an elevator for cash, or he may store it in an interior elevator and receive tickets which indicate the number of bushels and the grade of his grain. By presenting these at the local banks he can raise money up to 60 per cent of the value of the grain before it is actually sold.

Perhaps a few bald facts may best indicate the magnitude of the grain business. When the grain exchange was established in 1887, it traded in cash grain only, and the whole crop of that year was under 13,000,000 bushels. In 1912 about 400,000,000 bushels were traded in options through the grain exchange clearing house, and the cash grain business was the largest on the continent of America. All grain is inspected at Winnipeg, and during the rush season of 1912, as many as 1,596 cars of grain were inspected in one day, while the average receipts of the period from the beginning of the new crop in September to the close of navigation on the Great Lakes was close to 1,200 cars daily.

When the grain exchange was opened in 1887, the membership fee was \$15, and the number of members was ten. Today there are three hundred members, and the official value of the seats is \$4,500. The first meeting was held in a single room on a side street; today the members occupy a building in the central portion of Winnipeg, which is valued at \$900,000 and to which a \$600,000 addition will be made during the present year. To meet the requirements of the grain trade, the railway companies have invested millions of dollars in rolling stock. The Canadian grain fleet has a capacity of 9,000,000 bushels, and has to be constantly supplemented by the freighters from the American side, many of which carry out 400,000 bushels at a single load.

Running side by side with the development of the grain trade, is the trade in agricultural implements. The first binders were sold in 1882, the first shipment of binders, mowers and rakes coming in that year. The level prairies of Manitoba particularly lend themselves to cultivation by machinery, and the implement business has advanced by leaps and bounds. Next to the grain business itself, it probably shows the largest investment of any individual business in Manitoba. The first shipment of agricultural implements which arrived represented an investment of a few hundred dollars. In 1912 the implement and tractor houses of Winnipeg shipped out motor trucks alone worth more than \$1,500,000.

The cattle trade has formed one of the great enterprises of Manitoba. When the second Riel rebellion broke out in 1885, cattle were so scarce in Manitoba that it was necessary to bring in supplies from eastern Canada and the United States to supply the troops with necessary meat. The men who were engaged in that work saw the possibilities for a great trade in cattle. Englishmen and Americans saw the opportunities of the great prairies lying west of Manitoba for the range cattle business, and this was developed very rapidly indeed between the



Street Scene  
Public Schools  
Presbyterian Church

Town Hall  
Methodist Episcopal Church  
Holy Trinity Church

# SCENES IN KILLARNEY



years 1885 and 1908, when the export trade in cattle of western Canada reached its maximum, namely 90,000 head. The Canadian Pacific Railway, having the one through route to the Atlantic seaboard, all export cattle trade to Britain must of necessity pass through Winnipeg, and it has become the great sorting market of the west. Here train loads of 60 and 70 cars of cattle are brought in, unloaded, sorted, and those suitable for export re-shipped, while the inferior grades find their local market there. The local market for Winnipeg has now reached a consumption of about 70,000 head a year. The concentration of this trade in Winnipeg led to the establishment of huge abattoirs and packing houses, with their complement of plants for the utilization of by-products. The actual investment in these plants at the present time is \$4,000,000.

The development of manufactories in Manitoba was slow. For many years the future of the province was somewhat uncertain, and capitalists hesitated to invest their money in its manufacturing enterprises. Some of the raw materials to be used in them would have to be imported, and freight rates were high. Power and labor were expensive. But as the population increased, the demand for all kinds of manufactured goods grew also, and local factories of various kinds were established to meet a part of this demand. The fact that Winnipeg is a distributing point tended to fix many of these factories in that city, but several of the smaller towns possess manufacturing plants which do much to supply the needs of the people in the surrounding districts.

Of necessity flour was one of the first articles to be manufactured in Manitoba, and mills were erected in each new district occupied by settlers; but until rail and steamboat communication with the outside world made an export trade possible, the manufacture of flour was limited to the needs of the people of the province. As soon as the necessary facilities for transportation were provided, the Ogilvie Company and other great companies established mills in Manitoba, and flour became one of its principal exports.

To meet the needs of the early settlers lumber mills were built in the districts where a supply of standing timber was available. The lumber business has grown with the province, but up to the present time the output of the local mills has not been equal to the demand, and much lumber is imported every year. Neither have the factories for the manufacture of doors, sashes, etc., been able to meet the demand for their products. At an early date large deposits of clay suitable for brick were found in Manitoba, and the demand for building material in all parts of the province soon made the manufacture of brick one of its important industries. For a similar reason the quarrying and dressing of building stone has become an important business in some parts of the country. In recent years there has been a great demand for structural iron and steel. The Vulcan Iron Works, established in Winnipeg about thirty years ago, was one of the first establishments for casting and the manufacture of structural iron. At the present time several companies are engaged in this business.

Among other articles which have been manufactured extensively in Winnipeg for some time, saddlery, soap, biscuits and confectionery may be mentioned. Since about 1883 the Royal Crown Soap Company has supplied the west with a large part of the soap which it uses; and from the time of the second Riel rebellion the Paulin-Chambers Company has furnished the country with a considerable part of the biscuits and confectionery consumed in it. Quite recently several factories for the manufacture of shirts, blouses and other wearing apparel

have been established in Winnipeg. Some years ago the city of Winnipeg acquired one of the best sites on the Winnipeg River for the generation of electric power. A dam and a plant were built at an expense of several million dollars, and now the city is in a position to sell power at a low rate to manufacturers who wish to establish factories within its boundaries. Arrangements will probably be made, too, by which it will sell power to the smaller towns in the neighborhood.

The development of trade has brought into existence a network of railways, which cover Manitoba from east to west and from north to south. Of all the prairie provinces it is best supplied with railway transportation, having no less than 3,895 miles of railroads. The western headquarters of the three trans-continental railways are at Winnipeg, and their great yards and shops are located in the vicinity, necessitating the investment of millions of money and the employment of thousands of men.

Today Winnipeg has manufactories whose total output is valued at \$92,000,000 per year and whose pay roll is estimated at \$12,000,000. In forty-one years the little prairie village, with its one muddy street, has developed into a busy city with 162 miles of paved streets, an assessment of \$214,460,000 and a building record of \$20,000,000 a year. There seems to be no limit to her manufacturing and trade in the future.

Of the total 2,864 banks in the Dominion of Canada, 196 are located in the province of Manitoba. The money orders issued by the postoffice are always an indication of the growth of trade and the general wealth of the community. In 1907 the value of the money orders issued in Manitoba was \$4,480,227. In 1912 this had risen to \$7,328,677. Very much of this money is sent by foreign-born citizens to their home land to bring out other members of their families or communities.

The development since confederation has been wonderful, but unless all signs fail, the growth of Manitoba's trade in the next forty-three years will place her in the very front of the provinces of Canada.

## CHAPTER XLVIII

### THE STORY OF THE EARLY MISSIONS

The history of French exploration in Canada is inseparably connected with the history of Roman Catholic missions. Wherever the explorer went, there the missionary went; and not infrequently the missionary himself was the explorer. This combination of colonization with missionary enterprise gave a peculiar trend to the early history of Canada; and while historians may differ in their estimates of the benefits which the country derived from it, there can be but one opinion in regard to the splendid courage, endurance, and self-sacrifice of the missionaries themselves. There are no more heroic figures in our history than the priests who travelled far into the unknown wilderness, ministering to the spiritual needs of the whites, teaching the rudiments of religious truth to the Indians, and collecting a vast amount of information in regard to the places and races which they visited.

When Radisson and Groseilliers made their trading trip into the unknown wilds of Minnesota in 1659, Father Ménard accompanied them, seeking the remnant of an Indian tribe which he had known during long years of service among the Hurons and Iroquois. A tribe of Hurons, known as the Tobacco Indians, had dwelt near Nottawasaga Bay; but to escape utter annihilation at the hands of their ruthless foes, the Iroquois, the survivors of the tribe crossed to the south side of the Great Lakes. Wandering far to the west, the fugitives came in contact with the Sioux, and, retreating before the attacks of these fierce warriors, they hid themselves in the forests near the sources of the Black River in Wisconsin. Leaving Radisson's party in October, 1660, Father Ménard went to visit these refugees. He accompanied them in later wanderings west; and while it is scarcely probable that he ever crossed the borders of Manitoba, there is an unconfirmed story that on one occasion he reached the sources of the Mississippi River. His last letter to his superiors was written in June of 1661, and before the end of that year he had perished, either from starvation or at the hands of the Sioux.

In the year of Father Ménard's death the French government sent the *Sieur de Valérie* from Quebec to Hudson Bay to take possession of its shores for France. Fathers Claude Dablon and Gabriel Druillettes were asked to accompany him and established a mission among the Crees. They set out in May, 1661; but as they returned before the end of the year, it is not certain that they actually reached the bay. It is said that Father Couture was sent to the bay on a semi-political mission a little later, but it is not certain that he made the trip.

In 1671, Talon sent Paul Denys de St. Simon to Hudson Bay to warn the English traders there that France claimed the country, and Father Charles

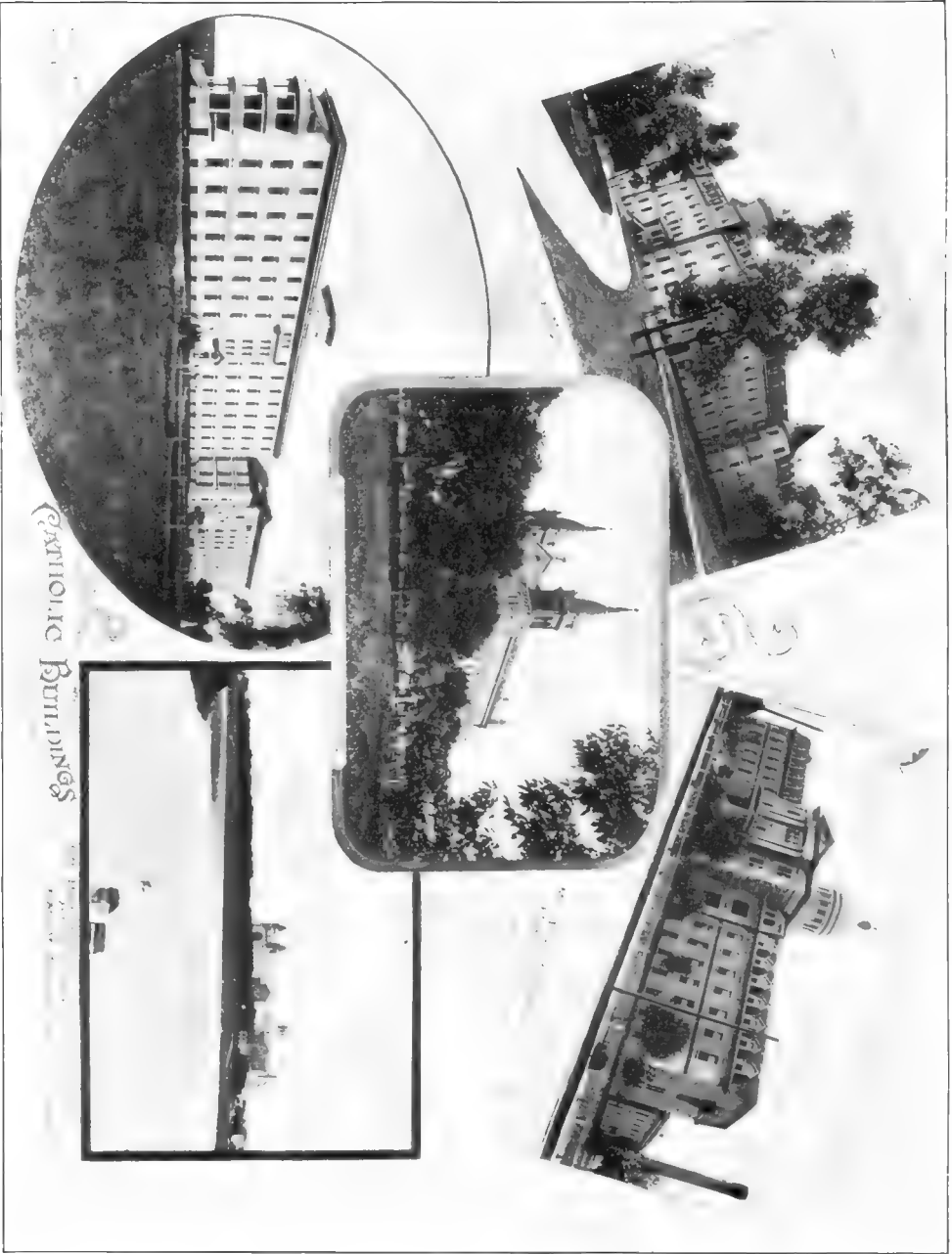


Albanel accompanied him. They reached the mouth of Rupert's River about the end of June, 1672, and were entertained by the officer of the Hudson's Bay Company in charge of Fort Charles; but it is not probable that they went far enough west to reach Manitoban territory, for they returned the same year. Father Albanel has left an interesting account of the journey. In 1674 he was sent back to resume his missionary work and remained there until the English deported him in 1675. With other French prisoners, Father Albanel was carried to England and then sent to France. Although he returned to Canada in 1676, he did no further missionary work on the shores of Hudson Bay.

When the intrepid de Troyes, assisted by d'Iberville and his brothers, led an expedition against the English forts on the bay early in 1686, Rev. Antoine Silvy, who had been on the coast as a missionary some years earlier, accompanied the force as its chaplain. He has given us a vivid account of the romantic exploits of this band of adventurers. When the main body returned to Québec, Father Silvy remained at Fort Ste. Anne (Albany) to act as chaplain for the small garrison left there and to do some mission work among the native tribes. It is quite possible that he went as far west as the present boundary of Manitoba, for he remained on the coast of the bay until the beginning of the year 1693. During the last eighteen months of his stay he was assisted by Father Delmas. The winter of 1693 was a tragic time for the little garrison at Fort Albany, and on March 3, Father Delmas was murdered by one of its members. It will be remembered that the insane and shackled murderer was the only man found in the fort by Captain Grimington when he took the place in the spring.

Rev. Pierre Gabriel Marest, a native of Laval, France, came to Canada in 1694 and accompanied the expedition, commanded by d'Iberville, which was sent to Hudson Bay that year to put an end to British dominion there. Father Marest wrote an interesting account of the voyage and of the capture of Fort Bourbon (Nelson). He seems to have remained there as chaplain of the garrison and to have been taken prisoner by the English when they recovered the place in 1696. He was taken to England, but afterwards came back to Canada and was sent to the mission at Kaskaskia on the Illinois River.

When la Vérendrye's first expedition set out in 1731, it was joined at Michilimackinac by Father Mesaiger, who accompanied it to the head of Lake Superior. La Vérendrye and some of his men spent the winter there, and the priest stayed with them; but in the spring they all went forward to Fort St. Pierre, the post which the advance party had established at the outlet of Rainy Lake. Father Mesaiger remained there a year, and while it is not recorded that he established any missions among the Indians, it seems quite probable that he visited the eastern part of Manitoba during his stay. His successor was Rev. Jean Pierre Aulneau, who made his headquarters at Fort St. Charles not far from the Northwest Angle of the Lake of the Woods. In a letter written from this post on April 30, 1736, he says that he reached it on October 23, 1735; that he thinks it must be 300 leagues from the head of Lake Superior, that he has made considerable progress in mastering the Cree language and has learned a little of the speech of the Assiniboinés, and that he intends to go down to Lake Winnipeg and possibly on to Hudson Bay. But the plans of the young priest were not to be carried out. In June he set out for Lake Superior with the party which la Vérendrye sent thither with his son Jean, and he was among those murdered by the Sioux at the place now called Massacre Island.



CATHOLIC BUILDINGS



In 1743 Rev. Claude Godefroy Coquart reached Fort de la Reine, which la Vérendrye built in 1738 near the present town of Portage la Prairie. He remained there a year or more as chaplain of the little garrison, but we are not told that he attempted any missionary work among the Indians. There is ground for believing that a French priest spent some time in one of the forts built near the mouth of the Souris river about the middle of the eighteenth century, since the neighboring Indians afterward gave accounts of the religious services which he conducted and repeated French words which they had learned from him.

French exploration and French trade in what is now called Manitoba ceased soon after the middle of the eighteenth century, and missionary effort ceased with them. It was more than fifty years before the Catholic church resumed its missionary work in the far west, and then, strangely enough, the revival of its activity was largely due to encouragement received from a Protestant, the Earl of Selkirk. The earl was anxious that his colonists should be provided with religious guides and teachers. Father Bourke went with the first party of settlers and spent the winter of 1811-12 with them at York Factory; but instead of going on with them to the Red River in the spring, he went back to Ireland. Efforts were made to secure the minister whom the Earl had promised to the Presbyterians of his settlement, but for some reason the man of their choice did not come. The many misfortunes of the colony and its uncertain future may have deterred clergymen from undertaking work in so remote a field. When the Earl visited his settlement in 1817, he was more deeply impressed than ever, not only with his colonists' need of a pastor but also with the necessity of securing missionaries for the considerable number of Metis in the country.

We find that Lord Selkirk wrote to Miles Macdonell early in 1814 expressing regret that he had not been able to find a Roman Catholic priest for Red River; and we find that Macdonell himself, while waiting in Quebec for his trial during the summer of 1815, had an interview with Mgr. Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, in which he urged that a French priest should be sent to the colony. He believed that a priest from Canada would be far more acceptable to the Roman Catholics of Red River than one from Ireland or Scotland; and the Earl of Selkirk strongly endorsed Macdonell's suggestion in a letter which he wrote to Bishop Plessis on April 16, 1816. During his visit to the settlement in the following year he advised the French-speaking people to address a formal petition to Bishop Plessis, asking for a resident priest. This was done; and the petition, signed by J. Bte. Marsolais, Louis Nolin, Augustin Cadotte, and twenty others, reached Mgr. Plessis on February 11, 1818. The bishop was impressed with the importance of the work suggested, but he lacked men and money to carry it on. However, he made an effort to secure volunteers for the far-off field and selected a man whom he considered well fitted for the work there. When Lord Selkirk returned from Red River he again urged that missionaries be sent to the Metis, and to aid the proposed mission he gave twenty square miles of land as a kind of endowment for it, as well as twenty-five acres beside the Red River as the site of a church.

Rev. Joseph Norbert Provencher, whom Bishop Plessis had chosen as a missionary to Red River, finally consented to undertake the work which his superior wished to assign him; and on May 19, 1818, he set out for his new field, accompanied by his colleague, Rev. Sévère Dumoulin. They followed the canoe route

of the early fur-traders, going by way of the Ottawa River, the Great Lakes, and the water-ways between Lake Superior and the prairies. On the morning of July 16 a horseman, riding up beside the Red River, saw a little flotilla of canoes coming up the stream. He galloped up to Fort Douglas with the news, and when the two missionaries stepped ashore there about mid-afternoon, most of the people living in the vicinity were waiting to greet them. Guns were fired, cheers were given, and many hands extended to welcome the pioneer missionaries of Red River. They became the guests of the acting governor, Mr. Alexander McDonell; but that did not mean luxurious living, for almost the only viands on the gubernatorial table were dried meat and fish. There was neither bread, milk, nor butter; and tea and sugar were rare luxuries.

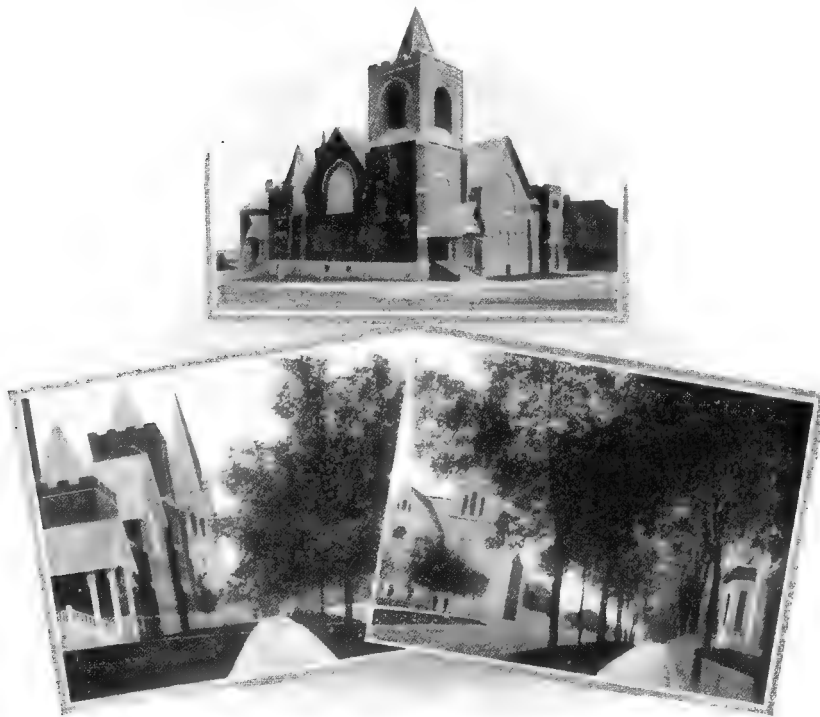
The missionaries held their first service on July 19, using a small building as a temporary chapel. In a few days they began the construction of a building, 50x30 feet, on the beautiful site donated by Lord Selkirk. This building was to serve as church, school, and priest's residence. By the end of August the log walls had been raised; but the roof proved more difficult, for the only boards obtainable were poplar boards of poor quality, and neither shingles nor nails could be found in the settlement. So Father Provencher partitioned off twenty feet at one end of his building, boarded the roof over that part, laid a good coating of clay on the boards, and covered the clay with rushes. The rest of the structure remained roofless until the following year. The covered part was divided into two rooms, and early in September the missionary could write to his bishop, "I have a little room and a little chapel." Stoves and glass were unknown in the colony at that time; but a fireplace, built of stones and clay, served as an inadequate heating apparatus, and parchment took the place of glass in the windows. Such was the first church building in Manitoba.

In September Father Dumoulin was sent to the Metis settlement at Pembina, where he built a church, school, and dwelling. He remained in charge of this mission for nearly five years. Father Provencher visited it early in 1819, and in March he made a tour of some of the trading posts on the Qu'Appelle and Souris Rivers. In the summer he made a missionary journey to Lake Winnipeg, while Father Dumoulin visited different points on the Lake of the Woods. During the summer Father Provencher appealed to Quebec for more helpers, and in the following summer Rev. Pierre Destroismaisons and Mr. Sauvé reached the settlement. The former took charge at St. Boniface while Father Provencher went to Canada, and the latter was sent to take charge of the school at Pembina. Father Dumoulin made a visit to Hudson Bay during that summer of 1820.

At a meeting of the council of the Hudson's Bay Company held at York Factory early in July, 1820, it was decided to make an annual grant of £50 for the support of the mission at St. Boniface, and hoping to obtain further aid in men and money for the work which he had undertaken, Father Provencher set out for Canada on August 16. It was two years before he returned, and then he came as a bishop, having been consecrated in May, 1822. With him came Jean Harper, soon afterwards ordained as a priest, who was to labor in the settlement for nine years, teaching in the school at St. Boniface, preaching at the adjacent missions, or following the buffalo hunters to the plains as their religious guide and the teacher of their children. Thus the new bishop of a diocese



RESIDENTIAL VIEWS, BRANDON



SOME OF BRANDON'S CHURCHES



larger than the half of Europe had two priests and two teachers to help him in his work.

Before leaving for Canada, Bishop Provencher had made plans for a new chapel and a residence, and some of the material had been procured; but when he returned, lack of funds compelled him to stop the work being done on these buildings. In 1823 most of the Metis living at Pembina removed to the White Horse Plains on the Assiniboine, because Pembina was found to be south of the international boundary, and Father Dumoulin went back to Canada. In the following year the parish of St. François Xavier was organized at White Horse Plains, and Father Destroismaisons was placed in charge of it. During these years both Father Provencher and Father Dumoulin had been more than preachers and teachers. They had striven to wean the Metis from the hunter's life and to teach them agriculture; both often labored in the fields, planting and cultivating seeds and fruits which they had obtained from Canada.

In spite of severe winters, floods, and the occasional scarcity of food, the Roman Catholic missions in the Red River Settlement made progress. The stone residence of the bishop at St. Boniface, commenced in 1828, was finished two years later. In 1829 a part of the material for a new stone cathedral was secured, and the foundation was laid in 1833; but the work, often suspended for lack of funds and as often resumed, was not completed until 1837. This is the church with "turrets twain," which was burned in 1860. To secure aid for the work Bishop Provencher visited Canada in 1830. While there he learned that a religious society in France had made a grant of money for his mission; and when he returned to St. Boniface in 1832, he brought with him Rev. George Belcourt, whose aptitude for acquiring Indian languages fitted him in a special way for mission work among the native tribes. Father Belcourt opened a mission at Baie St. Paul in 1834, visited the Indians of Rainy Lake in 1838, established a mission at Wabassimong (White Dog) on the Winnipeg River a little later, and organized a mission at Duck Bay on Lake Manitoba in 1840. Then followed nine years of labor at St. Boniface and other places, and ten years at Pembina and different points in United States territory.

Rev. Charles Poiré also came to Red River in 1832 and was placed in charge of the mission of St. François Xavier. In the following year Rev. Jean Baptiste Thibault arrived. He taught in the school at St. Boniface and had charge of the mission there during the bishop's absence; he spent a year at St. François Xavier and another at Duck Bay; he made a journey to the Rocky Mountains in 1842, and in 1844-5 he made another which took him to Lesser Slave Lake; other mission work filled the busy years, and it was not until 1869 that Father Thibault returned to Quebec. Even then his service in Manitoba was not quite ended, for he came back in 1870 to assist the Canadian government in pacifying the insurgent Metis.

In 1835 Bishop Provencher journeyed to Canada once more to secure men and money for work in his great diocese. From Canada he went to England, and from England to France and Italy, and it was 1837 before he returned to St. Boniface. It was very difficult to secure missionaries for such remote fields of labor, and yet the bishop planned to establish missions on the Columbia River and in the far northwest and to find more priests and teachers, as well as members of some religious sisterhood, for his work in the Red River country. In a



few years many of his hopes were realized. Two missionaries were sent to the Columbia in 1838. A journey to the United States and Canada in 1843 brought several new clergy to his field, and in 1844 four of the Grey Nuns came from Montreal to teach in the girls' school at St. Boniface and to care for the sick. Rev. Alexandre Taché arrived in 1845, and a year later he and a colleague were sent to a mission at Ile à la Crosse. By this time there were organized parishes or missions at St. Boniface, Baie St. Paul, St. François Xavier, Duck Bay, The Pas, Lake Winnipeg, and Winnipeg River in Manitoba, in addition to those in other territory, near or remote.

In 1851 Bishop Provencher selected Father Taché as his coadjutor, and the young priest came from his distant field about the sources of the Churchill River and went to France to be consecrated. When he returned to Manitoba in 1852, Father Lacombe, who had spent a year at Pembina some time before, accompanied him. Bishop Taché went back to his mission at Ile à la Crosse; but he had been there less than a year when he was recalled to St. Boniface to take charge of the diocese, for Bishop Provencher, the father of Roman Catholic missions in Manitoba, passed away on June 7, 1853. Under his able successor mission work was prosecuted more vigorously than ever, new churches were built, new schools were organized, and hospitals and orphanages were founded; but the story of these achievements cannot be told in a single chapter.

Lord Selkirk seems to have been unable to send a minister to his colony beside the Red River, and the Hudson's Bay Company denied all responsibility in the matter after it took back from the earl's executors his great estate of Assiniboia. Nevertheless, the company was not unmindful of the value of missionary work among its servants and the many Indian tribes in its territory, and in 1820 it sent Rev. John West out to Fort Douglas in the capacity of chaplain. He seems to have come in a double capacity, being recognized also as a missionary by the Church Missionary Society. He arrived in the settlement on October 14, and as soon as possible secured a building to be used as a temporary chapel and commenced his pastoral work among the people. The Hudson's Bay Company gave two lots of land for church purposes, and on one of these a church, a school, and a residence were begun during the summer of 1821. Mr. West did not confine his work to members of his own church, the Church of England, but strove to make his ministrations acceptable to the adherents of all faiths represented in the population of the colony. Nor was his work confined to the settlement. He made a number of missionary journeys to various trading posts of the company west and north. On these journeys he did what work was possible among the Indians as well as the whites whom he met. The little church which he established became St. John's Church, the mother church of the Church of England in the west.

Mr. West returned to England in 1823, meeting his successor, Rev. David Thomas Jones, at York Factory. This clergyman came out as a missionary of the Church Missionary Society and carried on the work in the colony much as Mr. West had done. He established a second church, a few miles north of St. John's, subsequently called St. Paul's. Mr. Jones became the chaplain of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1825, and then the C. M. Society sent out Rev. William Cochran as its missionary at Red River. He was a man of decided opinions and tireless energy—the typical pioneer missionary who could turn

his hand to any kind of work. For forty years he labored up and down the country, the real founder of the Church of England in Manitoba. He and Mr. Jones worked together in the two existing churches for a year, and then the latter went home on a visit, leaving all the work to Mr. Cochran. Mr. Jones came back in 1827, and then Mr. Cochran moved down the river to a settlement which was growing into importance near St. Andrew's Rapids, and there he built a church, which was finished in 1831. It was afterwards known as St. Andrew's Church, but at the time it was often called the Lower Church, St. John's being designated the Upper Church and St. Paul's the Middle Church.

The condition of the Indians appealed strongly to Mr. Cochran. In 1833 he established a mission among the natives living along the lower part of the Red River, and three years later he completed a church in which his dark-skinned converts might worship. This was known as St. Peter's Church. Mr. Cochran was more than a preacher; on occasion he could lend a hand in the erection of a building, and he was a practical teacher of agriculture. He instructed the Indians of St. Peter's mission in the arts of settled life as well as the principles of religion; and at the end of several years of incessant effort among them he could write, with justifiable pride, that there were "twenty-three little whitewashed cottages shining through the trees, each with its column of smoke curling up to the skies, and each with its stacks of wheat and barley."

Mr. Cochran seems to have had charge of all the churches along the river, except St. John's, for some time, and the departure of Mr. Jones in 1838 left St. John's to the care of the indefatigable missionary; but in the following year Rev. John Smethurst relieved him of St. Peter's mission, and in 1841 Rev. Abraham Cowley took charge of St. Paul's for a short time. In 1844 Rev. John Macallum reached the colony and became pastor of St. John's. Dr. Mountain, bishop of Montreal, who visited the country in 1844, reported that the four churches—St. John's, St. Paul's, St. Andrew's, and St. Peter's—were attended by 1,700 persons, and that there were nine schools, attended by 485 scholars, in connection with the churches. In the meantime the Indians were not forgotten. Henry Budd, an Indian educated in Mr. West's school, had opened a mission among the Crees around Cumberland House in 1840, and soon afterwards Rev. Mr. Cowley established an Indian mission at Fairford on Lake Manitoba.

The time soon came when the need of some one to direct and supervise the work of these clergymen was felt. In 1838 Mr. James Leith, a retired chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, died, leaving £12,000 to be devoted to mission work in Rupert's Land. The trustees appointed by his will secured an order from the court of chancery, permitting them to use this bequest as an endowment for a bishopric of Rupert's Land. The Hudson's Bay Company promised a yearly grant of £300 towards the support of such a bishopric, if it were established, and thus a considerable revenue for the see was assured. The see of Rupert's Land was accordingly established by letters patent, the Archbishop of Canterbury being declared its metropolitan for the time being; and on May 29, 1849, Rev. David Anderson was consecrated as its first bishop. Bishop Anderson reached Fort Garry in the following October.

In 1851 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent out Rev. William H. Taylor as a missionary to Rupert's Land, and he was given charge of St. James, a new parish organized just west of Winnipeg. In the following

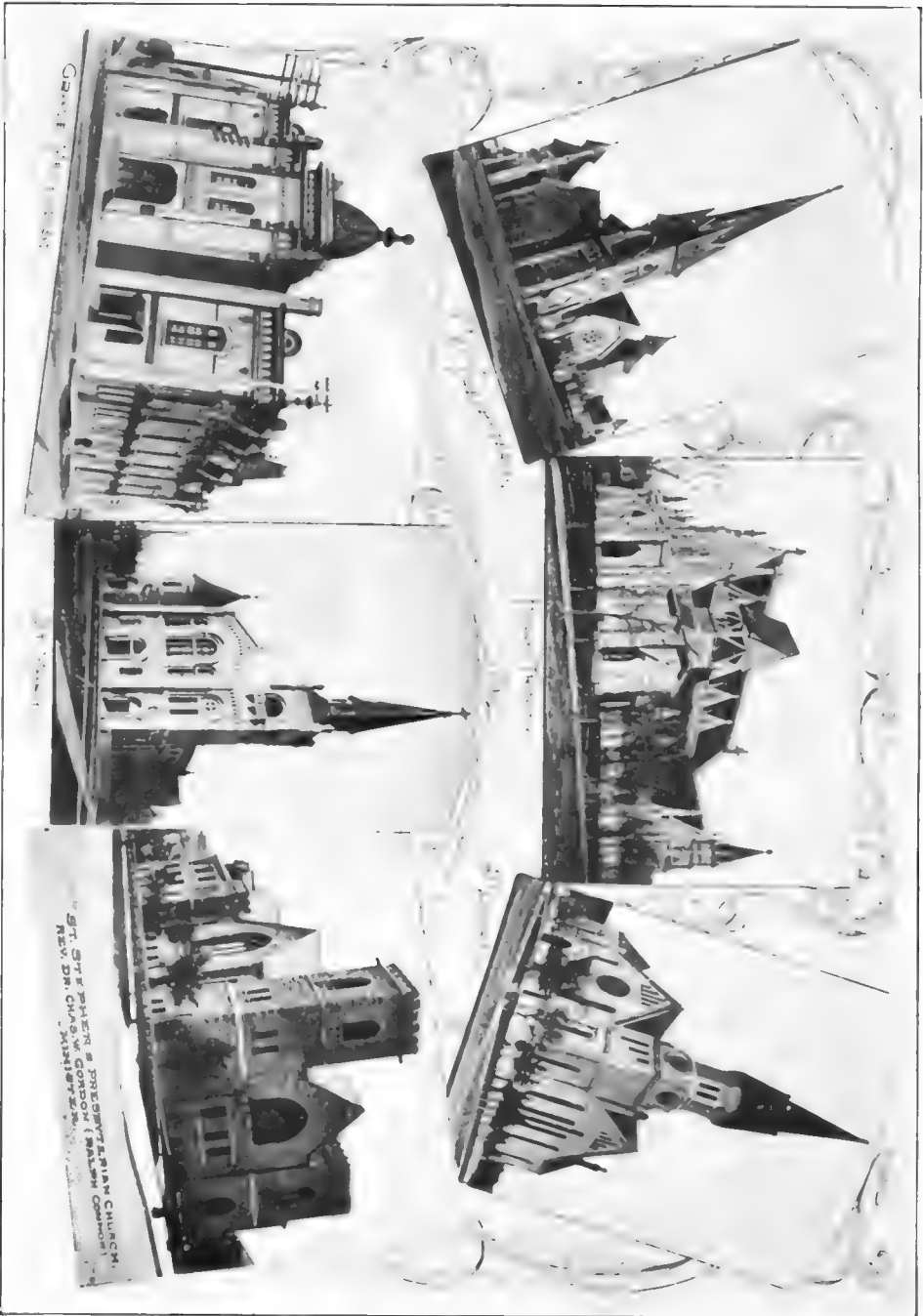
year Rev. Mr. Cochran, who had been made archdeacon of Assiniboia, secured a tract of land from an Indian chief at Portage la Prairie, and in the following year he induced a number of people to settle on it. By 1853 he had built a church and a school there, the church being known as St. Mary's. Within a few years he had organized St. Margaret's at High Bluff and St. Ann's at Poplar Point. Holy Trinity church at Headingly was built in 1854, and its first incumbent was Rev. G. O. Corbett. In 1852 Bishop Anderson visited Moose Fort and established a mission there.

In 1856 the Bishop of Rupert's Land visited England and obtained money for the erection of a new cathedral at St. John's—the building which, in spite of various misfortunes, is still in use. In 1864 Bishop Anderson resigned and returned to England. At that time he had more than twenty clergy under him, some acting as missionaries in the far north and northwest and others in what is now Manitoba. Beside the parish churches there were missions at York Factory, Fort Alexander, Fort Ellice, Swan Lake, and Fairford. The greater part of the money needed for the support of these churches and missions was contributed by various church societies in England.

Right Reverend Robert Machray, the second Bishop of Rupert's Land, reached the country, in which he was to labor for the remaining thirty-nine years of his life, during October, 1865. He set out in a few weeks to visit the parishes and many of the missions in his diocese and make himself personally acquainted with their needs. He encouraged better organization in the parishes and strove to make more of the churches self-supporting. From the first he insisted on the importance of better schools. The details of the work which he did as a bishop, an educationist, and a far-sighted, patriotic citizen cannot be given in the space at our disposal. The country at large, as well as his church, owes much to the late Archbishop Machray.

The Hudson's Bay Company was organized as a commercial corporation, but conditions existing in the great territory which it controlled compelled it to be something more. It became a governing body; and while it was neither a missionary society nor an educational organization, it aided both missions and schools. Whatever the motive from which the aid was given, it often promoted the welfare of the white settlers and the native tribes in Rupert's Land, as well as that of the company's employees. It was not inconsistent with the policy of the company to ask the English Wesleyan Missionary Society to open missions in its great domain about Hudson Bay; and in 1840 this society responded by sending a number of men to labor in the remote interior of the country. One of these was Rev. Robert T. Rundle, who was to proceed to Norway House and afterwards carry the gospel to the Indians in the far west; and another was Rev. Mr. Mason, who was to labor in the district about Rainy Lake. Rev. James Evans, who had done ten years of mission work among the Indians of Upper Canada and who had been preaching to the Rainy Lake tribes for two years, was transferred to Norway House to take charge of the mission to be opened there.

Rev. Mr. Evans reached Norway House during the summer of 1840, taking with him two native assistants. One was Henry B. Steinhauer, who had taken the name of the gentleman who had furnished him with the means to obtain an education, and the other was Henry Jacobs. The latter remained at Norway



SOME WINNIPEG CHURCHES



House for two years and then went to England to be ordained. He returned in 1843 to spend several years in mission work at various points in the west. The report that a missionary had come to Norway House attracted the Indians thither; and on the advice of Mr. Ross, the factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, a native village was established on the shore of Little Playgreen Lake opposite to the company's post. Rossville was the name given to this village. Here a tract of land was cleared, cottages built, fields laid out, and some cultivation of the soil attempted. A church and a school were soon erected, and in a short time Rossville became a somewhat settled Indian community, not unlike that which Archdeacon Cochran had established at St. Peter's a few years earlier. The Rossville Indians had to depend on hunting and fishing for a livelihood for some time; but under the direction of Mr. Evans they gradually learned to plant and sow the cleared ground and secure a part of their living by agriculture. Mrs. Evans tried to do as much for the women as her husband was doing for the men.

To Mr. Evans must be given credit for an achievement, which does not seem to have been attempted by any earlier missionary—the reduction of the Cree language to a written form. Many of his Indians were obliged to move from place to place, hunting, fishing, or trapping, and he was anxious to devise some means whereby they could carry with them in printed form the truths which he had taught them. After much study of the Cree language he found that its words, when resolved into syllables, gave thirty-six distinct syllabic sounds; and he then devised a very ingenious syllabic alphabet of thirty-six characters in which, with the aid of a dozen terminal symbols, the Cree language could be written. These syllabic characters could be mastered by the natives in a few hours, and then they were able to read. The use of the new written language spread rapidly among the Indians, and at the present time it is no uncommon thing for the traveller in the northern wilds to find at the end of a portage or at some point on a forest trail a bit of birch bark, held in a split twig and inscribed with Evans' Cree characters, which gives some information or asks that a message be taken to some one at a distance.

It was not easy for Mr. Evans to provide reading matter for his pupils; but after a time sheets of birch bark, on which bible texts and hymns had been written, were in circulation among them. The demand for them could not be supplied in that way, however, and Mr. Evans determined to print the matter which he wished to place in the hands of the Indians. He had neither type nor printing-press, but the lack of these things did not deter him from carrying out his plan. Models of the type needed were carefully carved, moulds were made of clay, and lead furnished the necessary metal. When the type had been cast and a page of reading matter had been set up, a fur press furnished the power necessary to give a distinct impression on such paper as could be obtained or on the thin birch bark sometimes used as substitute. The work done in this way was very wonderful to the Indians, and accounts of it soon spread far and wide among them. The story reached the ears of scholars in the outside world and roused much interest; and it was not long before the Wesleyan Missionary Society sent Mr. Evans a supply of type, a hand press, and £500 for the erection of a suitable building in which to do his printing. Translation and publishing then went on apace, and considerable portions of the Bible, many hymns,

and a catechism were soon printed in the Cree language and put into circulation. Since that time Mr. Evans' syllabic characters, with a few additions, have been adopted in reducing other Indian languages to writing.

As soon as his work at Norway House had been organized, Mr. Evans made missionary journeys to other parts of the country such as Moose Lake, The Pas, Shoal River, Fort Pelly, Beaver Creek, Red River, Fort Alexander, Beren's River, and Oxford House; and in later years he travelled far to the northwest, going to Fort Simpson on one occasion. On a trip to Fort Chippewayan the accidental discharge of a gun in Mr. Evans' hands led to the death of one of his canoemen, an Indian named Hassel. The party returned to Norway House at once; but some time afterwards Mr. Evans decided to go to Lake Athabasca and surrender himself to the relatives of the man whom he had accidentally killed. The purpose was carried out; and although many of the relatives wished to kill him, the mother of the dead man interceded for the missionary, and his life was spared. He was adopted by the tribe, remained with it for some time, and then returned to his work at Norway House. About six years after the establishment of his mission, Mr. Evans was summoned to England, and not long after his arrival he died.

The Wesleyan missionaries had labored among the Indians rather than the whites. Their work continued, and among other laborers in the far west we find Rev. George McDougall, a missionary among the Blackfeet. This man made a visit to Ontario in 1867, and while there urged the Methodists of that province to send missionaries to organize churches among the white people of the Red River Settlement, as well as more men for work among the Indians. In the following year three men volunteered for work in the west—Rev. E. R. Young, who was sent to Norway House, Rev. Peter Campbell, who was to assist Mr. McDougall at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, and Rev. George Young, who was to organize churches in the Red River Settlement.

The party set out in May, 1868, and reached Winnipeg on July 4th. A journey through the settlement along the Assiniboine convinced Mr. Young that a wide field was open to him. He gathered congregations and organized classes in many places, and before many years passed he had the pleasure of seeing Methodist churches established in them. By the end of December he had secured a building in Winnipeg, which could be used as a residence and a chapel. During the winter timber for a more suitable building was brought down the Assiniboine, a lot was secured from the Hudson's Bay Company, and before the end of August "Wesley Hall" was ready for use as a mission-house and a church. Two years later the congregation had a better building in which to worship, the first Grace Church of Winnipeg. Mr. Young's mission field extended from Winnipeg westward for more than a hundred miles, and in July, 1869, Rev. Matthew Robison came out to help him in caring for it. Three years later the first Methodist conference was held in Winnipeg, and it was attended by nine of the ten ordained Methodist ministers then working within the limits of the present province of Manitoba.

It will be remembered that Lord Selkirk promised to send a minister to his Presbyterian colonists at Red River, that they chose Rev. Mr. Sage as their pastor, and that, pending his arrival in the settlement, Elder James Sutherland was authorized to baptize and to marry. But for some reason Mr. Sage never



KNOX CHURCH, WINNIPEG





came to the Red River Settlement, and after a short residence there Mr. Sutherland moved to Canada. For more than a generation there was no Presbyterian minister in the colony, although the people petitioned the Hudson's Bay Company again and again to send one. In the meantime the Church of England had opened several churches along the Red River, and many of the Presbyterians attended them, the Church of England service being modified to some extent to make it acceptable to the Presbyterian members of the congregations. Nevertheless, the Presbyterians kept repeating the request for a minister of their own faith. As late as June, 1844, such a petition was placed in the hands of Sir George Simpson for transmission to the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company in London. In the following March the settlers received the company's reply, denying all responsibility for carrying out a promise made by Lord Selkirk. To this the settlers' committee made a rejoinder in July, attaching thereto a number of affidavits in regard to the promises made by the earl and his agents. The company's answer to this communication was dated from London on June 6, 1846, and seems to have convinced the settlers that the company would not send them a Presbyterian minister. They then appealed to their co-religionists, sending to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland copies of the petitions, letters, and affidavits which had been forwarded at earlier dates to the Hudson's Bay Company. This appeal seems to have been repeated, and after some delay the Scottish church referred the matter to the Free Church of Canada, asking that a missionary be selected for work in the Red River colony. The man chosen was the Rev. John Black.

For a long time the Presbyterians claimed the land on which St. John's Church had been built because of a statement made by the Earl of Selkirk during the historic meeting held on the church site in 1817. The matter was finally settled about 1850, the Presbyterians relinquishing their claim to the St. John's site and accepting another a few miles down the river. In anticipation of the arrival of a minister they erected a building which would serve for a temporary manse and church.

Rev. Mr. Black reached Kildonan on September 19, 1851, and a few days later held his first service in the partially completed building, which his people had put up. Soon after they began to collect material for a new stone church, and although the work was retarded by the flood of 1852, it was completed in the following year. The Kildonan church still stands beside the Red River, the oldest Presbyterian church of Manitoba. A log school was built very soon after Mr. Black came, but this was replaced by a stone structure in 1864. In 1862 Rev. James Nisbet came out to assist Mr. Black, and in the following year he took charge of a church which had been organized at Little Britain. In response to Mr. Black's appeals the Presbyterian Church of Canada decided to establish missions among the Indians of the west, and in 1866 Mr. Nisbet moved to Prince Albert to open a mission there. Other ministers—Rev. Alexander Matheson, Rev. William Fletcher, and Rev. John McNab—soon came to Dr. Black's assistance in the Red River Settlement, and new churches were established at various points. Knox Church, the first Presbyterian church of Winnipeg, was organized in July, 1870. About four years later Rev. James Robertson became its pastor, and his appointment as general superintendent of missions in 1881 marked a new era in the history of Presbyterianism in the west.



## CHAPTER XLIX

### THE STORY OF THE SCHOOLS

The Hudson's Bay Company seems to have made some provision for educating the children of factors and servants employed in its northern forts, for in 1808 it sent out James Clouston, Peter Sinclair, and George Geddes to act as teachers at some of these forts, paying each a yearly salary of £30. Under the conditions which prevailed in the country, the instruction given at these posts was not likely to be continuous or systematic, and it is not probable that any teaching was attempted at the inland posts previous to the arrival of permanent settlers in the country. It should be added, however, that many of the company's factors who had taken Indian wives sent their children to Great Britain or Canada to be educated. The traders of the North-West Company were equally anxious to secure a fair education for their offspring, and so quite a number of the prairie people, in whose veins French or Scotch blood was mixed with that of the native races, had received a fair education.

Lord Selkirk was very anxious to provide schools for the children of the pioneers in the Red River Settlement. As early as 1813 Mr. K. McRae was appointed to look after their educational interests, and he was expected to organize a school for boys and another for girls during the following year. The earl's instructions were: "He (McRae) has the improved methods of Jos. Lancaster. Let him select some young man of cool temper as schoolmaster. The children should learn to read and write their native tongue (Gaelic). I care not how little they learn of the language of the Yankees. In the girls' school, needlework and women's accomplishments should be taught with reading." That the earl's agents shared his interest in education is shown by the fact that one of them organized a school for the children on board the ship which brought out the fourth party of Red River colonists.

Several years went by before Lord Selkirk's plans for establishing schools in his colony were carried out. The future of the settlement was most uncertain. Scarcity of food compelled the settlers to migrate to Pembina when winter approached, and the hostility of the Nor'-Westers and the Metis compelled them to migrate to the foot of Lake Winnipeg or elsewhere on two occasions during the summer. It is not surprising that such adverse conditions postponed the organization of schools six years.

In his charge to the missionaries whom he sent to Red River in 1818, Bishop Plessis said, "They should apply themselves with special care to the Christian education of children, establishing schools for this purpose in all the villages which they have occasion to visit." Father Provencher was not slow to carry out these instructions, and as soon as his mission building at St. Boniface was

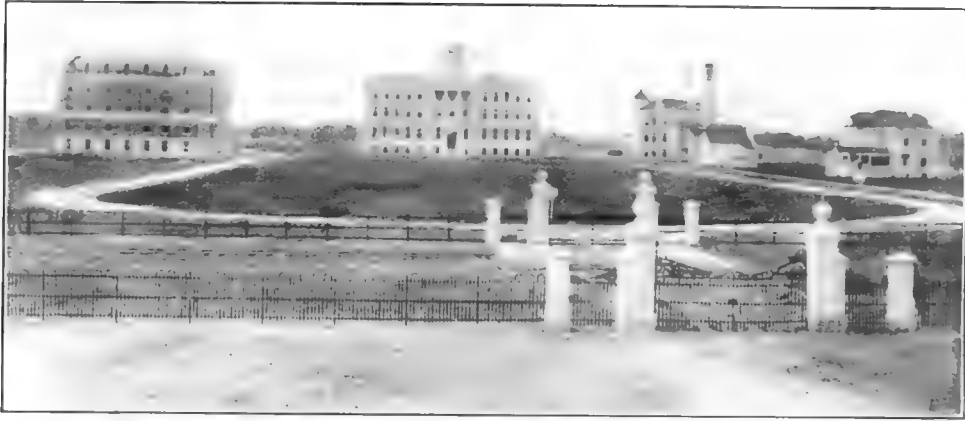
habitable, he opened a school there for the children of the neighborhood. This, the first Roman Catholic school in Manitoba, was opened about the first of September, 1818; and there for some hours each day the big, kindly priest taught the children reading, writing, and the catechism. The little folks proved apt pupils, and two of the larger lads had commenced the study of Latin before the close of 1819.

As soon as the building at St. Boniface was ready for occupation, Bishop Provencher sent his colleague, Father Dumoulin, to the French settlement at Pembina to establish a school there. A gentleman from Quebec, named Guillaume Edge, was put in charge of it, and before the end of the year sixty pupils had been enrolled. We are told that a school for the children of the buffalo hunters was organized at a point some distance west of Pembina soon after, and that a French-Canadian named Legace was its teacher; but it is probable that the settlement was not permanent and that the school was closed when the hunting season was over. Mr. Edge remained in the Pembina school two years, and then Mr. Sauvé took his place. He seems to have remained in charge until 1823, when Pembina was found to be in United States territory, and most of the settlers moved to St. Boniface or to points along the Assiniboine.

Father Provencher went to Quebec in 1820, leaving Father Destroismaisons in charge of his school, and when he came back two years later, he brought with him Mr. Jean Harper, soon ordained as a priest, who acted as principal of the school for about nine years. In 1823 Bishop Provencher reported with some pride that two boys in the school, a Metis named Chénier and a Canadian named Senécal, had mastered the Latin grammar. A few years later we find that one of the masters taught English, so it is probable that some English-speaking boys attended the school.

But Bishop Provencher's educational work was not confined to St. Boniface. One by one, new parishes were organized in different parts of the country, and many of them had schools, the priest being teacher as well as pastor. Nor was the bishop unmindful of the educational needs of the girls in his great diocese. His difficulty was to find teachers for them; but this was overcome in 1829, when he induced Miss Angelique Nolin and her sister to come down from Pembina and take charge of a girls' school in St. Boniface. In 1838, through the generous assistance of Sir George Simpson, he opened an industrial school in St. Boniface, two ladies having been secured to give the young women of the settlement instruction in weaving and other household arts. The school and its equipment were burned in the following year, but with the help of the Hudson's Bay Company, its work was soon resumed in another building. In 1844 Sisters Valade, Lagrave, Coutlée (dite St. Joseph), and Lafrance, the first nuns to reach Manitoba, took charge of the school which the Misses Nolin had managed up to that time. Sixty girls were attending it then.

Fifty-three years after Bishop Provencher opened his first school in the ill-constructed building, which served for church and residence as well as school, the institution was incorporated as St. Boniface College; and it is now attended by about four hundred students, engaged in secondary and university studies. In the place of the one girls' school with two teachers, there are many convents scattered over the province, in which a very large number of girls are being educated.



OLD BUILDINGS OF MANITOBA AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE



MANITOBA MEDICAL COLLEGE



When Rev. John West, the first missionary sent to Red River by the Hudson's Bay Company, reached his field, he set at work at once to organize a school among the Scotch settlers. In his *Journal* he says, "Soon after my arrival I got a log house repaired about three miles below the fort (Fort Douglas), among the Scotch population, where the schoolmaster took up his abode and began teaching from twenty to twenty-five children." This school, which was opened about the first of November, 1820, was probably the first school for English-speaking children organized in the Red River Settlement. The teacher was a gentleman named Harbidge or Halbridge, who had reached the colony just before the school was opened. In 1821 quite a large tract of land was secured, and an attempt was made to erect school buildings upon it. They were not completed when autumn came, and during the winter the school was conducted in a building belonging to the North-West Company. Owing to its distance from Kildonan, the attendance of the Scotch boys fell off badly during the severe weather. In 1822 the new buildings were occupied; and Mrs. Halbridge, who came out to her husband that year, taught the girls of the settlement household science as well as reading and writing. Many of the boys in attendance came from a distance, and it was necessary to build a residence for them. The lads were instructed in the rudiments of agriculture, and Mr. West speaks with pride of the wheat and potatoes grown on the school grounds. He seems to have had a few head of cattle too, so that his school was an agricultural school in a small way.

Rev. Mr. West went home to England in 1823, and his successor, Rev. T. D. Jones, seems to have managed the school for the next two years. Then he went back to England for a visit, and Rev. W. Cochran came out to be, as he said, "minister, clerk, schoolmaster, peacemaker, and agricultural director." The school seems to have developed into the Red River Academy about 1833, and under the management of Rev. John Macallum it did good work for the youth of the colony for many years. That gentleman was in charge of it when Bishop Anderson arrived in 1849; but some years later the bishop found the expense of maintaining the school too great for the limited funds at his disposal, and it was closed. Its lineal successor seems to have been a similar school in St. Paul's parish, which was conducted by Rev. S. Pritchard, a son of the Mr. John Pritchard who was prominent in the early history of the colony. This school was in operation when Bishop Machray reached the country in 1865.

In the meantime educational facilities for the English-speaking girls of the small and remote colony had greatly improved. The wife of Rev. David Jones, who had joined her husband at Red River in 1829, was impressed with the need of a boarding school for the girls of the settlement and for the daughters of Hudson's Bay Company's factors living in other parts of the country. She soon opened such an institution and, assisted by a governess from England, taught in it until her death in 1836. Then the wife of Rev. John Macallum took charge of the school until her husband's death in 1849. Cupid seems to have interfered with the management of this school very often; for no sooner was an assistant teacher brought out from England than she was induced to become the wife of some lonely officer of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1851 a new building was erected for the school on the north side of the creek which flowed into the Red River just south of St. John's cathedral; and Mrs. Mills and her two daughters took charge of it. This school was closed in 1858, but its place



in the life of the community was taken by a school which the Misses Davis opened in St. Andrew's. Many ladies now living in Manitoba received their education in that institution.

As the clergy of the Church of England extended the field of their labors north along the Red River and west along the Assiniboine, new parishes were organized and a number of new schools established. One of the most important was at Portage la Prairie. About 1851 Archdeacon Cochran purchased the land on which the town now stands from the Indian chief, Pe-qu-a-ke-kan, and in the following year a number of people from Red River moved west and formed a new settlement. As soon as his church and rectory were erected, the energetic archdeacon built a log school, and in it Mr. Peter Garrioch taught the children of the settlement for three years. He was followed by the archdeacon's son, Rev. Thomas Cochran, and he in turn by Mr. J. J. Setter, afterwards sheriff of the district.

Bishop Machray took charge of the diocese of Rupert's Land in 1865. From the day of his arrival the importance of schools was always in his mind. In his first conference with his clergy he urged that a school should be maintained in every parish. Above all, he was anxious to reopen the school at St. John's. He had a principal in mind from the first. "My heart is set on an old college friend," he wrote; "I feel sure he would be quite a backbone to our whole system." That friend was Rev. John McLean. So the old school was revived, Mr. Pritchard's school was amalgamated with it, and the new institution was opened as St. John's College on November 1, 1866. It was incorporated by the legislature in 1871.

The pioneer missionaries of Manitoba were educationists, and Rev. John Black, the first Presbyterian clergyman to settle in Manitoba, was no exception to the rule. He came to Kildonan in 1851, and as soon as his church and manse were built, a school was erected, in which the pastor himself was one of the teachers. For twenty years this school served the community, and then it was transformed into Manitoba College. Rev. Dr. Bryce and the late Rev. Thomas Hart, D. D., were its first professors. The college was incorporated in 1871, and a few years later it was removed to Winnipeg.

It was somewhat late in the history of the Red River country before the Methodist church undertook missionary and educational work in it; but in 1873 Rev. George Young opened a small school in Winnipeg and placed Mrs. D. L. Clink in charge of it. Later in the year he came back from Ontario with money and equipment for a larger school. A building was erected on the lots now occupied by Grace Church, and in it the Wesleyan Institute was formally opened on November 3, 1873, with Rev. A. Bowerman as principal. In 1877 the legislature passed a bill to incorporate Wesley College, but the Wesleyan Institute does not seem to have had the standing required for affiliation with the university, and instead of being transformed into Wesley College, it was discontinued. It was ten years before the Methodists organized a college and affiliated it with the provincial university.

Of course there were no public schools in the province when it was federated with Canada; but during the first session of the first legislature an Act to Establish a System of Education in the Province was introduced. It received its second reading during the afternoon of May 1st. After a little discussion

it was referred to committee, and on the evening of the same day it was reported to the house, read a third time, and passed. Two days later it received the assent of the lieutenant-governor. This law established a system of public schools, provided for the organization of a board of education to direct the educational affairs of the new province, provided for the election of school trustees and defined their duties somewhat vaguely, and set apart certain sums of public money for the partial support of the public schools created by it.

The act itself was somewhat simple, the Board of Education being empowered to work out in detail the regulations necessary for the management of the new schools. It was to determine courses of study, fix the requirements for teachers' certificates, conduct the necessary examinations, allot the government grants, etc. On June 21st a proclamation of the lieutenant-governor appointed the following gentlemen as a board of education: Rev. Alexandre Taché, Bishop of St. Boniface, Rev. Joseph Lavoie, Rev. Geo. Dugas, Rev. Joseph Allard, Hon. Joseph Royal, Mr. Pierre Delorme, Mr. Joseph Dubuc, Rev. Robert Machray, Bishop of Rupert's Land, Rev. George Young, Rev. John Black, Rev. Cyprian Pinkham, C. J. Bird, M. D., Mr. John Norquay, Mr. Molyneux St. John. This board was to work in two sections, one having charge of Roman Catholic schools, the other of Protestant schools. The first seven members named above composed the Roman Catholic section, the others the Protestant section. Mr. Royal was named as the superintendent of the Catholic schools, and Mr. St. John of the Protestant schools. When the board met for organization on June 30th, the Bishop of St. Boniface was elected chairman of the Catholic section, and the Bishop of Rupert's Land as presiding officer of the other section.

On July 13th Governor Archibald announced by proclamation the boundaries of the twenty-six school districts into which the settled portion of the province had been divided. The Protestant districts, numbered from 1 to 16, were North St. Peter's, South St. Peter's, Mapleton, North St. Andrew's, Central St. Andrew's, South St. Andrew's, St. Paul's, Kildonan, St. John's, Winnipeg, St. James, Headingley, Poplar Point, High Bluff, Portage, and Westbourne. There were ten Catholic districts, numbered from 17 to 26 inclusive, whose boundaries were determined largely by those of the electoral districts in which the majority of the people were French. Most of them lay along the Red River between the Assiniboine and the international boundary.

The elections of school trustees took place on July 18th, but the people did not take a very active interest in them. Some of the trustees elected were: Hon. Colin Inkster, Mr. Magnus Brown, and Rev. Archdeacon McLean in St. John's; Messrs. John Bourke, A. Fidler, and R. Tait in St. James; Messrs. W. Tait, J. Cunningham, M. P. P., and J. Taylor in Headingley; Messrs. Chas. Thomas, Hugh Pritchard, and J. Clouston in St. Paul's; and Messrs. Stewart Mulvey, W. G. Fonseca, and A. Wright in Winnipeg. In most of the districts the electors decided to levy a tax for the support of the schools; but in Winnipeg, although it then had a population of about 700, the ratepayers decided to raise money for their school by a subscription rather than a general tax. Of course this was only a temporary arrangement.

The first public schools opened on August 28, 1871. Some of the teachers were to become prominent in the life of the province a little later. In the East Kildonan school the teacher was Mr. Alexander Sutherland, who afterwards en-

tered the legal profession and still later became a member of Premier Norquay's cabinet. In the West Kildonan school Mr. George F. Munroe was in charge. He was afterwards a barrister and prominent in municipal affairs. The Winnipeg school board was late in getting its school organized, and it was not until October 30th that the first pupils assembled in the small log building on Point Douglas, which the board had secured as a school. The young man behind the teacher's desk that morning was Mr. W. F. Luxton, subsequently founder and editor of the *Manitoba Free Press*, member of the legislature, school trustee, and member of the Board of Education.

The new school act was not without its defects. Some people declared that many of the public schools were inefficient, others were dissatisfied with the regulations which governed the distribution of the provincial grant. There was a feeling that the grants to individual schools should be proportional to the number of pupils in attendance as well as the time during which the school was kept open. It may have been this feeling which led Hon. Mr. Davis, when he became premier in 1874, to insert the following clause in his published policy: "The amendment of the school laws, so as to secure an accurate list of the attendance of pupils in the schools, duly verified under oath."

Dissatisfaction with the practical working of the Education Act of 1871 seems to have increased rather than diminished as the years went by, and by 1876 there was a very general demand on the part of a large section of the community for radical changes in the law. Those who were anxious to make the schools more effective demanded the abolition of the board of education and the creation of a department of education with a cabinet minister at its head, the establishment of a purely non-sectarian system of public schools, all subject to the same regulations, the appointment of one or more inspectors, the early establishment of a training school for teachers, and a complete change in the method of dividing the provincial grant for the support of public schools. Fourteen years were to pass, however, before the most important of these changes were made, although others were brought about much sooner.

The act of 1871 had made no provision for secondary education, none for university training. These departments of educational work were left, for the time being, to the three denominational colleges, which had been incorporated in 1871. These institutions, hampered as they were by lack of funds, could hardly be expected to undertake the full work of a university; and many public-spirited citizens looked forward to the time when the province itself could undertake that work. It was an ambitious project for a province so small in area and population and with such a small revenue, and many friends of education feared that it would be impossible to secure the co-operation of the different religious denominations in any scheme for a provincial university.

Hon. Alexander Morris was very anxious to signalize his term as lieutenant-governor of Manitoba by the establishment of a provincial university, and he seems to have discussed the matter informally with several leading men of the province. We are informed that he had urged the members of the government to introduce a university bill into the legislature; but they felt that the province was too weak financially to undertake the establishment and support of such an institution. But Governor Morris was too ardent a friend of education to relax his efforts on behalf of a provincial university. On the evening of Febru-



LORD KELVIN TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL, WINNIPEG



ary 4, 1876, a public meeting was held in Winnipeg in connection with Manitoba College. Two of the gentlemen who made addresses on that occasion presented carefully considered schemes by which a provincial university might be established at no great cost to the province and with which the existing colleges could be affiliated. One of these far-seeing, practical men was Mr. J. W. Taylor, the United States consul, and the other was Rev. Dr. Robertson, superintendent of Presbyterian missions in the west. Dr. Robertson's plan appealed to the lieutenant-governor, and it was not long before the two men met in consultation over it. A detailed scheme was worked out, and a bill was drawn up to embody it. There is good reason to believe that the governor himself drafted the bill, and this may be one reason why the government consented to introduce it.

The third session of the second Manitoba legislature was opened on January 30, 1877. In the speech from the throne Lieutenant-Governor Morris said, "In view of the necessity of affording the youth of the province the advantages of higher education, a bill will be submitted to you, providing for the establishment on a liberal basis of a university for Manitoba, and for the affiliation therewith of such of the existing incorporated colleges as may take advantage of the university. Provision will be made in the bill for the eventual establishment of a provincial normal school for teachers. I regard this measure as one of great importance, and as an evidence of the rapid progress of the country towards the possession of so many of the advantages which the older provinces of the Dominion already enjoy." Strictly speaking, the bill was not a government measure, although Hon. Mr. Royal introduced it on February 1st and moved its second reading eight days later. It received a few amendments in committee, and on February 20th it passed its third reading.

The act provided for the establishment of a university which would outline courses, conduct examinations, and grant degrees. It would not undertake the work of teaching immediately, but professorships might be established later so as to make the institution a teaching university. The governing body, or council, was to consist of representatives of the colleges which might affiliate with the university, a representative of each section of the board of education, and a representative of the graduates of other universities resident in the province. University students were to be free from all religious tests, and in examinations they might answer either in English or in French. The colleges retained control of courses in theology and had power to grant theological degrees, and they could select their own text-books in mental and moral science. The financial burden, which some feared, was most carefully avoided, inasmuch as one clause in the act limited the government grant for university purposes to \$250 per year. Of course this clause was soon repealed.

St. Boniface College, St. John's College, and Manitoba College affiliated with the provincial university at once and elected their representatives to the council; but Wesley College, which had been incorporated a few days before the university bill passed the legislature, was not in a position to affiliate then. At the first meeting of the university council, held on October 4, 1877, the Bishop of Rupert's Land was chosen as chancellor, Hon. Joseph Royal as vice-chancellor, Major Jarvis as registrar, and Mr. D. MacArthur as bursar. A few days later the first university students were enrolled, and on June 9, 1880, the University of Manitoba conferred its first degrees.

About 1881 a Baptist college was organized at Rapid City by Rev. Dr. Crawford, but it did not meet with the support expected and was closed in 1883. A year or two later it was reopened in Brandon under the direction of Rev. S. J. McKee, D. D., and received more generous support from the denomination which it was established to serve. It has since grown into a large institution, doing work in arts and theology and furnishing a commercial training to those who desire it. It has never affiliated with the provincial university; and although its friends have asked the legislature to give it degree-conferring powers, the request has not been granted.

In 1882 Manitoba Medical College was affiliated with the provincial university, and six years later Wesley College was reorganized and joined the sisterhood of affiliated institutions. The College of Pharmacy was affiliated in 1902 and Manitoba Agricultural College in 1908, although the latter withdrew from the union in 1912 and became an independent institution. The Law Society of Manitoba accepts matriculation standing in the university as evidence of fitness to enter upon the study of law, although it has not yet entrusted to the university the work of examining candidates for admission to the bar, and certain degrees in law are conferred by the university.

The university council has not been a unit in regard to the lines on which the institution should be developed, some members wishing it to remain an examining and degree-conferring body, others desiring to make it a teaching university. In 1886 the University Act was amended in such a way that the university seemed debarred from assuming the work of instruction; but a year later another amendment gave the graduates of the university increased representation in the council, and most of the new members joined the party which wished to make the university a teaching institution. Circumstances combined to favor the policy of this party. All over the continent there was a popular demand that the natural sciences be given a larger place on college and university curricula, and Manitoba's colleges were financially unable to meet this demand. For a few years, commencing in 1890, they attempted to co-operate in the teaching of science; but the plan was not satisfactory, and in 1893 the University Act was amended once more to permit the teaching of science and mathematics.

In 1878 the university applied to the Dominion for a grant of land as an endowment, and this application was endorsed by the legislature a year later. A grant of 150,000 acres was secured by the settlement made in 1885, although the patents to these lands were not secured until about 1898. The lands then became a source of a growing revenue to the university. The other sources were the annual grant from the provincial government and the income from a considerable bequest received some years before from the estate of A. K. Isbister, the gentleman who was the champion of the Red River people in their struggle against the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company in the pre-confederation years. Under the circumstances the university council felt justified in erecting a building. The Old Driving Park was secured from the Dominion government as a site, and the first university building was erected on it in 1900. A further extension of university teaching took place in 1904, and three years later the council decided that the university should aim to give instruction in all branches of higher education. In conformity with this policy a department of engineering was organized, and its field has been widened as fast as the finances of the university will permit.

The fact that the University of Manitoba had been transformed into a teaching institution gave increased strength to an agitation in favor of making it a provincial university in every respect. In 1908 the provincial government appointed a commission to investigate the educational needs and conditions of Manitoba, study the character of university work done elsewhere, and make recommendations in regard to the future policy and management of the University of Manitoba. Unfortunately the members of the commission could not agree, and the government received several reports from the sections into which it divided. As a result the questions of site, future policy, and control remained in suspense for several years. A president for the university was chosen in 1912, and it is hoped that he will lead the institution out of the wilderness.

An amendment to the school law, passed in 1879, fixed the number of members in the Protestant section of the board of education at twelve and the members of the Catholic section at nine, provided for the appointment of inspectors, and defined their duties. The government grant in aid of schools was increased about the same time. Previous to 1881 the government had made no provision for secondary education, but in that year an amendment to the School Act remedied the defect. The Winnipeg school board promptly took advantage of the amendment, and in the summer of 1882 it established a high school, calling it a collegiate department. A collegiate department was organized in Brandon a year later, and in a short time a similar secondary school was established at Portage la Prairie. A few years later schools, known as intermediate schools, were established in several of the smaller towns for the purpose of providing a certain amount of secondary education; and still later a number of larger and better equipped secondary schools, called high schools, were organized.

In 1882 a normal school department was opened in connection with the schools of Winnipeg, its first principal being Mr. E. L. Byington, and in a few years it developed into an independent provincial normal school, to which a model school was subsequently attached. There are also normal schools for the training of third class teachers at Brandon, Dauphin, Portage la Prairie, and Manitou; the French teachers receive their professional training at a normal school in St. Boniface; there is a training school for Mennonite teachers at Gretna, one for Ruthenian teachers at Brandon, and one for Polish teachers in Winnipeg.

The story of the dissatisfaction with the School Act of 1871, which resulted in its repeal during 1890, has been told in a previous chapter. Most of the changes made by the new law had been favored by Mr. Norquay; but he hoped that they could be made gradually and with little friction between Roman Catholics and the remainder of the community, and during his premiership the time did not seem ripe for legislation in the matter. One clause of the repealed act provided a compulsory attendance law for any school district which wished to adopt it; but this clause did not find a place in the new act of 1890. Since that time there has been a strong conviction in the minds of many friends of education that a compulsory school law for the province should be enacted, and this conviction is strengthened by a knowledge of the conditions and problems which are growing out of the great increase in Manitoba's foreign-born population.

Commercial education has never been neglected in Manitoba. The first com-



mercial college of Winnipeg was opened in September, 1876, and since that time many similar schools have been established with varying success in Winnipeg and other towns of the province. In 1896 the school board of Winnipeg made a commercial course a part of the curriculum in its collegiate institute, and similar courses of instruction are now provided in the other collegiate institutes of the province.

Through the generosity of Sir William Macdonald manual training was introduced into the schools of Winnipeg in the latter part of 1900. Sir William supplied the necessary equipment and paid the salaries of instructors for three years, and at the end of that period the school board, thoroughly convinced of the value of the work, made it a regular part of the school course. About the same time it arranged to give the girls in its schools instruction in needlework, cookery, and other domestic arts. The movement spread, and in most of the towns and in some of the rural districts manual training and domestic science now find places in the school programmes. Quite recently steps have been taken to make technical training a part of the work done in the public schools. The government took the matter up and appointed a commission on technical education in 1910; but without waiting for the report of the commission or for the formulation of a definite policy on the matter by the department of education, the Winnipeg school board decided to undertake technical education, and in 1912 two large and completely equipped technical high schools were opened in the city.

As agriculture must always be the leading industry of the province, the government recognized the importance of providing for all who wish it instruction in the scientific principles which underlie successful methods of farming, as well as some practical training in farm work. A farm was secured on the south side of the Assiniboine River a short distance west of the limits of the city of Winnipeg, suitable buildings were erected upon it, machinery and stock were provided, a staff of instructors engaged, and on November 6, 1906, the Manitoba Agricultural College was opened. There were 68 students in attendance and applications from 90 more had been received. Within a few years the college was affiliated with the provincial university, and special courses were arranged for students who wished to take the degree of bachelor of scientific agriculture. The value of the college was soon recognized, and the attendance increased beyond the capacity of the buildings. A larger site was secured on the west bank of the Red River, and on it a number of commodious and well-designed buildings are being erected. When they are completed, the institution will be moved into them, and Manitoba will then have one of the most complete agricultural colleges in Canada.



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## APPENDICES

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### I.

An Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory when united with Canada. (Assented to 22nd June, 1869)

Whereas it is probable that Her Majesty the Queen may, pursuant to The British North America Act, 1867, be pleased to admit Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union or Dominion of Canada before the next Session of the Canadian Parliament: And whereas it is expedient to prepare for the transfer of the said Territories from the Local Authorities to the Government of Canada, at the time appointed by the Queen for such admission, and to make some temporary provision for the Civil Government of such Territories until more permanent arrangements can be made by the Government and Legislature of Canada; Therefore, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

1. The said Territories, when admitted as aforesaid, shall be styled and known as "The North-West Territories."

2. It shall be lawful for the Governor, by any Order or Orders, to be by him from time to time made, with the advice of the Privy Council (and subject to such conditions and restrictions as to him shall seem meet) to authorize and empower such Officer as he may from time to time appoint, as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, to make provision for the administration of Justice therein, and generally to make, ordain, and establish all such Laws, Institutions, and Ordinances as may be necessary for the Peace, Order and Good Government of Her Majesty's subjects and others therein; provided that all such Orders in Council, and all Laws and Ordinances, so to be made as aforesaid, shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament as soon as conveniently may be after the making and enactment thereof respectively.

3. The Lieutenant-Governor shall administer the Government under instructions from time to time given him by Order in Council.

4. The Governor may, with the advice of the Privy Council, constitute and appoint, by Warrant under his Sign Manual, a Council of not exceeding fifteen nor less than seven persons, to aid the Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of affairs, with such powers as may be from time to time conferred upon them by Order in Council.

5. All the Laws in force in Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, at the time of their admission into the Union, shall so far as they are consistent with The British North America Act, 1867, with the terms and con-

ditions of such admission approved of by the Queen under the 146th section thereof, and with this Act, remain in force until altered by the Parliament of Canada, or by the Lieutenant-Governor under the authority of this Act.

6. All Public Officers and Functionaries holding office in Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, at the time of their admission into the Union, excepting the Public Officer or Functionary at the head of the administration of affairs, shall continue to be Public Officers and Functionaries of the North-West Territories with the same duties and powers as before, until otherwise ordered by the Lieutenant-Governor, under the authority of this Act.

7. This Act shall continue in force until the end of the next Session of Parliament.

## II

### PROVINCE OF MANITOBA ACT

An Act to amend and continue the Act 32 and 33 Victoria, chapter 3, and to establish and provide for the Government of the Province of Manitoba. (Assented to May 12th, 1870)

Whereas it is probable that Her Majesty the Queen may, pursuant to the British North America Act, 1867, be pleased to admit Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union or Dominion of Canada, before the next session of the Parliament of Canada:

And whereas it is expedient to prepare for the transfer of the said Territories to the Government of Canada at the time appointed by the Queen for such admission:

And whereas it is expedient also to provide for the organization of part of the said Territories as a Province, and for the establishment of a Government thereof, and to make provision for the Civil Government of the remaining part of the said Territories, not included within the limits of the Province:

Therefore, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:—

1. On, from, and after the day upon which the Queen, by and with the advice and consent of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, under the authority of the 146th section of the British North America Act, 1867, shall, by Order in Council in that behalf, admit Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union or Dominion of Canada, there shall be formed out of the same a Province, which shall be one of the Provinces of the Dominion of Canada, and which shall be called the Province of Manitoba, and be bounded as follows: that is to say, commencing at the point where the meridian of ninety-six degrees west longitude from Greenwich intersects the parallel of forty-nine degrees north latitude, thence due west along the said parallel of forty-nine degrees north latitude (which forms a portion of the boundary line between the United States of America and the said North-Western Territory) to the meridian of ninety-nine degrees of west longitude, then due north along the said meridian of ninety-nine degrees of west longitude to the intersection of the same with the parallel of fifty degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, thence due east along the said parallel of fifty degrees and thirty minutes

north latitude to its intersection with the before-mentioned meridian of ninety-six degrees west longitude, thence due south along the said meridian of ninety-six degrees west longitude to the place of beginning.

2. On, from, and after the said day on which the Order of the Queen in Council shall take effect as aforesaid, the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, shall, except those parts thereof which are in terms made, or by reasonable intendment may be held to be specially applicable to, or only to affect one or more, but not the whole of the Provinces now composing the Dominion, and except so far as the same may be varied by this Act, be applicable to the Province of Manitoba, in the same way and to the like extent as they apply to the several Provinces of Canada, and as if the Province of Manitoba had been one of the Provinces originally united by the said Act.

3. The said Province shall be represented in the Senate of Canada by two members, until it shall have, according to decennial census, a population of fifty thousand souls, and from thenceforth it shall be represented therein by three members, until it shall have, according to decennial census, a population of seventy-five thousand souls, and from thenceforth it shall be represented therein by four members.

4. The said Province shall be represented, in the first instance, in the House of Commons, by four members, and for that purpose shall be divided by proclamation of the Governor-General into four electoral districts, each of which shall be represented by one member; provided that on the completion of the census in the year 1881, and of each decennial census afterwards, the representation of the said Province shall be re-adjusted according to the provisions of the fifty-first section of the British North America Act, 1867.

5. Until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, the qualifications of voters at election of members of the House of Commons shall be the same as for the Legislative Assembly hereinafter mentioned. And no person shall be qualified to be elected or to sit and vote as a member for any electoral district, unless he is a duly qualified voter within the said Province.

6. For the said Province there shall be an officer styled the Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Governor-General in Council, by instrument, under the Great Seal of Canada.

7. The Executive Council of the Province shall be composed of such persons and under such designations as the Lieutenant-Governor shall from time to time think fit, and in the first instance of not more than five persons.

8. Unless and until the Executive Government of the Province otherwise directs, the seat of Government of the same shall be at Fort Garry, or within one mile thereof.

9. There shall be a Legislature for the Province, consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor, and of two Houses, styled respectively the Legislative Council of Manitoba and the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.

10. The Legislative Council shall, in the first instance, be composed of seven members, and after the expiration of four years from the time of the first appointment of such seven members, may be increased to not more than twelve members. Every member of the Legislative Council shall be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in the Queen's name, by instrument, under the Great Seal of Manitoba, and shall hold office for the term of his life, unless and

until the Legislature of Manitoba otherwise provides under the British North America Act, 1867.

11. The Lieutenant-Governor may from time to time, by instrument under the Great Seal, appoint a member of the Legislative Council to be Speaker thereof, and may remove him and appoint another in his stead.

12. Until the Legislature of the Province otherwise provides, the presence of a majority of the whole number of the Legislative Council, including the Speaker, shall be necessary to constitute a meeting for the exercise of its powers.

13. Questions arising in the Legislative Council shall be decided by a majority of voices, and the Speaker shall in all cases have a vote, and when voices are equal, the decision shall be deemed to be in the negative.

14. The Legislative Assembly shall be composed of twenty-four members, to be elected to represent the electoral divisions into which the said Province may be divided by the Lieutenant-Governor as hereinafter mentioned.

15. The presence of a majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the House for the exercise of its powers, and for that purpose the Speaker shall be reckoned as a member.

16. The Lieutenant-Governor shall (within six months of the date of the Order of Her Majesty in Council admitting Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union), by Proclamation under the Great Seal, divide the said Province into twenty-four electoral divisions, due regard being had to existing local divisions and population.

17. Every male person shall be entitled to vote for a member to serve in the Legislative Assembly for any electoral division, who is qualified as follows; that is to say, if he is—

(1) Of the full age of twenty-one years, and not subject to any legal incapacity.

(2) A subject of Her Majesty by birth or naturalization.

(3) And a *bona fide* householder within the electoral division, at the date of the writ of election of the same, and has been a *bona fide* householder for one year next before the said date; or

(4) If, being of the full age of twenty-one years, and not subject to any incapacity, and a subject of Her Majesty by birth or naturalization, he was at any time within twelve months prior to the passing of this Act, and (though in the interim temporarily absent) is at the time of such election a *bona fide* householder, and was resident within the electoral division at the date of the writ of election for the same. But this fourth sub-section shall apply only to the first election to be held under this Act for members to serve in the Legislative Assembly aforesaid.

18. For the first election of members to serve in the Legislative Assembly, and until the Legislature of the Province otherwise provides, the Lieutenant-Governor shall cause writs to be issued by such person, in such form, and addressed to such returning officers as he thinks fit; and for such first election, and until the Legislature of the Province otherwise provides, the Lieutenant-Governor shall, by Proclamation, prescribe and declare the oaths to be taken by voters, the powers and duties of returning and deputy returning officers, the proceedings to be observed at such elections, and the period during which such

election may be continued, and such other provisions in respect to such first election as he may think fit.

19. Every Legislative Assembly shall continue for four years from the date of the return of the writs for returning the same (subject, nevertheless, to being sooner dissolved by the Lieutenant-Governor), and no longer, and the first session thereof shall be called at such time as the Lieutenant-Governor shall appoint.

20. There shall be a session of the Legislature once at least in every year, so that twelve months shall not intervene between the last sitting of the last Legislature in one session and its first sitting in the next session.

21. The following provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, respecting the House of Commons of Canada, shall extend and apply to the Legislative Assembly, that is to say:—Provisions relating to the election of a Speaker, originally and on vacancies, the duties of the Speaker, the absence of the Speaker, and the mode of voting, as if those provisions were here re-enacted and made applicable in terms to the Legislative Assembly.

22. In and for the Province, the said Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions:—

(1) Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law or practice in the Province at the Union.

(2) An appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any act or decision of the Legislature of the Province, or any provincial authority, affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education.

(3) In case any such provincial law as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council on any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper provincial authority in that behalf, then, and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section, and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section.

23. Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of the Legislature, and both these languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses, and either of those languages may be used by any person, or in Pleading or in Process, in or issuing from any Court in Canada established under the British North America Act, 1867, or in or from all or any of the Courts of the Province. The Acts of the Legislature shall be printed and published in both these languages.

24. Inasmuch as the Province is not in debt, the said Province shall be entitled to be paid, and to receive from the Government of Canada, by half-yearly payments in advance, interest at the rate of five per centum per annum on the sum of four hundred and seventy-two thousand and ninety dollars.

25. The sum of thirty thousand dollars shall be paid yearly by Canada to the Province for the support of its Government and Legislature, and an annual grant in aid of the said Province shall be made, equal to eighty cents per head of the population, estimated at seventeen thousand souls; and such

grants of eighty cents per head shall be augmented in proportion to the increase of population, as may be shown by the census that shall be taken thereof in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, and by each subsequent decennial census, until its population amounts to four hundred thousand souls, at which amount such grant shall remain thereafter, and such sum shall be in full settlement of all future demands on Canada, and shall be paid half-yearly, in advance, to the said Province.

26. Canada will assume and defray the charges for the following services:—

(1) Salary of the Lieutenant-Governor;  
(2) Salaries and allowances of the Judges of the Superior and District or County Courts;

(3) Charges in respect of the Department of the Customs;

(4) Postal Department;

(5) Protection of Fisheries;

(6) Militia;

(7) Geological Survey;

(8) The Penitentiary;

(9) And such further charges as may be incident to and connected with the services which by the British North America Act, 1867, appertain to the General Government, and as are, or may be, allowed to the other Provinces.

27. The Customs' duties now by law chargeable in Rupert's Land shall be continued without increase for the period of three years from and after the passing of this Act, and the proceeds of such duties shall form part of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada.

28. Such provisions of the Customs' Laws of Canada (other than such as prescribe the rate of duties payable) as may from time to time be declared by the Governor-General in Council to apply to the Province of Manitoba, shall be applicable thereto and be in force therein accordingly.

29. Such provisions of the Laws of Canada respecting the Inland Revenue, including those fixing the amount of duties, as may be from time to time declared by the Governor-General in Council applicable to the said Province, shall apply thereto and be in force accordingly.

30. All ungranted or waste lands in the Province shall be, from and after the date of the said transfer, vested in the Crown, and administered by the Government of Canada for the purposes of the Dominion, subject to and except and so far as the same may be affected by the conditions and stipulations contained in the agreement for the surrender of Rupert's Land by the Hudson's Bay Company to Her Majesty.

31. And whereas it is expedient, towards the extinguishment of the Indian title to the lands in the Province, to appropriate a portion of such ungranted lands to the extent of one million four hundred thousand acres thereof for the benefit of the families of the half-breed residents, it is hereby enacted that, under regulations to be from time to time made by the Governor-General in Council, the Lieutenant-Governor shall select such lots or tracts in such parts of the Province as he may deem expedient, to the extent aforesaid, and divide the same among the children of the half-breed heads of families residing in the Province at the time of the said transfer to Canada, and the same shall be granted to the said children respectively, in such mode and on such conditions

as to settlement or otherwise as the Governor-General in Council shall from time to time determine.

32. For the quieting of titles and assuring the settlers in the Province the peaceable possession of lands now held by them, it is enacted as follows:—

(1) All grants of land in freehold made by the Hudson's Bay Company, up to the eighth day of March, in the year 1869, shall, if required by the owner, be converted into an estate in freehold by grant from the Crown.

(2) All titles by occupancy with the sanction and under the license and authority of the Hudson's Bay Company up to the eighth day of March afore-said, of land in that part of the Province in which the Indian title has been extinguished, shall, if required by the owner, be converted into an estate in freehold by grant from the Crown.

(4) All persons in peaceable possession of tracts of land at the time of the transfer to Canada, in those parts of the Province in which the Indian title has not been extinguished, shall have the right of pre-emption of the same, on such terms and conditions as may be determined by the Governor in Council.

(5) The Lieutenant-Governor is hereby authorized, under regulations to be made from time to time by the Governor-General in Council, to make all such provisions for ascertaining and adjusting, on fair and equitable terms, the rights of common, and rights of cutting hay, held and enjoyed by the settlers in the Province, and for the commutation of the same by grants of land from the Crown.

33. The Governor-General in Council shall from time to time settle and appoint the mode and form of Grants of Land from the Crown, and any Order in Council for that purpose, when published in the *Canada Gazette*, shall have the same force and effect as if it were a portion of this Act.

34. Nothing in this Act shall in any way prejudice or affect the rights or properties of the Hudson's Bay Company, as contained in the conditions under which that company surrendered Rupert's Land to Her Majesty.

35. And with respect to such portion of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, as is not included in the Province of Manitoba, it is hereby enacted that the Lieutenant-Governor of the said Province shall be appointed, by commission under the Great Seal of Canada, to be the Lieutenant-Governor of the same, under the name of the North-West Territories, and subject to the provisions of the Act in the next section mentioned.

36. Except as hereinbefore is enacted and provided, the Act of the Parliament of Canada passed in the now last session thereof, and entitled An Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory when united to Canada, is hereby re-enacted, extended, and continued in force until the first day of January, 1871, and until the end of the Session of Parliament then next succeeding.





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